Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam

A Critical study



Satyabhama Razdan

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With Best Regards
to
Sh. Ravinder Raina Ji
(BJP)

11.07.2022

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KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam

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KaśmīraśabdāmRtam

A Critical study

About the book

"KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: A Critical study" is a landmark research work of historic importance by an accomplished scholar. The author has incisively and comprehensively examined the only grammar and linguistic study of Kashmiri written in Sanskrit. This study is primarily based on a hand written manuscript of KashmiraŝabdamRtam written byĪśvar Kaul in the 19th century A.D.

The manuscript comprising 422 folios is written on the Pāṇinian model. This monumental work consisting of ten chapters presents a detailed description of the grammatical structure of Kashmiri including its Phonology and Morphology. In view of these aspects its importance in Kashmiri linguistics needs to be brought to light. The fact of having been written in Sanskrit has restricted its access to the non Sanskrit knowing scholars in the state and elsewhere. It is, therefore, timely and necessary to bring this monumental work into the public domain to make it accessible to scholars and researchers and to facilitate their language needs in the area of structural linguistics. The value of this research work is greatly enhanced by the fact that it has been undertaken by a scholar whose mother tongue is Kashmiri and who is a teacher and researcher of Sanskrit and Linguistics.

About the author

Prof. Satyabhama Razdan is a well known scholar of Sanskrit and Linguistics. She has been a teacher and a researcher for last 35 years. Her valuable contributions to teaching and learning of Sanskrit and Linguistics have been widely recognized. The author holds Ph. D and D. Lit. Degrees in Sanskrit. She specialises in Semantics, Historical and Structural Linguistics and Indian Epigraphy. She has authored 4 books and 55 research papers. She has translated award winning books, research papers and poems from Kashmiri and Punjabi into Hindi for Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi and J & K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Jammu.

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Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam

A Critical study

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This Research work, an outcome of my long standing commitment and desire to present KaśmīraśabdāmRtam to wider world of scholarship, is dedicated to my dear and respected father

Late Shri Vish Nath Razdan

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देवदर्शनं पुरुषकारानं आदित्यवर्णम्

Foreword

'KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam- A Critical Study' is an analytical and comprehensive study of a 19th century work on the Grammatical structure of the Kashmiri language by the celebrated grammarian of Kashmir, Īśvar Kaul. The significance of KaśmīraśabdāmRtam lies in the fact that it is the first grammar of Kashmiri language written in Sanskrit, for that matter in any language including Kashmiri. Its uniqueness is in the fact that it follows the Pāṇinian style.

Kashmiri is spoken by a large number of people in Kashmir valley and areas contiguous to it in the Jammu region. Kashmir is known for its exquisite natural beauty throughout the world. in equal measure it is famous in history for its civilizational accomplishments and contribution to epics, philosophy, poetry, drama, reverential literature, poetics, history and folk lore. The Pratyabhijñā philosophy emerged and developed in Kashmir. It is important to mention that all the six principal theories of Indian poetics viz., *Alankāra, Rīti. Rasa, Dhvani, Vakrokti* and *Aucitya* - have evolved and developed in Kashmir. This hallowed land of saints and sages has made distinct contributions in the areas of grammatical studies and health science. The treatises like *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* and *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* were written in Kashmir. *Kāśikā,* the incomparable commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādyāyī, as well as the commentary on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya were also composed in this intellectually creative and vibrant land. Carak Samhita, a legendary work on health science is also an intellectual creation of Kashmir.

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Considering the fact that Kashmir has made invaluable contribution to different fields of knowledge in Sanskrit, a great classical language of the world, it is not surprising that a scholar like Īśvar Kaul should have written grammar of Kashmiri language more than two hundred years ago. This is a unique distinction for a regional language which has had no official patronage.

KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, because of its being written in Sanskrit, has had limited utility to students and researchers of languages and linguistics not conversant with Sanskrit. Therefore, this critical study in English by Prof. Satyabhama Razdan represents a valuable effort to make KaśmīraśabdāmRtam accessible to scholars, teachers, researchers and all those interested in the morphological structure of Kashmiri language. Prof. Razdan has commendably invested labour and scholarship in producing this work. I hope that this work will eminently serve the purpose for which it has been written.

Karan Singh

Dr. Karan Singh
10 May 2019

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1969-2019

Foreword

It is my great pleasure to write a foreword for this comprehensive critical analysis of "KaśmīraśabdāmRtam" written by Pandit Iśvar Kaul, a Kashmiri Pandit in the 19th century A.D. As rightly pointed out by the author, KaśmīraśabdāmRtam is a monumental work and is the first and the only grammar of Kashmiri language written in Sanskrit in 1890. It describes the grammatical structure of Kashmiri including its phonology and morphology. It is written within the framework of Panini. Though there are many books and articles available on the structure of Kashmiri, KaśmīraśabdāmRtam has not received the due attention and recognition of the scholars. From that point of view, this book is indeed a welcome addition to the discipline.

Kashmiri, being a V2 language has attracted not only the non-native speakers of Kashmiri but also a large number of younger generations (second and third) who have been displaced from the Kashmir valley. This book brings out the salient features of the Kashmiri grammar and also tries to identify the gaps in comparison with other prominent works on Kashmiri. This study is indeed very significant for the displaced Kashmiris to learn their languages and also to second language learners, researchers, grammarians and others who are interested in both historical and structural linguistics.

I congratulate the author for taking up this important work and I look forward to see this book is well received by scholars and members of the Kashmiri diasporic communities across the globe and the people of Kashmir in particular.

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PREFACE

Language as medium of expression is integral and intrinsic to human personality. It embodies the creative and evolutionary nature of civilization. Without language human beings would be just another, though higher, forms of biological beings. Language is also the most manifest and pronounced element of individual and collective identity. It is shaped by the societal factors and, in turn, exercises an abiding influence on societies, communities and nations. One of the defining characteristics of a nation or a civilization is language.

Apart from its pristine beauty Kashmir has been known for millennia as seat of great learning. Historians, scholars and travellers from Kalhana to Hiuen tsang and Alberuni to European travellers have acknowledged and celebrated Kashmir as land of creativity and cradle of knowledge. No wonder Kashmir since ancient times has been known as *Sharda Desh*, the land of *Sharda*, one of the names of *Saraswati*, the Goddess of learning. Variegated richness of this land with all its complexities and peculiarities is reflected in the language of its people. Kashmiri, spoken by millions of people, reflects in ample measure the flavour and spirit of this enchanting land and its people.

Grammar is a framework within which the language is written and spoken. Therefore, centrality of grammar to language is undeniable. This is equally true of Kashmiri language regardless of the fact that there has been an occasional and uninformed debate about its origin. The fundamental and scientific determinant of the origin and evolution of a language is its morphological and syntactic structure. On the touchstone of these parameters Kashmiri undoubtedly owes its inheritance to the Indo-Aryan languages although it has been significantly enriched by the word stock of Persio-Arabic Origin.

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Considering the importance of grammar for a language it is necessary and long overdue to accord due recognition and treatment to KaśmīraśabdāmRtam of Īśvar Kaul, a work of great importance in its own right. It has manifold distinctions which entitle it to a detailed critical study. It is the first and the only grammar of Kashmiri language written in Sanskrit about two centuries ago. It has followed the pattern of Pāṇini, the greatest grammarian of all times. Uniqueness of KaśmīraśabdāmRtam also lies in the fact that it is written in the *sūtra śailī*.

The research work titled "KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: A Critical Study" is based on a single hand written Manuscript of KashmiraŝabdamRtam written by Īśvar Kaul in the 19th century A.D. The said manuscript comprising ten chapters spread over 422 pages is written in the Devanāgarī script. This monumental work presents a detailed description of the grammatical structure of Kashmiri including its Phonology and Morphology. The fact of having been written in Sanskrit has restricted its access to the non Sanskrit knowing scholars in the state and elsewhere. It was, therefore, need of the hour to bring this monumental work into the public domain not only to make it accessible to the scholars and researchers but also to facilitate the language needs of the scholars of historical and structural linguistics. Given below are chapter-wise findings of this research work:

Īśvar Kaul commences this *magnum opus* with the inventory of Kashmiri speech sounds which constitutes the introductory chapter of the work. According to him, the Kashmiri alphabet consists of two types of letters, viz., *Prasiddh varṇa* and *Aprasiddha varṇa*. Īśvar Kaul's Kashmiri alphabet consists of 60 letters grouped as 14 vowels (*a ā i ī u ū ʀ ʀ̄ ɭʀ ɭʀ̄ e ai o and au*), 33 consonants (*k kh g gh ṅ c ch j jh ñ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v ś ṣ s h*), 1 consonant cluster (*kṣ*), *anusvār (am)* and *visarga (ah)*. Besides, it has 10 uncommon letters comprising 5 vowels (*ə ə̄ ü ǖ ʀ*) and 5 consonants (*č čh z ñ̃ kṣ́*). While listing speech sounds of Kashmiri, the author says, "the fourth letter of every *varga* i.e., the voiced aspirated stops *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh* and *bh* do not exist in speech. */ñ/*

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also sounds as an uncommon letter". (काश्मीरभाषायां वर्गचतुर्थाक्षराणिक्वचिन्नोच्चार्यन्ते ञकारश्च प्रसिद्धोच्चारण तया नशब्दायते इति बोध्यम्). Īśvar Kaul's description of speech sounds does not conform to the actual phonemic system of the Kashmiri language. Linguistic analysis shows that Kashmiri has in total 15 vowel phonemes and 27 consonant phonemes including two semi vowels.

The first chapter of the manuscript is titled "Atha Sandhi Prakaranam". The critical analysis of this chapter shows that Īśvar Kaul does not make any difference between the high central (*ü ṻ*) and mid central (*ə ə̄*) vowels. According to his statements these vowels possess the same vowel quality which is not correct. It is because of author's insufficient knowledge regarding the linguistic peculiarities of the Kashmiri vowel sounds that the sandhi rules formulated by him do not accord with the illustrations cited in support of his sutras. Most of his sutras show similarity with those of the Aṣṭādhyāyī to the extent that it seems Īśvar Kaul has tried to assimilate Kashmiri sandhi rules to Pāṇini's methodology. This attempt of Īśvar Kaul is erroneous in the light of the fact that every language generates its own rules and methods according to its linguistic peculiarities.

The second chapter is on noun morphology. The subject is discussed in three sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter (2.1) is titled "Atha liṅga Prakaraṇe liṅga Pādah" which deals with 'declension of nouns'. Analysis of this chapter shows that the author has oftentimes tried to describe the inflexional morphology of nouns in Kashmiri in Paninian style. The major drawback of the chapter is author's misperception regarding pronunciation of the Kashmiri nouns. Almost all nouns have been described as ending in *-u* or *-ū* which is erroneous and misleading especially for those whose mother tongue is not Kashmiri or who are not Kashmiri speakers and particularly for those researchers who are not fully conversant with the linguistic peculiarities of Kashmiri.

The second sub-chapter (2.2) is "Atha liṅga Prakaraṇe Sambuddhih Pādah" throws light on the 'vocative terms'. This sub-chapter contains the vocative terms which, with the passage of time,

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have become almost obsolete and are very rarely used. In their place new terms like *ji*, *sāb*, *māhrah* have gained currency. Factors like context of situation, the subject of discourse, occasion, social status, profession, age, gender etc. play an important role in shaping the use of terms of address in Kashmiri. The author is silent about the kinship terms of address. His description of modes of address in Kashmiri is cryptic and community-specific.

The third sub-chapter (2.3) is "Atha liṅga Prakaraṇe Sarvanāmapādah" meaning 'declension of pronouns'. The study of this chapter shows that it is not confined to the declension of just the pronouns. The author has also included in this chapter, though very briefly, the description of nouns and formation of numeral adjectives. The adjectival use of pronouns in Kashmiri language has not been described in this chapter.

The title of third chapter is "Atha Samāsa Prakriyā" meaning 'formation of compounds'. Īśvar Kaul's classification of compounds is based on congruity and incongruity of words coming in close contact with each other. According to this classification compounds are of four types, viz., copulative, appositional, determinative, and, attributive. The author is silent about the formation of numerical and prepositional or adverbial compounds though they are very few in number. The logical order of compounds has also not been followed.

The fourth chapter is "Atha Taddhta Prakriyā" meaning 'formation of secondary derivatives'. The detailed examination of this chapter indicates that the author has grouped secondary derivational terminations into four types, viz., i) terminations employed with nouns, ii) terminations employed with pronouns, iii) terminations added to adjectives, and iv) terminations used with indeclinable forms. This chapter has 193 sutras in which the author has discussed a wide range of derivational secondary affixes of Kashmiri. Like Pāṇini, Īśvar Kaul's description of secondary derivatives also begins with the terminations which are employed to denote 'descendent of' a person, caste or creed, an animal or a bird. The author has also included in this chapter the description of declensional affixes,

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postpositional words, indeclinable words and primary stems which shows a deviation from the main subject.

The fifth chapter is a list of indeclinable words "Atha Avyaya Prakriyā". It contains only five sutras which provide a very brief description of the occurrence of adverbs in Kashmiri.

The sixth chapter "Atha Strīpratyaya Prakaraṇa" essays Īśvar Kaul's concept regarding use of the feminine suffixes and the changes caused in the internal structure of the root words. While exemplifying use of *-bāy* and *-kɔlay* the author quotes words like *baṭü bāy* and *baṭü kɔlay* which are unintelligible and in reality do not exist in Kashmiri.

The seventh chapter is "Ākhyāta Prakriyā". It has two sub-chapters. The title of the first sub-chapter is "dhātuh pāṭhah". Like Pāṇini's *dhātupāṭha* this sub-chapter of Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam contains a detailed list of verbal as well as nominal roots and stems used by Kashmiri speakers in their normal discourse. This sub-chapter is followed by the addendum of verb roots constituting the second sub-chapter of the seventh chapter.

Chapter eight is on verb morphology. The subject is discussed in four sub-chapters. The first sub chapter is "Ākhyāta Prakriyāyām Vartamānapādah" i.e., 'conjugation of verbs in present tense'. The present tense denoting affixes are classified into two groups, viz., i) general conjugational affixes which necessarily require the presence of subject denoting word in the sentence, and, ii) pronominal affixes which provide information about the person, number and gender of both, the doer of action as well as direct and indirect receivers of action. The second sub-chapter is "Ākhyāta Prakriyāyām Bhaviṣyatpādah" i.e., 'conjugation of verbs in future tense'. The author has discussed future tense in terms of imperative, potential, benediction and conditional moods and their types. This approach of author indicates that he does not consider the time of an action (tense) and the manner in which an action is done (mood) as separate from each other. "Ākhyāta Prakriyāyām Bhūtapādah", meaning 'conjugation of verbs in past tense', is the title of the third sub-chapter. In this chapter is discussed the conjugation of verbs in the Past tense. The author has discussed past tense terminations in terms

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of *bhūta*, *sāmānya*, *pūrṇa* and *apūrṇa* which correspond to *proximate past*, *aorist*, *past perfect* and *past imperfect* names respectively. The author has given a detailed description of the past tense denoting general as well as pronominal terminations of Kashmiri. The title of the fourth sub-chapter is "Ākhyātaprakriyāyām Hetupādah" meaning 'the formation of causatives' in Kashmiri. All verb roots of Kashmiri, primary as well secondary, can be converted into causative roots by the process of affixation. A causative affix is joined with the root by inserting *–ü* between the base and the affix or between two affixes. The author has misunderstood augment of *–ü* as *–an* (आव्यनागमः) which is inappropriate. In this work the correct form *–ü*, as is used in discourse, has been employed while explaining the sutras.

Chapter nine is titled "Atha KRdanta Prakriyāyā". It deals with formation of participles in Kashmiri. It has two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter is "Atha KRdanta Prakriyāyām KRtkriyā Pādah" meaning 'formation of participle verbs'. The participle verbs in Kashmiri are largely employed to take the place of present tense in the active constructions and perfect tense in the passive and impersonal constructions. As infinitives these generally express the purpose for which an action is done while as in the form of gerunds these denote the prior of the two actions done by the same agent. "Atha KRdanta Prakriyāyām Bhāvapādah" is the title of the second sub-chapter which deals with the 'formation of nominal stems' by appending primary derivational affixes to verb roots. The author has included in this list of the derived stems, the stems derived from the nouns or adjectives which otherwise belong to the category of the secondary derivatives and, therefore, should have been discussed at the appropriate place under the description of the secondary suffixes.

Chapter ten "Atha gaṇapāṭhah" is a classification of Lexical items of Kashmiri.

It is noteworthy that the vocabulary followed in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam has a Sanskritzed orientation and is specific to a particular socio-cultural and religious section of society. The words used as illustrations are usually shown as ending in *–u*. The propensity of the author to shift *-u-* from the medial position of the

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word to the final position indicates his insufficient understanding of the phonological structure of the Kashmiri word stock. The incorrect use of vowel signs and the terms wrongly spelled in the manuscript and reproduced in the edition of KaśmīraśabdāmRtam published by Nag Publishers in 1985 have not been followed in this analytical work except where ever needed for the purposes of explanation. Many words used in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam do not exist in Kashmiri, written or spoken in the valley. Quite a few words have been incorporated, though distortedly, from Persio-Arabic stock. For example the word *mait-un* in the sense 'lifelessness' (4/65 manuscript P. 106) does not exist in Kashmiri. However, the Persio-Arabic word *mayyat* is most commonly used for a 'dead body' by the Muslim speakers of the valley.

The study of the manuscript is replete with statements which lead to inevitable conclusions that Īśvar Kaul was probably not a speaker of Kashmiri language spoken in the valley of Kashmir. His mother tongue could have been any of the dialects of Kashmiri spoken in the Kashtwar-Doda region discernibly influenced by the Pahari dialects of Jammu region. This is corroborated by the author's statements and above all his Hindi translation of these statements like पच्यन छुह गरान (फट्टियों को गढता है manuscript P. 13) काछ्न छुह फुटरान (सागों की लकडियों को तोडता है manuscript P. 13), माजि हन्ज़ कोरि (माईकियां कुडियां manuscript P. 26) मालि सुन्द नेचुव (पिव का पुत्र manuscript P. 26), माजि हुन्द मोल (माई का पिव manuscript P. 27), गोव हन्ज़ वछ़ (गउ की बच्छी manuscript P. 27), नागुंच नारिज्य (चश्मेकियां नलियां manuscript P. 28), इयकुक रत (मत्थे का लहू manuscript P. 29), कृपारामत्र बेत्रि (कृपारामकियां भैनां manuscript P. 29) and so on. Similarly, the Kashmiri word for buffalo, as listed in Kashmiri Dictionary, is *māś* and not *mũṣ* as given by the author. In fact the words *mũś* and *meśkŏṭ* (मूंष, मैंष कोट 4/7 manuscript P. 86-87) cited by the author, are in use among the Kashmiri speakers of Kishtawar and Poonch regions. The word *māṣvith* does not exist in Kashmiri. It is interesting that the word *māṣvith* (9/1/10 manuscript P. 367) is commonly used by the speakers

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of Kashṭawar region while as it is also used, though rarely, by the Kashmiri speakers of the Poonch region.

Further, the addition of *–k̃ath* after *–ith* (परिथ क्यथ, करिथ क्यथ, दारिथ क्यथ, ख्यथ क्यथ manuscript P. 366-67) is neither found in use in the present day Kashmiri spoken in the valley of Kashmir nor is it seen employed in the literary masterpieces of Lalla Ded, Nund Rishi, Mahjoor or any other, past or present, poet or prose writer of the Kashmiri Language. The fact is that *-ith* followed by *–k̃ath* is actually used by the Kashmiri speakers of Kashtwar and its adjoining areas. This fact not only strengthens the inference that Īśvar Kaul might have not been a Kashmiri speaker of the Kashmir valley but also calls into question the correctness of the assumption of Dr. Sushila Sar that Īśvar Kaul hailed from Aalikadal, Srinagar in support of which she has not cited any credible evidence, written or otherwise.

There is no page numbering in the manuscript while as chapter and sub-chapter numbers are indicated at the end of the chapter and the sub-chapter. Each chapter as well as sub-chapter is concluded with these words: "इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते ------- प्रकिया समाप्ता meaning 'here ends the description of the chapter (titled---) in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of *śrī śāradā* region'. The page numbers indicated in the footnotes of this analytical study have been drawn from the copy of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam brought out by Nag publishers, Delhi in 1985.

The phonetically transcribed Kashmiri, Sanskrit, Persian words, linguistic and other technical terms and Sanskrit sutras /have been written in Roman small alphabetic letters in this study. This study is based on the modal adopted by Dr. George Cardona in his work "Pāṇini: His Work and Traditions" (two volumes). Besides, "Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages" (two volumes) by R.L. Turner, "History and Development of Bengali Language" (three volumes) by S.K. Chatterji, "A comparative grammar of Prakrit Languages" by Richard Pischel, "Linguistic Survey of India vol. viii" by Sir G.A. Grierson, Kewal Krishan Shama, "Kishtawari Bhasha"and "Kashmiri Dictionary" (seven volumes), published by

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J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, Kishtawari Bhasha have been specially useful in critically analysing KaśmīraśabdāmRtam. The "Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini" translated by S.M. Katre has given me a valuable insight about what a research work on the grammatical structure of a language should contain.

I acknowledge gratefully the help I received indirectly from the above mentioned scholars through their scholarly contributions.

I am greatly honoured to record my profound gratitude to Dr. Karan Singh for having graced this work with a Foreword. Dr. Karan Singh is scholar-statesman and a multi faceted personality universally respected for his wisdom and scholastic accomplishments.

I express my deep gratitude to my husband Dr. Vijay K. Kaul, who cheerfully accepted to stay alone and handle the routine domestic matters for a long period of ten months when I proceeded on the sabbatical leave, left my home and stayed in Jammu to complete this work.

Many friends and acquaintances, including Shree S. Bhat, have provided valuable support and encouragement which I will always cherish.

I had to stay away from my son Deeptanshu Kaul for about a year. He bore this separation with love and patience for which I am deeply indebted to him.

I duly acknowledge the support I received from University Authorities, University of Kashmir, in the form of grant of sabbatical leave for completion of this work.

Satyabhama Razdan

March, 2019

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Key to Symbols

The system for transcribing the Sanskrit, Kashmiri and Persio-Arabic words followed in this work is the Latin Extended A with necessary modifications as shown below:

i, ī represent the high front short and long vowels
ü, ū represent the high central short and long vowels
u, ū represent the high back short and long vowels
ĕ, e represent the mid front short (or unstressed) and long (or stressed) vowels
ə, ə̄ represent the mid central short and long vowels
ŏ, o represent the mid back short (or unstressed) and long (or stressed) vowels
a, ā represent the low central short and long vowels
ɔ represents the low back short vowel

/a/ is also used, in the medial position of the word, as an accented central vowel sound (phonetically transcribed as ʌ). It is like the close Sanskrit /a/ as heard in Hindi word *cal* (walk), *kar* (do) or English *hut, son* and Kashmiri *pakh* (walk), *par* (read) etc.

č, čh, z indicate dental affricate sounds and ś stands for palatal sibilant

A dot placed below a consonant such as ṭ, ṭh, ḍ and ṣ indicates that the consonant is an alveolar sound

A dot placed above the dental n → ṅ converts it into the velar sound

A horizontal line (-) placed above a short vowel shows that the vowel is long

The symbol (~) if placed above a vowel denotes that the vowel is nasalized. If it is placed above a consonant it means that the consonant is palatalized. The symbol (~) used in between two linguistic items such as words or affixes etc. denotes either of the two terms

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The symbol (√) means the verb root and (→) indicates 'the resulting form'

The comments, explanations and contentions of the author of this analytical study are given between symbols ▶ (beginning) and ◀ (end). Rest of the text is a faithful reproduction of the sutras of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam and translation thereof as close as possible.

देवनागरी लिपि में अंकित सूत्रों में प्रयुक्त कश्मीरी भाषा के विशेष ध्वनि–चिन्हः

ॱ / ॱ उच्च मध्य ह्रस्व एवं दीर्घ स्वर → तु॑र/तू॑र (*tür/tūr*)

ॱ / ॱ मध्य मध्य ह्रस्व एवं दीर्घ स्वर → त॑र/ता॑र (*tər/tār*)

ॱ मध्य अग्र ह्रस्व स्वर → खे॑ (*kh*)

ो॑/ो॒ मध्य पश्च ह्रस्व स्वर → ओ॑/ओ॒ दो॑द/दो॒द (*dŏd/dɔd*)

च/छ/ज स्पर्श–संघर्षी दन्त्य ध्वनियाँ → चो़र/छ़ान्ड/ज़र (*čor/čhāṇḍ/zar*)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Caus/caus	Causative
Comtr.	Commentator
Ed.	Editor
Fem.	Feminine
Mas.	Masculine
Mans./mans.	Manuscript
MIA	Middle Indo Aryan
NIA	New Indo Aryan
NP	Noun Phrase
OIA	Old Indo Aryan
p.	Page number
pim.	Passive impersonal
ptr.	Passive Transitive
Plu./plu	Plural
Sg./sg.	Singular
tran.	Transitive
VP	Verb Phrase
I	First Person
II	Second Person
III	Third Person

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CONTENTS

Foreword by Dr. Karan Singh	i-ii
Foreword by Dr. D. G. Rao	iii-iv
Preface	v-xiii
Key to Symbols	xv-xvi
Abbreviations	xvii-xviii
Introductory Chapter	
Inventory of Speech sounds	1-6
Chapter 1	
Sandhi	7-14
Chapter 2	
Noun Morphology	
2.1 Declension of Nouns	15-74
2.2 Vocative Terms	75-84
2.3 Declension of Pronouns	85-112
Chapter 3	
Formation of Compounds	113-128
Chapter 4	
Secondary stem Formation	129-196
Chapter 5	
Indeclinable words	197-202
Chapter 6	
Feminine affixes	203-216
Chapter 7	
Verb Morphology	
7.1 List of Verb roots	217-270
7.2 Addendum of Denominative roots	271-274

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Chapter 8
Conjugation of Verbs
8.1 Present tense 275-312
8.2 Future tense 313-336
8.3 Past tense 337-428
8.4 Causative Verbs 429-450
Chapter 9
Participles
9.1 Participle Verbs 451-478
9.2 Participle Nouns 479-516
Chapter 10
Classification of Lexical Items 517-521
Bibliography 522-528

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Introductory Chapter

Inventory of Speech Sounds

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Inventory of Speech Sounds[1]

Īśvar Kaul commences this *magnum opus* with the inventory of Kashmiri speech sounds. According to him, the Kashmiri alphabet consists of two types of letters, viz.,

i) Prasiddh varṇa (common letters)- *a ā i ī u ū ʀ ʀ̄ lʀ lʀ̄ e ai o au am ah k kh g gh ṅ c ch j jh ñ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v ś ṣ s h kṣ* [2]

ii) Aprasiddha varṇa (uncommon letters)- These are *ə ə̄ ɜ̈ ɜ̄̈ R̈ č čh z ñ and kṣ*

▶Thus, Īśvar Kaul's Kashmiri alphabet has 60 letters grouped as 14 vowels (*a ā i ī u ū ʀ ʀ̄ lʀ lʀ̄ e ai o and au*), 33 consonants (*k kh g gh ṅ c ch j jh ñ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v ś ṣ s h*), 1 consonant cluster (*kṣ*), *anusvār (am)* and *visarga (ah)*. Besides, it has 10 uncommon letters comprising 5 vowels (*ə ə̄ ɜ̈ ɜ̄̈ ʀ*)[3] and 5 consonants (*č čh z ñ kṣ*). The author has included in the list of speech sounds the voiced aspirated stops *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh* and *bh* which according to his opening statement, "काश्मीरभाषायां वर्गचतुर्थाक्षराणि क्वचिन्नोच्चार्यन्ते ऋकारश्च प्रसिद्ध– उच्चारणतया नशब्दायते इति बोध्यम्[4]" do not exist. Sound *ñ* is also not pronounced accurately as a palatal nasal. The author further says that *aprasiddha* (uncommon) letters are indicated with the help of certain notational marks above or below the letter.

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[1] a) *Om akṣarsaṅketa paripāṭīyam* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam - p. 3

b) Om is the sacred auspicious syllable uttered or used at the beginning of a prayer or work for removal of evils and obstructions.

[2] ---------- ibid --------- p. 3

[3] ---------- ibid --------- p. 3

[4] KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam (manuscript) - p. 2

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Īśvar Kaul's above cited description of speech sounds does not conform to the actual phonemic system of the Kashmiri language. Linguistic analysis reveals that Kashmiri has in total 15 vowel phonemes and 27 consonant phonemes including two semi vowels[5]. OIA *ʀ ʀ̄ lʀ lʀ̄, diphthongs*, *anusvār* and *visarga*, included by the author in his list of common letters, actually do not exist in Kashmiri. Similarly, consonant phonemes like *alveolar nasal* (*ṇ*) and *alveolar sibilant* (*ṣ*) are absent in Kashmiri while as */ṅ/* occurs only in the word medial position followed by a velar sound which in turn results in nasalization of the preceding vowel as in: *hāṅkal* or *hāṅkal ~ hãkal* or *hãkal* (chain like hasp for fastening the door); *kɔṅg ~ kõg* (saffron); *lŏṅg ~ lõg* (lame) etc. Consonant cluster *kṣ* is pronounced as *k̃h* (*khya*) and is found only in the Sanskrit based words (such as- *kṣaṇamātra* (a moment) → *k̃hanümātra*, *kṣamā* (forgiveness) → *k̃hamā*) prevalent among the Kashmiri Hindu speakers of the valley. Consonant clusters in Kashmiri usually consist of a consonant phoneme associated with the trill and occur in the word initial and medial positions only, e.g; *prār* (wait), *drŏg* (costly), *śrĕh* or *srĕh* (wetness, affection) etc. The author has also included, in the list of uncommon letters, the sounds like *ʀ ñ* and *kṣ* associated with a diacritical mark (ज़ ऋ क्ष) while as the fact is that there is no palatal nasal affricate *ñ*[6] or alveolar R seen used by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley. The palatal nasal *–ñ* is most commonly pronounced as dental *–n* combined with *–y* → *ny*. *kṣ* associated with a diacritical mark क्ष[7] is unintelligible. The author uses the terms प्रसिद्ध वर्ण (common letters) for the sounds which are more or less common to Sanskrit, Hindi, Kashmiri and most of the NIA languages such as *a ā i ī u ū e ai o au k kh g gh ṅ c ch j jh ñ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v ś ṣ s h*[8] and अप्रसिद्ध वर्ण (uncommon letters) for the sounds

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[5] Razdan S: Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p 19.

[6] KaśmīraśabdāmṛRtam - p. 3

[7] ---------- ibid -------- p. 3

[8] ---------- ibid -------- p.3

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which are specific to Kashmiri, such as *ü ṻ ə ə̄ ĕ ŏ ɔ* and the dental affricates *č čh z* etc. The alveolar *R* is pronounced as *ri* in Kashmiri.

According to the timing factor Kashmiri vowel phonemes are grouped as i) short vowels and ii) long vowels. The short vowels are eight in number viz., i ü u ĕ ə ŏ a ɔ while as the number of long vowels is seven and these are ī ṻ ū e ə̄ o ā. According to the height of the tongue, parts of the tongue involved and position of lips these vowel phonemes are classified as:

	Front	Central	Back
	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i ī	ü ṻ	u ū
Mid	ĕ e	ə ə̄	ŏ o
Low		a ā	ɔ

Kashmiri has also adopted */æ/* sound which occurs in free variation with */ə̄/* and applies only to English loan words of Kashmiri as in */bæṭh/ ~ /bə̄ṭh/* < English *bat.* The author is silent about this sound which suggests that inclusion of this sound must be a later development.

Besides, Kashmiri has vowels which differ from common vowels by having two special colourings i.e; nasalization and breathiness. Nasalization occurs when vowels are pronounced with simultaneous lowering of the soft palate. In this study it is denoted by placing a diacritical mark (~) above the letter representing ordinary vowel. The traditional Sanskrit grammarians used the term *Rakta* for nasalised vowels[9]. The distinction between ordinary vowels and coloured vowels is significant as it leads to differentiation in meaning. The examples are: *āṭh* (eight) and *ãṭh* (stone of the fruit); *śekh* (sweeper) and *śẽkh* (couch); *rag* (vein) and *rãg* (colour). All Kashmiri vowels, long and short, occur as nasalized as well. Breathiness occurs when vowels are produced with breath voice due to emission of more air than is needed to produce the ordinary vowels, such as-*phūr*

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9 *rakta samjño anunāsikah* : ʀkprātiśākhya – 1/17

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(throbbed) *phūhr* (coarse; rice burnt in the process of cooking). There is no description of these two colourings of vowels in the KaśmīrśabdāmRtam.

After giving inventory of Kashmiri speech sounds Īśvar Kaul illustrates use of the *aprasiddha* (uncommon) letters in words. But no different diacritical marks have been employed to indicate distinction in pronunciation between the various specific vowel phonemes except use of one single vertical line above in between two letters. Besides, the vowel (मात्रा) and other signs, relevant or irrelevant such as *halanta*[10] mark etc., have neither been employed correctly with the letters nor annexed appropriately with the letters. Instead, in most of the cases these have been used at the end of the word which leads not only to incorrect pronunciation of the word but also transfers the word to a meaningless unit. Thus, only a Kashmiri knowing reader can, with great difficulty, guess the actual word that too with the help of the Sanskrit equivalent given along with the word. The consonant letters specific to Kashmiri have been indicated by placing a dot below the consonant letter .The list of words given below will make the statement cogent:◀

Kashmiri words:

əgun əlat əśid üzul Ruth[11]

Sanskrit equivalents:

agnih alaktah āśvinah ujjavalah Rtuh[12]

▶The words illustrated above reflect author's incorrect perception of the pronunciation of Kashmiri vowel phonemes. These words are actually pronounced, by the native speakers of Kashmiri, as

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[10] In Panini's system *halanta* is a technical expression for a consonant. Hence, the use of *halanta* mark is most commonly used in Sanskrit and very rarely in Hindi. But it has altogether vanished in the modern vernaculars including Kashmiri.

[11] This word is missing in the handwritten manuscript of KaśmīraśabdāmRtam while as it is listed at p. 3 in the copy reproduced by Nag publishers, Delhi.

[12] ---------- ibid --------- p. 3

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əgün (sacred fire), *alütü*[13](red dye); *āśid* (Kashmiri name of seventh month of the Śaka calendar and sixth month of the Vikrama calendar), *vɔzul*[14] (red) and *ɾ̃ath* (month) respectively. Other vowel signs have also been employed in the similar manner,◀ e.g.,

Kashmiri words:

Rəth pepu tənu dārū ürū[15] *tūr kRəm kəri pəpi dəri kRm*

Sanskrit equivalents:

Rtuh pakvah tanuh śmśruh bhaktah[16] *śītam valayāh pakvāh dRḍh kūrmah*

▶These words are actually pronounced as *ɾ̃ath* (month) *pŏp* (ripe) *tŏn* (thin, lean, watery) *dār* (beard); *tūr* (cold) *kəɾ̃* (bracelets) *pəp̃* (ripe plu.) *dəɾ̃* (hard mas./ fem. Plu.) *krüm* (insect) respectively. The author mentions *bhaktah* as Sanskrit equivalent of *ürū* which is not correct. Sanskrit *bhakta* as a noun means 'boiled rice' or 'wages' and as an adjective it means 'devoted, loved, allotted or distributed'. In Kashmiri, there is no word like *ürū* which could be semantically matched with Sanskrit *bhakta.* However, *vər* is a Kashmiri salty dish of rice and entrails of sheep or walnut kernels cooked together. The dish is specifically prepared and distributed among the neighbours and relatives to mark the commencement of a ceremony or an auspicious occasion such as marriage and yajñopavīta ceremonies or

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[13] *altā* is a red resin of certain trees applied to feet as myrtle particularly by the women of Bihar, Bengal, Odisha, Maharashtra, and some other states of India (except J&K) as a mark of being married and in the blessed state of life when her husband is alive. The word is basically a developed form of Sanskrit *alaktakah*. But, the word is not in use in Kashmiri.

[14] In Sanskrit inherited as well as Persio-Arabic loan words of Kashmiri *-u* in the word initial and medial positions frequently passes to *-vɔ* and *-ɔ* respectively as in - *OIA ulūkhalam → Kashmiri vɔkhul; Per. ustāda → Kashmiri vɔstād; OIA guṇ → Kashmiri gɔṇ* etc.

[15] Unintelligible word.

[16] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam (manuscript p. 3)

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housewarming etc. The word, therefore, must be *vər* and not *ürū* or *üru* as conceived by the author.◄

Kashmiri words:

kərū dəru dərū pəpū čarū čharū zarū poñ kəru[17]

Sanskrit equivalents:

valayah dRḍhā dRḍhah pakvā bahu riktam badhirah pānīyam aprasūtā

►These words are used as *kŏr* (bracelet) *dər* (hard fem.sg.) *dŏr* (hard mas.sg.) *pəp* (ripe fem. sg.) *čŏr* (more mas. sg.) *čhŏr* (empty mas.sg.) *zŏr* (deaf mas. sg.) and *poñ* (water) respectively. *kərū* or *kər* is unintelligible and does not impart the meaning of Sanskrit *aprasūtā* as shown by the author.[18]

It is noteworthy that most of the above illustrated words have been listed with *–u*, long or short, at the end which has rendered these words as meaningless units. The reason is that in Kashmiri, *-u/-ū* very rarely occurs at the word final position. The author's proclivity towards ending the words in *–u* indicates his insufficient perception of the phonemic and phonological peculiarities of the Kashmiri language.

At the end of the chapter the author says that the signs annexed to letters in the above cited illustrations denote vowels while as the letter with a dot beneath it should be recognized as a consonant. Vowel signs ि *(i)*, ु *(u)*, and ू *(ū)*, should be recognized as are employed in ऋ *(ri)*, ऋु *(ru)* and ॄ[19] *(rū)* respectively.◄

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[17] ---------- ibid -------- p. 3

[18] --------- ibid -------- p. 3

[19] --------- ibid -------- p. 3

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Chapter 1

Sandhi

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1
Sandhi [1]

▶ The manner in which *sandhi* occurs in Kashmiri is discussed in this chapter of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam. According to Īśvar Kaul सन्धिसिद्धिःपदेषु[2] sandhi occurs in the internal structure of a *pada*[3] न वाक्येषु[4] not in the sentences.

Īśvar Kaul's description of sandhi needs to be analyzed in the context of the accepted definition of sandhi in Sanskrit. The term *sandhi* is derived from the Sanskrit verb root √*dhā* (to join) preceded by prefix *sam* (together) परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता[5]. Thus, *sandhi* means coalescence or euphonic junction of two letters coming in immediate contact with each other. Pāṇini uses the word *samhita* for sandhi which means the extreme contiguity of letters.

The term *pada* in Sanskrit grammar denotes a complete or inflected word that can be segmented into morphemes. A *pada,* therefore, is combination of at least two morphemes, one free form (a nominal or verbal base) and the other bound form (a derivational or inflectional affix) or both free forms. The collision of the final letter of the preceding morpheme and initial letter of the following morpheme results in the combinatory phonemic transformation of the

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a) *tatrādau* i.e., in the beginning (of the work) or the first chapter (of the work). The term does not exist in the hand written manuscript of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam but it exists, before the title, in the reproduced copy published by Nag Publishers Delhi.

b) *atha sandhiprakaraṇam* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 4

2 *sandhihsiddhihpadeṣu*: --------- ibid -------- 1/1 p.4

3 *suptiṅantampadam:* Pāṇini – 1.4.14

4 *navākeṣu*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 1/2 p.4

5 *parah sannikarṣah samhitā* : Pāṇini 1.4.109

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two letters within the internal structure of the *pada*. However, *sandhi* cannot be performed in the sentence which is combination of the syntactic units ending in declensional or conjugational terminations.

Rules of *sandhi* are language specific. The traditional Sanskrit grammarians have grouped *sandhi* into three classes viz, i) *svar* sandhi i.e; combination of two vowel phonemes, long or short, similar or dissimilar, ii) *hal sandhi* i.e; combination of two consonant phonemes and, iii) *visarga sandhi* i.e; a *visarga*[6] followed by a vowel or a consonant. The same process of *sandhi* applies to the *tatsam* vocabulary of Hindi while as other NIA languages show considerable variations.◀

Īśvar Kaul describes rules of *sandhi* in Kashmiri as follows:

व्यंजनंपरेणसन्धेयम् -३[7]. According to this sutra the initial letter of the second component combines with the final consonant of the preceding noun, as in *tāp+uk* → *tāpuk* (pertaining to sunshine), *kar+yān* → *karyān* (√do remote past, III person singular).

►In Kashmiri the actual word for sunshine is '***tāph***' and not '*tāp*' as assumed by the author. The use of *-uk* in the genitive masculine singular sense is quite common in Kashmiri. It is added to the abstract, material and immovable masculine common nouns, qualitative adjectives and adverbs denoting place, time and direction, such as *lūṭuk* (of plunder); *tīluk* (of oil); *makānuk* (belonging of house); *gāmuk* (one who belongs to village); *śāmuk* (of evening); *yoruk* (belonging to this direction) etc. The fusion of the initial *–u* of *-uk* and final consonant of the preceding word gives rise to some combinatory morphophonemic changes within the structure of the word to which *-uk* is added. These are for example the aspiration of the final consonant of the abstract noun is dropped before the fusion of *–u*, such as; ***tāph*** (sunshine) + *uk* → ***tāpuk***; ***lūṭh*** (plunder) + *uk* → ***lūṭuk*** where as it is retained in case of the other nouns as in ***vuṭh*** (lip) + *uk* → ***vuṭhuk***. The initial low central vowel *a-* before the final consonant of the noun is replaced by mid central vowel *ə-* and the

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[6] Consonant ending in a distinct hard aspiration

[7] *vyañjanampareṇasandheyam*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 1/3 p.4

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final consonant is palatalized, as in: *az* (today) + *uk* → *əzuk*. If the noun ends in high central vowel *-ü*, it is dropped and *-u* of *uk* blends with the final consonant of the first component, e.g; *ḍakü* (forehead/husband) + *uk* → *ḍakuk*.

Īśvar Kaul's remote past termination *-yān* is actually a pronominal suffix which does not make the verb root fit for use in the longer constructions i.e, clauses, sentences etc. In Kashmiri, the terminations used to denote the aorist or remote past are of two types, viz; i) *subject ending,* and, ii) *object ending*. The subject ending terminations are added to the intransitive roots and agree, in number, gender and person, with the subject of the active and impersonal constructions, e.g; ***su gəyo sŏkūl yĕli su ləkuṭ śur os*** (he did go to school when he was a small child) ***čĕ*** ti ***gĕvŏth*** (you Ins. also did sing). The object ending terminations are added to the transitive roots and agree in number, gender and person, with object of the action in the passive construction, e.g., *təm̃* ***pañ̃o akhübār*** (he Ins. did go through the newspaper) *tami* ***pañ̃o akhübār*** (she Ins. did go through the newspaper). Thus, *-yo* and its regional variant *yā* is the most commonly used first and third person (mas.) object ending termination to denote the aorist/remote past tense.[8] These and similar other formations indicate that blend of *-yo* ~ *-yā* or any other suffix beginning with *-y* results in transformation of the simple consonant into palatalized consonant. Īśvar Kaul is silent about the above cited and even other possible morphophonemic changes which occur due to collision of *–y* with the final consonant of the first component. Further, the conjugational terminations are employed to make the verb roots fit for use in sentences. The author further says पदेषु किम्[9] meaning whether fusion of phrases in the longer constructions is permitted? In this regard he says that in a sentence like *tim āy* (they came), the syntactic units end in the nominal and verbal terminations respectively. In such cases *sandhi* is not permitted.◀

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[8] Razdan S: Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 223

[9] *padeṣukim* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: p.4

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असवर्णेऽकारस्य लोपः –4[10]. *–a* is dropped if it is followed by a dissimilar vowel and the following vowel blends with the preceding consonant. The illustrations are *ḍaka+uk → ḍakuk* (of the forehead) *gāṭa+ul → gāṭul* (sagacious).

►The words illustrated by the author have high central short vowel *-ü* at the end and not low central short vowel *-a* as stated by him. Further, it is noteworthy that vcv, cvc or cvcv structure is the bedrock of word formation in Kashmiri. The syllabic structure like vvc, vcc or cvv is absent in Kashmiri. Hence not only *-ü* or *-a* but any vowel sound at the final position of the word is dropped if it is followed by another vowel sound. The author repeats पदेषुकिम्[11] to indicate that *sandhi* is not possible between longer constructions such as *čü vɔlü* (you come). The author adds that this rule applies irregularly (क्वाचित्क) because there is no separate rule for *-u* and other dissimilar vowels.[12] It is noteworthy that this statement is missing in the manuscript while as it figures in the printed version of the KaśmīrāśabdāmRtam.◄

स्वरः सवर्णेदीर्घपरलोपौ –5[13]. According to this sutra if a vowel is followed by a similar vowel, it transforms into the similar long vowel while as the vowel following it is dropped, e.g., - *karān - chy -ā* and *achi -iṭ* change to *karānchyā* and *achīṭ* respectively. But, *sandhi* is not possible in constructions like *pačhi –im* (these guests).

►Īśvar Kaul's statement is not acceptable. According to the accepted *sandhi* rules if a simple vowel, short or long, is followed by a similar vowel, short or long, the substitute for both of them is the similar long vowel[14]. Thus, if the similar long vowel takes the place of both, question of deletion of following vowel does not arise. In addition, the illustrated forms *karān- chy-ā* and *achi - iṭ* are misinterpreted and do not show any junction of two similar short or

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[10] *asavarṇeakārasyalopaḥ*: -------- ibid ------- 1/4 p. 4
[11] *padeṣukim* : ------- ibid -------- p.5
[12] ---------- ibid ------ p. 5..
[13] *svarahsavarṇedīrghaparalopau* : ------- ibid ----- 1/5 p. 5
[14] *akahsavarṇedīrghaḥ*: Pāṇini : 6.1.101

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long vowels. In Kashmiri, the actual word for 'eye' is a consonant ending form *əch* and not a vowel ending form *achi* as cited by the author. Similarly, the auxiliary *ch* does not possess *y* at the end. Lengthening of the preceding vowel and deletion of the following vowel is, therefore, imaginary. This sutra of Īśvar Kaul seems imitation of Pāṇini's sutra अकः सवर्णेदीर्घः[15] which the author tries to apply to the Kashmiri vocabulary without any logic.

In *pačhi*[16] *im*[17] also both the constituents are wrongly interpreted. These constituents are actually pronounced as *pəčh̃* and *yim*. Besides, the word order of this construction deviates from the actual word order of a noun phrase. In Kashmiri, unlike Sanskrit, order of words in the phrases and sentences is fixed. Any change in the order of the words makes the construction unintelligible or converts it into a meaningless fragment. The Kashmiri noun phrase (NP), like English and most of the NIA languages, consists either only of a noun as in *pəčh̃* (guests) [NP] or an adjective + a noun as in *yim pəčh̃* (these guests). *vət̃* (arrived) is a verb phrase [VP]. Thus, the correct word order of *pačhi im* is *yim pəčh̃.*◄

अकारेऽकारलोपः –6[18]. According to this sutra *-a* is dropped if it is followed by *-a* as in *gara– an → garan.*

►This sutra does not exist in the manuscript but is included in its reproduced version published by Nag Publishers, Delhi. However, It is pertinent to mention that in the above cited example the final sound of the first component is actually *-ü* (and not *a*) – *garü* (home) which, if followed by *–an →*, is dropped according to context of speech, such as- *garan manz* (in homes) and *garü an* (bring to home).◄

अकार इकार ए; उकारो ओ; –7/8[19]. According to author if *-a* is followed by *-i* or *–u*, it changes to *-e* or *-o* respectively while as the following letter is dropped (अकारइकार परे एकारो भवति

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[15] ---------- ibid ----------

[16] This word is pronounced as *pəčh̃*

[17] The term *im* is incorrect and the actual word is *yim* (these)

[18] *akāreakāralopah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 1/6 p.5

[19] *akāraikāra e ; ukāro o*: --------- ibid ------- 1/-7/8 p.5-6

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परलोपश्च)[20] as in *cya – in → cyen* (*drank* pronominal plu.) and *khya – un → khyon* (*ate* pronominal sg.).

►Both these sūtras are in consonance with Pāṇini's sutra आद्गुणः[21]. According to this sutra when *a or ā* is followed by *i, u,* or *R,* short or long, the corresponding *guṇa* letter i.e; *e, o* or *ar* takes the place of both such as: *upa + indra → upendra; hita + upadeśa → hitopadeśa; mahā + Ŕśi → maharśi* etc. Īśvar Kaul's illustrated forms do not justify his assertions. According to his sutra, *-a* followed by *-i* or *-u* changes into *-e* or *-o* respectively while as the fact is that both these verb roots, √*cĕ* (to drink) and √*khẽ̆*, have *-ĕ* at the final position and not *-a* as assumed by Īśvar Kaul. Possibility of transformation of *a + i* or *u* into *-e* or *-o* is, therefore, not justified. Besides, the palatal sounds like *c, ch, j* and *ś* do not occur combined with the semi vowel *-y* in Kashmiri as given by the author.◄

एकारो ऐ; ओकारो औ –9/10[22]. If *-a* is followed by *-e* or *-o*, it is replaced by *-ai* or *-au* respectively, such as *ga – ey → gaiy* (they went)[23]; *pya – ey → pyaiy* (they fell down)[24]; *ga – ov → gauv*(he went)[25]; *pya ov → pyauv* (he fell down)[26].

►Īśvar Kaul has created this sutra on the analogy of Pāṇini's sutra वृद्धिरेचि[27] which means that when *-a* or *-ā* is followed by *-e* or *-ai, -o* or *-au, -ai* and *-au* are in sequence substituted for both. Pāṇini's rule is comprehensible through the illustrations given in support of his sutra.[28] But Īśvar Kaul's sutra is unintelligible for the reasons that diphthongs like *ai* and *au* are absent in Kashmiri. The verb roots are misconceived by the author as the actual verb roots are *gačh* and *pĕ* respectively and not *ga* and *pya* as assumed by the author. Neither of

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[20] *akārikār pare ekārobhavatiparlopaśca*: ---------- ibid --------- p. 5
[21] *ādguṇah* :Pāṇini : 6.1.87
[22] *ekāro ai;okāro au* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 1/-9/10 p. 6
[23] --------- ibid ---------- p. 6
[24] --------- ibid ---------- p. 6
[25] --------- ibid ---------- p. 6
[26] --------- ibid ---------- p. 6
[27] vRddhireci : Pāṇini : 6.1.88
[28] Such as *KRṣṇā+ekatvam = KRṣṇaikatvam; sā+eva = saiva etc.*- Pāṇini : 6.1.88

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these roots ends in *-a* or *-ā* as conceived by the author. Similarly, the past tense forms of these verbs are *gav ~ gŏv* and *p̃av ~ p̃ŏv* and not *gauv* or *pyauv* as illustrated by the author.◀

इकारोऽसवर्णेयोऽपरलोपः – 1 1 [29]. When *-i* is followed by a dissimilar vowel, *-y* is substituted for *-i* and deletion of the following vowel is nullified as in *kari – uk → karyuk*[30].

▶As stated earlier, use of *-uk* is quite common in Kashmiri. This suffix is added to words of time, direction and place in the adjective – genitive.[31] The illustration cited by Īśvar Kaul's is not clear because the actual word seems to be *kar* (when) and not *kari* (logs) as cited by the author. However, here are given a few illustrations to make the above cited rule clear: *tati* + *uk* → *tat-y-uk* (belonging to that place) and *tĕli* + *uk* → *tĕl-y-uk* (of that time). According to Pāṇini's इकोयणचि[32] when *i, u, R* and *lR,* short or long, are followed by a dissimilar vowel, *-y,-v,-r* and *-l* are respectively substituted for them and the following vowel blends with *-y,-v,-r* or *-l* such as *sudhī* + *upāsyah* → *sudhyupāsyah* (adored by the wise) etc. In Kashmiri, the substitution of *-y* for *-i* gives rise to a very significant morphophonemic change in the structure of the first component of the word and that is *-y* converts into the palatalization of the preceding consonant. Thus, the resulting forms are – *taĩuk, tĕĩuk* etc. Similarly, the forms like *nari* (arms) + *an* → *naĩan* (to arms), *kori* (girls) + *an* → *koĩan* (to girls) etc. make the observation clear.◀

उकारो वः – 1 2[33]. According to this sutra if *-u* followed by a dissimilar vowel, it changes into *-v*.

▶This rule hardly applies to Kashmiri. The reason is that there are only two words in Kashmiri which have *–u* at the end and these are *hu* (he within the range of sight) and *su* (he beyond the range of sight). The quoted illustration *karān chuā ~ chavā* do not justify the

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[29] *ikāroasavarṇeyoaparalopah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 1/11 p. 6
[30] ---------- ibid -------- p. 6
[31] Razdan S: Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 129
[32] *Ikoyaṇaci* : Pāṇini : 6.1.77
[33] *ukāro vah* : KaśmīrāśabdāmRtam: 1/12 p. 6

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author's observations. The author repeats that in phrases such as *kati - āya* and *paṭu*[34]*- an sandhi* is not possible. In addition, the word *paṭu* (woolen cloth) is misspelled. It is actually pronounced as *pŏṭ*. ◄

►The study of this chapter shows that Īśvar Kaul's knowledge regarding oral factors and distribution of Kashmiri vowel sounds is inadequate and that is why he does not make any distinction between the high central (*ü ṻ*), mid central (*ə ə̄*) and low central (*a, ā*) vowels, *ɔ, ŏ* and *v, ĕ* and *y* etc.. According to his statements these vowels possess the same vowel quality which is not correct. As regards the distribution of vowels, *-u* and *-ɔ* do not occur in the word initial position while as *-ṻ -ə -ū* and *-ŏ* do not occur in the word final position. *-u* occurs very rarely in the word final position. It is because of the author's insufficient knowledge regarding the linguistic peculiarities of the Kashmiri vowel sounds that the *sandhi* rules conceived by him do not accord with the illustrations cited in support of his sutras. Besides, most of his sutras show similarity with those of the Aṣṭādhyāyī to such an extent that it will not be an exaggeration to conclude that Īśvar Kaul has tried to assimilate Kashmiri *sandhi* rules to Pāṇini's methodology. This attempt of Īśvar Kaul is erroneous in the light of the fact that every language generates its own rules and methods according to its linguistic peculiarities.◄

The author has concluded this chapter with these words: (इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते सन्धिप्रकरणम्[35]) 'here ends the description of *sandhi* in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śrī śāradā* region'.

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[34] It is actually pronounced as *pŏṭ* (woolen cloth).

[35] KaśmīrāśabdāmRtam: p. 6

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Chapter 2

Noun Morphology

2.1 Declension of Nouns

2.2 Vocative Terms

2.3 Declension of Pronouns

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2.1
Declension of Nouns[1]

▶The second chapter of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam deals with declension of the nouns, adjectives and pronouns. The subject is discussed under three sub-titles viz; *2.1 Liṅga pādah; 2.2 sambuddhi pādah,* and, *2.3 sarvanāma pādah.* This sub-chapter i.e; *Liṅga pādah* throws light on the inflectional affixes added to the crude forms of nouns to denote their gender, number and case relations.

Nouns are classified as into two groups viz;

i) Those which name the objects and are called appellatives or substantives, and,

ii) Those which describe the qualities of the object and are called attributives or adjectives.

This sub-chapter mainly deals with the declensional morphology of appellatives in Kashmiri.

Morphologically nouns are of three types in Kashmiri, viz; i) simple words, ii) compound words, and, iii) derived stems. All common nouns in Kashmiri are simple words, e.g., *marüd* (man), *śur* (child), *kul* (tree), *běñi* (sister), *gur* (horse), *chān* (carpenter), *kāv* (crow), *kaṭh* (sheep) etc. Collective nouns in Kashmiri are either simple words carrying the meaning of a collection of persons or objects taken together as one whole such as *lūkh* (people), *māl* (garland) etc. or compound words formed by compounding with the common nouns the forms like *-vŏṭ* (string), *-k̃hŏl* (herd), or *-g̃əḍ* (cluster/bundle) as the second component such as *dandüvŏṭ* (row of teeth), *kaṭük̃hŏl* (herd of sheep), *ziñg̃əḍ* (bundle of fire wood) etc.

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[1] a) *atha liṅgaprakaraṇe liṅgapā*dah: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: p. 8
b) The noun morphology

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Nouns are also derived by appending the derivational affixes to the nominal or verbal bases, such as- *māj -ton* → *mājiton* (motherly), *śrūč –ar* → *śročar* (purity, sanctity), *nač –un* → *načun* (dancing) etc. Īśvar Kaul's description covers the declension of common nouns only.◄

The author, in the beginning of the chapter says- अकारान्तानां प्रथमैकबहुत्वे लिंगवत् –1[2]. It means that the nominal bases ending in *-a* decline in the nominative singular and plural according to their respective genders, such as- *ḍ̃ak* (forehead), *b̃añ* (sister).

►Gender in Kashmiri is of two types viz; i) natural gender, and, ii) grammatical gender. A large number of nouns are masculine and feminine when referring to male and female objects respectively such as *marüd – zanānü* (man – Woman); *necuv – kūr* (son – daughter); *dā̃d – gāv* (bull – cow); *totü - hār* (parrot – myna) etc. Besides the natural gender, feminine basis are also derived from the masculine forms by the process of affixation such as *dā̃dur* (male vegetable seller) → *dā̃dürĕñ* (female vegetable seller/vegetable seller's wife). The terminations, which are employed to form the feminine bases, are separately discussed in the chapter on 'feminine suffixes'.

There are two numbers in Kashmiri viz; singular and plural. The formation of plurals depends on gender as well as the terminations of singulars in different case forms. Following the traditional and elaborate declensional system of Sanskrit Īśvar Kaul lists eight cases which in reality do not exist in Kashmiri. The fact is that, like most of the NIA languages, Kashmiri has preserved very little of the declensional system of OIA. During the MIA period the first transformation was the total loss of the dative case *(sampradāna kāraka)* and the substitution of genitive *(sambandha kāraka)* for it. In its onward march the other case forms also began approaching closer to one another by degrees and in the course of time they lost the distinctness of OIA and as a result considerable confusion crept in. The terminations, which had been originally very difficult, merged

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[2] *Akārāntānām prathamaikabahutve liṅgavat* -------- ibid ------ 2/1/1 p. 8

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eventually into one form which constitutes the oblique case of the NIA languages. Like other NIA languages Kashmiri also records only four cases in each number viz; nominative, oblique, instrumental and vocative.

The nominative plurals in Kashmiri are of two types viz; i) *sound plurals,* and, ii) *broken plurals.* Sound plurals are formed by adding suffixes to the singular forms while as the broken plurals are formed by altering the sounds or sound patterns of masculine and feminine singular forms. A large number of masculine and feminine singular nouns ending in consonants, semi vowels or vowel *-i* and *-ü* occur in the same forms in the nominative plurals[3].

The above cited sutra refers to the nominative sound plurals formed by appending *zero* (θ) termination to the nominal bases. It is noteworthy that the nominal bases in Kashmiri are either consonant ending or vowel ending. Vowel ending bases mostly end in short vowels other than *u,ĕ,e,ɔ,ŏ,o* or *a*. Īśvar Kaul's statement 'nominal bases ending in *-a* is, therefore, incorrect. The illustrations like *ḍ̃ak* (forehead, mans. P.6) and *b̃añ* (sister, mans. P.6) quoted by the author in support of the sutra also do not justify his view point. The reason is the given nouns have *–ü → ḍ̃akü* and *–i → bĕni* at the end and their plurals are formed by the addition of *-θ* termination. In addition, the nominative plurals of common nouns, which have a consonant or a semi vowel *y,v* at the end, are also formed by the addition of *zero* (θ). For more perspicuity the use of *zero* (θ) termination in Kashmiri is illustrated as follows:

Nominative singular	*Nominative plural*
garü (home)	garü
candü (pocket)	candü
athü (hand)	athü
vāzü (cook)	vāzü
kāv (crow)	kāv
kan (ear)	kan
bādām (almond)	bādām

[3] Razdan S: Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 154

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vāzü (cook)	vāzü
mɔkhütü (pearl)	mɔkhütü
bar (door)	bar
čūr (thief)	čūr
vəthür (leaf)	vəthür
mām (mother's brother)	mām
p̃ətür (father's brother)	p̃ətür
əch (eye)	əch
r̃ath (month)	r̃ath ◀

ऊदन्तानां पुंसि –2[4]. The singular and plural forms ending in *-ū* in the first case may be assumed as masculine forms. In his explanation of the sutra the author says, "in this grammar of the Sharada region the gender differentiation is determined according to the final *--i* and *-u* vowel signs of the base and not according to the whole word (तत्तन्मात्रिकान्तमेव बोध्यम् न तु सम्पूर्णम्)"[5]. This process converts the vowel associated with the preceding letter into uncommon letter and that uncommon vowel should be understood as the protracted form (*-a3*) of short *-a* (पूर्ववर्णसंबन्धिनः स्वरस्य अप्रसिद्धता विज्ञेया सा च अकारप्लुतत्व शब्दवद्भवतीति....)[6] such as- *dānū* (pomegranate) → *dānū* (pomegranates) *baḍü* (great/elder/older fem. sg.) → *baji* (fem. plu.).

►Īśvar Kaul's assumptions are not tenable. The reason is that *-ū* does not occur in the word final position in Kashmiri. The nominal bases also do not end in the vowels *a,i,u,ĕ,e,ɔ,ŏ* or *o*. Consideration of uncommon vowels *ü, ǖ, ə,ə̄* as protracted forms (*a3*) of *a* is misconceived. The fact is that the vowels conceived as protracted forms by the author are actually high central *ü, ǖ* and mid central *ə, ə̄* short and long vowels respectively while as *a* and *ā* are low central vowels. Protracted form of *a* means to pronounce the above quoted names as *da3nū* and *ba3dū* which is not correct. Protracted vowels are absent in Kashmiri. The actual Kashmiri name for pomegranate is

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[4] *ūdantānām pumsi* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/2 p. 8
[5] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 8
[6] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 8

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dān (nom. mas. sg. & plu.) and not *dānū* as cited by the author. Similarly, the nominative mas. and fem. singular words for 'great or elder' is *bŏḍ* and *bəḍ* repectively and not *baḍū* as given by the author. The plural of the adjective *bŏḍ/bəḍ* (mas./fem.) is formed by replacing the vowels *–ŏ* and-*ə* preceding the final consonant of the bases by *-ə* and *–a* (as in *bəḍ̃/baji*). The forms show that the consonant *–ḍ* at the end of the base words is palatalized in the masculine plural while as it is converted into the corresponding palatal stop in the fem. plural.◄

व्यंजनान्तानां च –३[7]. The consonant ending masculine nouns also occur in their base forms in the first case[8] singular and plural, such as-*day* (God) *day* (Gods).

►As explained earlier, the nominative plural of masculine nouns, which have a consonant or a semi vowel at the end, is also formed by the addition of *zero* (θ). The example *day* quoted by the author in support of his contention does not match with the sutra. The reason is that the word '*day*'(God) is employed only in the singular form. However, the statement could be better exemplified by the following examples:

Nom. sg.	*Nom.plu*
dand (tooth)	dand
kaṭh (sheep)	kaṭh
süč (tailor)	süč
vay (a herb)	vay
dəriyāv (river)	dəriyāv
vɔstād (teacher)	vɔstād
drāl (broker)	drāl.◄

इ प्रत्ययस्याकारो व्यंजने –४[9] According to author's explanation of this sutra if a masculine noun has vowel *–a* or a consonant at the end and is followed by affix *–i*, it (affix *–i*) changes into *–a*, as in *gar*

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7 *vyañjanāntānām ca* : -------- ibid -------- 2/1/3 p. 9

8 Nominative case

9 *i pratyayasyākāro vyañjane* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/4 p .9

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sūtin, vāl sūtin[10]. The author says that *i -sūtin* suffix is appended to nouns like *gar* and *vāl*. *-s* of *sūtin* causes *-i* to change into *-a*. The resulting forms, therefore, are *gara sūtin* and *vāla sūtin*. According to author (अकारव्यंजनान्तानां किम्[11]) this rule does not apply to nouns whose final letter is not a consonant or a consonant associated with *-a*. The example is *guri sūtin* (with the horse), *guri loyu* (the horse kicked). The example of feminine noun is *māli sūtin* (by rosary).

▶These assertions of the author are not tenable. The reason is that *-sūt̃* or *-sūtin* is the instrumental case denoting post positional word and not an affix as assumed by the author. *-i sūtin* is incorrect and change of *–i* into *–a* is, therefore, baseless. Īśvar Kaul's statement "if *-i sūtin* is added to the masculine names ending in a consonant or vowel *-a*, the initial *-i* of this suffix changes into *–a*" has no linguistic basis. The names such as *gar* or *gara* (home, house) which, according to author, is consonant or *--a* ending base, is actually pronounced as high central short vowel *-ü* ending → *garü*. The instrumental postpositional word *-sūt̃* or *-sūtin* is not added directly to the base. It is rather placed after the oblique form of the nouns ending in a consonant or a vowel sound. The examples are: *śur* → *śuris -sūt̃* / *-sūtin*, *rām* → *rāmas -sūt̃* / *-sūtin*, *mol* → *mālis -sūt̃* / *-sūtin*, *nər* → *nari -sūt̃* / *-sūtin*, *athü -sūt̃* / *-sūtin*; *athü -sūt̃* / *-sūtin* etc.

It is, thus, obvious that in this sutra the author refers to the third case relation called the instrumental case, or, according to the traditional grammarians, *Karaṇa Kāraka*[12]. The instrumental case is primarily used to express the agent (when the construction is objective or impersonal) or the means by which an action is done. Besides, the instrumental case is also used to express the accompaniment. Here, it is worthwhile to briefly describe the instrumental terminations and their use in different types of sentences which would help the readers understand the grammatical structure of the Kashmiri language and Īśvar Kaul's contribution there to.

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[10] ---------- ibid --------- p .9

[11] ---------- ibid --------- p. 9

[12] *kartR karṇayos tRtīyā* : Pāṇini – 2.3.18

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Syntactically, the instrumental case in Kashmiri can be classified into three classes, viz; i) subjective, ii) objective, and, impersonal. In subjective construction, the verb, transitive or intransitive, except √as (to laugh), √nač (to dance), √vad (to cry), √kaś (to scratch), √liv (to mud wash), √l̃av (to lick), and √nam (to salute/bow/bend), agrees with the subject in present, past (in case of intransitives other than those cited above) and future tenses. The subject occurs in the nominative case. Thus, instrumental subjective takes the same terminations which are employed to form the nominative sg. and plu. forms. In the objective construction the verb (transitive) agrees with the object in the past tense and the subject occurs in instrumental case. The subject of impersonal construction occurs in instrumental case and intransitive verbs √as, √nač, √vad, √kaś, √liv, √l̃av, and, √nam are employed in the past tense only. In the objective and impersonal constructions the subject takes the following instrumental case terminations:

Singular Terminations:

-an:

This termination is suffixed to masculine bases to form objective and impersonal instrumental singular terms, such as-

Nom. sg.	*Inst. sg.*
kāv (crow) -an	kāvan (by the crow)
kātib (calligrapher) -an	kātiban (by the calligrapher)
marüd (man) -an	marüdan (by the man)
duśüman (enemy) -an	duśümanan (by the enemy)
ləḍükü (boy) -an	ləḍükan[13] (by the boy)
śodü (cranky) -an	śodan (by the cranky)
čūr (thief) –an	čūran (by the thief)

-i :

This suffix is added to feminine stems. In this process the high back or mid central vowel (*-u,-ū/-ə,-ə̄*) preceding the final consonant

[13] Final *-ü* is dropped in as much as two vowel sounds do not occur combined together in Kashmiri.

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changes into mid back or low central vowel (*-o/-a* short or long) respectively, e.g.,

Nom. sg.	*Inst. sg.*
kūr (girl/daughter) -i	kori (by the girl/daughter)
nər (arm) -i	nari (by the arm)
māj (mother) -i	māji (by the mother)
pəz (she monkey) -i	pəzi (by the female monkey)

Palatalization of final sound:

The instrumental sg. forms of masculine names ending in a dental, sibilant or trill sound, are formed by the process of palatalizing the final sound of the nom. sg. stem such as:

Nom. sg.	*Inst. sg.*
dūn (bedding maker)	dūñ (by the bed-maker)
põz (he monkey)	pəz̃ (by the monkey)
hos (elephant)	həs̃ (by the elephant)
gur (horse)	guř (by the horse)

Plural Terminations:

There is only one instrumental plural termination *-av* which is added to the nominative plural stems of all classes of nouns. If the stem ends in *-i*, addition of *-av* causes palatalization of the consonant preceding affix *-i*, e.g.,

Nom. plu.	*Inst. plu.*
kāv -av	kāvav (by the crows)
zanānü –av	zanānav (by the women)
kori –av	koř̃av (by the girls)
həs̃ –av	haš̃av (by the elephants)

In constructions other than objective and impersonal, a detachable postpositional word *sūt̃ / sūtin* is placed after the oblique form to express accompaniment and the means or instrument by which the action is done. The oblique form is not a direct derivation of any particular case of OIA or MIA. As stated earlier, a general fusion of various cases of OIA constituted the oblique case of Modern Indian vernaculars. The oblique in Kashmiri is the fusion of accusative, dative, ablative, and locative cases while as fusion of genitive is

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optional. In order to express fully the various case relations Kashmiri has also adopted the method of adding detachable postpositional words to oblique stems. These post positional words will be discussed at the appropriate places in the present chapter.◀

न संख्यावाचिभ्यः –5[14]. According to this sutra affix *-i* does not change into *-a* with the names of numerals ending in a consonant as in *sati sūtin, eṭhi sūtin*[15](divided or multiplied by seven/eight).

▶The cardinal numbers in Kashmiri are used attributively as well as mathematically. In the attributive use they usually precede the substantives they qualify. All cardinals are uniform in both the genders. The cardinal number *akh* (one) declines in singular only while as *zü* (two) and onward numbers decline in the plural number. They agree in case with the substantives to which they are applied. Accordingly, if the substantive (qualified) is the instrument of action, the numeral preceding it (qualifier) also assumes the instrumental form. Thus, the oblique terminations are added to both, the qualified (substantive) as well as the qualifier (numeral) and instrumental post positional word - *sūt̃* is placed after the oblique form of the qualified. Given below are a few illustrations to make the statement perspicuous:

Attributive use:

Masculine sg./plu.-

Nominative:	akh lədük**ü** chu gindān	(one boy is playing)
	sath lədük**ü** chi gindān	(seven boys are playing)
Oblique:	ək**is** lədük**as** di kelü	(give banana/s to one boy)
	sath**an** lədük**an** di kelü	(give banana/s to seven boys)
Instrumental		
i) *Accompaniment*:	ək**is** lədük**as**-*sūt̃ āv*	(came along with a boy)
	sat**an** lədük**an** *sūt̃ āv*	(came along with seven boys)
ii) *Instrument of action:*	ak**i** kalüm**ü** -sūt̃ chu lekhān	(writes with one pen)
	sat**av** kalüm**av** -sūt̃ chu lekhān	(writes with seven pens)

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[14] *na sankhyāvācibhyah*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/5 p. 9

[15] Actual pronunciation is *āṭh* and not *eṭh* as given by the author.

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iii) a) *Objective*	ək̃ ləḍükan pər kitāb	(one boy went through the book)
	satav ləḍükav pər kitāb	(seven boys went through the book)
b) *Impersonal use*:	ək̃ ləḍükan nŏč	(one boy danced)
	satav ləḍükav nŏč	(seven boys danced)
Feminine sg./plu.-		
Nominative:	akh kūr chi gindān	(one girl is playing)
	sath kori chi gindān	(seven girls are playing)
Oblique:	əkis kori di kelü	(give banana/s to one girl)
	satan kor̃an di kelü	(give banana/s to seven girls)
Instrumental		
i) *Accompaniment*:	əkis kori *-sūt̃ āv*	(came along with a girl)
	satan kor̃an *-sūt̃ āv*	(came along with seven girls)
ii) *Instrument of action:*	*aki salüyi -sūt̃* chi vonān	(knits with one needle)
	satav salüyav -sūt̃ chi vonān	(knits with seven needles)
iii) *Objective*	əki kori pər kitāb	(one girl went through the book)
	satav kor̃av pər kitāb	(seven girls went through the book)
b) *Impersonal use*:	əki kori nŏč	(one girl danced)
	satavn kor̃av nŏč	(seven girls danced)

Mathematical use:

When cardinals are employed mathematically, they occur as instruments of action especially in the sense of *multiplication* and *division*. In that sense the instrumental termination *–i ~ -yi*[16] is suffixed to the cardinal number and the instrumental post positional word *-sūt̃* follows the *–i ~ -yi* suffixed numeral. For example: *śĕyi sūt̃ dis zarüb tü āṭhi sūt̃ karus takhsīm* (multiply by six and divide by eight). It is in place to mention that the postpositional word *sütin*, as employed by Īśvar Kaul, and *sūt* are semantically synonymous.◄

[16] *-i* and *-yi* are differentiated according to consonant ending and vowel ending bases respectively, e.g; *čor-i- sūt̃, tre – yi - sūt̃* etc.

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इतो लोपः –6[17]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra "if *–i* sūtin is suffixed to a feminine noun ending in *–i*, the *-i* suffix is dropped and the medial *-ū* changes into*–o*" such as – *pothi sūtin.*

▶The word for 'book' (especially book or booklet containing hymns chanted at Hindu religious ceremonies) is actually pronounced as *pūt̃h* which indicates that the given noun has a palatalized dental voiceless aspirate (*t̃h*) at the final position and not *-i* as assumed and illustrated (*pūthi*) by the author. The addition of oblique singular termination *-i* to *pūt̃h* and other such feminine bases causes deletion of palatalization of the final consonant of the base. In addition, vowels like *ū, ə,* and *ə̄* preceding the final consonant of the feminine bases are replaced by *o, a* and *ā* respectively while as *-ü*[18]remains unchanged. The examples are: *pūt̃h* (book) → *pothi*; *lũg̃* (sash worn by Kashmiri Hindu women round their waist on their traditional apparel) → *lõgi*; *dūt̃* → *doṭi*; *čər* → *čari*; *māj* → *māji*; *tür* (rag) → *türi* etc.

यडगावथर्क्चठ्वडभ्य ऊकारमात्रादेशः –7[19]. Addition of *-i sūtin* to words like *yaḍ* (tummy), *gāv* (cow), *thar* (back), *kɔṭh* (a medicinal plant) and *vaḍ* (deceit) causes *-i* to convert into *-ū* which combines with the final consonant of the base. The resulting forms are - *yəḍū sūtin*, *govū sūtin*, *tharū sūtin*; *kɔṭhū sūtin* and *vaḍū sūtin* (यडशब्दात् इसूतिन प्रत्ययः अनेन इकारस्य ऊ मात्रादेशः see mans. p. 8)

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions are inapt. As stated earlier, *-ū* does not occur in the word final position in Kashmiri. The above quoted forms are misconceived and, thus, incorrectly cited by the author. The instrumental postpositional word is *sūt̃* or *sūtin* which is, as stated and exemplified earlier, placed after the oblique form of a noun and not after the base of a noun. *-i sūtin* is not correct. The words like *yaḍ* and *gāv* fall in the category of broken plurals and accordingly their oblique singulars are formed by making some phonemic alterations in

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[17] *ito lopah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam: 2/1/6 p 10

[18] Razdan S. – Kashmiri Grammar: History and Structure p. 159

[19] *yaḍgāvtharkaṭhvaḍbhya ūkāramātrādeśah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam: 2/1/7 p. 10

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the internal structure of the base. For example: *yaḍ* → *yəḍ sũt̃/sũtin*; *gāv* → *gəv sũt̃/sũtin*. Addition of *-i* and its replacement by *-ū* is, therefore, imaginary and incorrect. The word *thar* is an adverb of direction denoting back side. The word *vaḍ* has become obsolete and is not found in Kashmiri spoken by common masses. This probably could be a dialectal term. ◀

उदन्तानाम् लिंगवदेकत्वमेव –८[20]. The masculine nouns ending in *-u* occur in the base form in nominative singular such as *kəru* (bracelet).

▶ The sutra is inapt. The reason is, as stated earlier, in Kashmiri, *-u* occurs very rarely in the word final position. The word for bracelet, in Kashmiri, is *kŏr* and not *kəru* as inferred by the author. ◀

स्त्रियामिदूदन्तानामनाजशब्दानाम् –९[21]. According to this sutra the feminine forms ending in *-i* and *–u*, except *nāj* (veins/arteries), occur without any addition or alteration in nominative sg. such as *pūthi* (book), *pəṭu* (timber plank). Their plu. forms are *poth̃* and *pacya* respectively. The example of masculine sg./plu. is *bāčū* (family members).

▶ The illustrations cited in support of the sutra do not match with the author's statement. In fact, none of the above cited illustrations show, in actual use, the presence of *-i* or *–u* at the end of the base. These forms sound as *pūth̃* and *pəṭ* respectively and their nominative plurals are formed by addition of affix *–i*. In this process the palatalization of the final consonant, as discussed earlier (see 2/1/6) is dropped while as the alveolar stop *-ṭ* converts into the corresponding palatal stop *-c*. The resulting forms, therefore, are *pothi* (books) and *paci* (timber planks) respectively and not *poth̃* and *pacya* as illustrated by the author. The author's statement नाजशब्दं वर्जयित्वा (except the noun *nāj*)[22] is not clear because this term also declines on the pattern of *pūth̃* and *pəṭ*, such as- *pūth̃* → *pothi*, *poth̃an*, *poth̃av*; *pəṭ* → *paci*,

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[20] *udantānām liṅgavadekatvameva* : ---------- ibid ----------: 2/1/8 p. 10

[21] *striyāmidūdantānāmanājśabdānām* : ---------- ibid ---------- 2/1/9 p. 10 (manuscript p. 8)

[22] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam Manuscript p. 8

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pacan, *pajcav*; *nāj* → *nāji*, *nājan*, *nājav* etc..The Kashmiri word for 'family members is *bāč*. ◀

व्यंजनान्तानां च −१०[23]. The consonant ending feminine bases occur in the basic form in nominative singular, such as *krakh* > *krakh* (an outcry). Its nominative plural is formed by deleting the aspiration of the final consonant, e.g; *krakh* > *krak*.

▶In Kashmiri almost all nouns occur in their base form in the nominative singular. In the nominative plural the palatalization or aspiration of the final consonant of the base is usually dropped and a plural denoting suffix is added. For lucidity given below are a few examples:

Nom. sg.	*Nom. plu.*
pũ̃th (book)	pothi (books)
lũ̃g (part of a Kashmiri dress)	lõgi (sash)[24]
krakh (an outcry)	krakü (clamorous cries)
vath (path, road)	vatü (paths, roads)

The words cited above clearly show the presence of nominative plural suffixes *-i* and *–ü*. The author is silent about the addition of plural denoting affixes after the deletion of aspiration of the final consonant of the base. It is also possible that the deletion of the aspiration of the final consonant of the base is caused by the addition of plural denoting affixes. The word *krak*, as cited by the author, is incorrectly perceived.◀

बहुत्वेऽकारागमः −११[25]. *-a* is added to *–i*, *-u* and consonant ending feminine bases to form their plurals. The examples are *pothya* (books), *pacya* (planks), *krak* (clamorous cries). The author further says that *–a* is added to *-ū* ending *pəṭū*, *–ṭ* is converted into *–c*, according to sutra 30 *-ū* is changed into *–i* which, according to 1/10, converts into *-y*

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[23] *vyañjnāntānām ca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/10 p. 11

[24] Colored sash worn by Kashmiri Hindu married women on their apparel

[25] *bahutve akārāgamah* : ---------- ibid ---------- 2/1/11 p11

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►The examples cited by the author do not prove his assertions. As stated above (sutra 9), none of the nouns in Kashmiri, cited by the author as examples, is *idanta* or *ūdant* (ending in *-i* or *-ū*). The plurals of *pūṭh* and *pəṭ* are *pothi* and *paci* respectively which indicates that the nominative plural denoting affix *–i* is added and not dropped or converted into *–y* as assumed by the author. Addition of *-a*, conversion of *–u/ū* into *-i* and then into *-y* is, therefore, baseless.◄

न्प्रत्यये सर्वत्र –12[26]. *-n* is added to all masculine and feminine bases to denote the accusative case. Besides, *-a* is augmented before *-n*. The illustrations are – *guryan chu khasān* (IIIrd sg. mounts horses), *koryan chu rachan* (III plu. fosters girls), *kaṭan chu mārān* (III plu. slaughters sheep).

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions regarding case forms in Kashmiri are faulty. The fact is that, as stated earlier, Kashmiri has only four cases viz; nominative, oblique[27], instrumental and vocative. In addition, various detachable postpositional words are employed with the oblique forms of nouns to express the different case relations. Thus, it seems in place to give a description of the terminations employed in Kashmiri to form oblique singular and plural forms which would help the readers to understand this and other following sutras easily:

Singular Terminations:

-as:

This termination is appended to masculine nominative singular names to form their oblique singular forms, e.g.,

Nom. sg.	*Obl. sg.*
kāv (crow) – as	kāv**as**
kətib (calligrapher) -as	kətib**as**
marüd (man) -as	marüd**as**
duśüman (enemy) -as	duśüman**as**

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[26] *n pratyye sarvatra* : -------- ibid -------- 2/1/12 p11

[27] Oblique is the fusion of accusative, dative, ablative, genitive and locative cases in Kashmiri.

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ləḍükü (boy) -as	ləḍükas[28]
śodü (cranky)-as	śodas
čūr (thief) -as	čūras
inüsān (human) -as	inüsānas

-i:

This termination is suffixed to the feminine singular names to constitute their respective oblique singular terms, such as –

Nom. sg.	*Obl. sg.*
kūr (girl/daughter) -i	kori
nər (arm) -i	nari
māj (mother) -i	māji
pə̃z (she monkey) -i	pə̃zi
čər (sparrow) -i	čari
hūñ (bitch) -i	hoñi
gür (mare) -i	güri

The addition of *-i* causes some phonemic changes i.e; *-ū*, *-ə* and *-ə̄* before the final letter change into *-o*, *-a* and *-ā* respectively. *-ü* remains unchanged.

-is:

It is suffixed to those masculine singular names whose final consonant is immediately preceded by *-u*, *-ū*, *-ŏ* or *-o*. This process causes some phonemic changes in the internal structure of base, i.e., *-ə* and *-ə̄* are substituted for *-ŏ* and *-o* respectively while as *-u* and *-ū* remain unchanged, e.g.,

Nom. sg.	*Obl. sg.*
hŏs (elephant)-is	həsis
põz (he monkey) -is	pə̃zis
voñ (grocer) -is	vānis
śur (child) -is	śuris
gur (horse) -is	guris
gūr (milkman) -is	gūris
dūn (bedding maker) -is	dūnis

[28] *-ü* at the final position of the stem is dropped

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Plural Terminations:

-an:

This termination is appended to masculine sg./plu. bases. The addition of *-an* causes certain changes in the base, i.e., the final *-ü* is dropped, *-u* before the final consonant is replaced by *-ü*, and, aspiration of the final consonant is irregularly dropped, e.g ;

Nom. sg/plu.	*Obl. plu.*
kāv (crow) – an	kāv**an**
kātib (calligrapher) -an	kātib**an**
marüd (man) -an	marüd**an**
duśüman (enemy) -an	duśümana**n**
ləḍükü (boy) -an	ləḍük**an**
śodü (cranky) -an	śod**an**
gagur (rat) -an	gagür**an**
čūr (thief) -an	čūr**an**
insān (human) -an	insāna**n**
ř̃ath (month) -an	ř̃at**an**

-an is suffixed to the nominative plurals of all pronouns except the personal pronouns of first and second person, e.g.,

Nom. plu.	*Obl. plu.*
tim (they) -an	*timan*
küm/kam (who) -an	*küman/kaman*

-an is suffixed to nominative masculine plurals ending in palatalized consonants. In this process -ə and *-ə̄* near the final consonant is replaced by *-a* and *-ā* respectively while as *-u* and *-ū* remain unchanged, e.g;

Nom. plu.	*Obl. plu.*
vəč̃h (calves) -an	vač̃h**an**
phət̃ (baskets) -an	phat̃**an**
vāñ (grocers) -an	vāñ**an**
āl̃ (nests) -an	āl̃**an**
ṭūř̃ (bowls) -an	ṭūř̃**an**
śup̃ (winnowing baskets) –an	śup̃**an**
śuř̃ (children) -an	śuř̃**an**

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guṟ̃ (horses) -an **guṟ̃an**

If *-ū* is followed by *-ñ*, it changes to *-o*, e.g.,

ḍūñ (walnuts) -an ***ḍoñan***

-an is suffixed to nominative feminine plurals ending in *-i*. The coalescence of final *-i* of the stem and initial *-a* of the suffix results in the palatalization of the consonant preceding *-i*, e.g.,

Nom. plu.	*Obl. plu.*
kori (girls/daughters) -an	***koṟ̃an***
ṭopi (caps) -an	***ṭopa̰n***
gabi (female sheep) -an	***gaba̰n***

Given the above cited illustrations it is clear that the oblique plural suffix is *-an* and not *-n* plus augment of *-a* (नप्रत्ययेपरे अकारागमो भवति)[29]as assumed by the author. These assumptions have unnecessarily made the simple descriptions complicated and inexplicit.◄

नोदन्तानांपुंसि –१३[30]. It means that *-a* is not added to the masculine forms ending in *-ū*, e.g; *dānün chu k̃havān* (eats/ is eating pomegranates), *lārün chu k̃havān* (eats/is eating cucumbers).

►The analysis of Īśvar Kaul's assertions show that augment of *-a* is inappropriate. The pronunciation of the illustrated words is misconceived by the author. The words *dān* (pomegranate mas. sg./plu) and *lār* (cucumber mas. sg./plu) are basically consonant ending terms and not *-ū* ending as given in the sutra. Eatables, when employed as objects of action, occur in the nominative case in Kashmiri, such as- *batü chu k̃havān* (eats/is eating food), *čɔci chu k̃havān* (eats/is eating bread). The sentences *dānan chu k̃havān* or *lāran chu k̃havān* framed by the author are structurally incorrect. The correct and accepted structure of these sentences is: *dān chu k̃havān* (he eats/is eating pomegranate/s) *lār chu k̃havān* (he eats/is eating cucumber/s).◄

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[29] KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 12

[30] *nodantānām pumsi* : ---------- ibid -------- 2/1/13 p. 12

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कृतादेशव्यंजनान्तेभ्यश्च–१४[31]. According to this sutra *-a* is not inserted before *-n* if the noun is consonant ending (एषां व्यंजनांतानां लिंगानामादेशः कृतो भवति), e.g; *rāt*[32] → *rāčn chu parān* (he studies during nights), *grand* → *grənzn chu vuchān*[33] (he oversees counting), *kɔth* → *kɔčhn chu vuṭhān* (he is twisting the tangled threads). According to Īśvar Kaul this rule is specific to some nouns ending in a consonant while as other nouns show insertion of *–a,* such as- *pacyan.*

►Īśvar Kaul's sutra does not bear any linguistic authenticity. The declined forms illustrated in support of the sutra are also not correctly constituted. In view of the description of the oblique plural formation in Kashmiri described earlier, *-an* is appended, irrespective of consonant or vowel ending criteria, to all nouns. The oblique plurals of nouns like *rāth*, *kɔth* and *grand* are *rāčan*, *kɔčhan* and *grənzan* respectively. These words also show conversion of dental stops (*t, th, d*) into their respective dental affricates (*č, čh, z*).◄

वा गंञ्जगांसबांचहांञ्जभ्यः –१५[34]. *-a* is optionally added to the masculine forms like *gənz* (currier), *gās* (hay/grass seller), *bāč* (family members) and *hānz* (boatman) and their declined forms are *gənzn/gənzan chu mārān* (kills the curriers), *bāčn/bāčan chu pyatarān* (looks after the family members) and *hānzn chu rachān* (takes care of boatmen) etc..

►The words cited as illustrations do not justify the sutra. These words are actually pronounced as *gənz, gās, bāč,* and *hãz* and their oblique plurals are *gãnzan, gāsan, bāčan* and *hãzan* respectively. Optional occurrence of *-a* or *-ā* (as in *gānzün, gāsün, bāčün* and *hānzün*) is neither correct nor is prevalent in speech.◄

कृतादेशानामूमात्रा आगमः –१६[35]. According to this sutra, *-ū* is augmented after the nominative plurals of consonant ending nouns.

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[31] *kRtādeśavyañjanāntebhyaśca* : ---------- ibid ------- 2/1/14 p. 13

[32] Actual pronunciation is *rāth.*

[33] The sentence cited by the author is inexplicable.

[34] *vā ganzūgāsūbāčūhānzūbhyah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/15 p.13

[35] *kRtādeśānāmūmātrā āgamah*: -------- ibid -------- 2/1/16 p.14

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The illustrations given in support of the sutra are – *rāt*[36] (night) → *rāčū, sat* (hope) → *sačū, grand* (counting) → *grənzū, hān* (loss/harm) → *hāñū.* According to author, addition of *ū* makes the preceding vowel to convert into uncommon vowel (ऊमात्रान्तत्वेपूर्वस्वरस्या–प्रसिद्धता)[37].

▶These illustrations are basically examples of broken nominative plurals which are formed by altering the vowel or consonant sounds in the internal structure of the nominative singular forms. The addition of *-ū* is incorrect and plurals of *rāth, sath* and *grand* are pronounced as *rāč, sač* and *grənz* respectively. The conversion of low central vowels (*–a, -ā*) preceding the last consonant of the base into (*aprasiddha*) mid central vowels (*-ə, ə̄*) is discernible.◀

यडगावक्वठ्यर्वडां च कृतादेशविधिः –17[38]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of this sutra addition of *-a* is rejected with nouns like *yaḍ* (tummy), *gāv* (cow), *kɔṭh* (a medicinal plant), *thar* (back side) and *vaḍ*. However, *-ū* is added to these nouns also, e.g; *yaḍū, gāvū, kɔṭhü, tharū, vaḍū.*

▶This sutra is a repetition of 2/1/7 and has already been explained. The illustrated words occur, in instrumental plural, as *yaḍ* → *yaḍav/yəḍav*, *vɔḍ* → *vɔḍav* and *gāv* → *gāvav* and, thus. show addition of the instrumental plural suffix *-av*. *kɔṭh* and *thar* are employed in singular number only. Addition of *-a* or *-ū* is misperceived.◀

खार्मार्सार्शादीनां च –18[39]. *-a* is rejected and *-ū* is added to the consonant ending feminine bases like *khār* (a measure of weight of grains equal to 80 kg), *mār*[40] (waterways), *sār* (wooden beam/truss/rafter), *rāś* (zodiac signs) and other alike bases.

▶This sutra is a mixture of words with different phonemic structures. For example in *khār* and *rāś* the final consonant follows

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[36] Actual pronunciation is *rāth , sath*

[37] KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam: p.14

[38] *yaḍgāvkvaṭhtharvaḍām ca kṚtādeśavidhih*: ------- ibid ------- 2/1/17 p.14

[39] *khārmārsārrāśādīnām ca*: --------- ibid ------- 2/1/18 p. 14

[40] Actual pronunciation is *mār* and *sār*

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low central long vowel *-ā* while as in *mār* and *sār* the final consonant follows mid central long vowel *-ā*. Accordingly two different rules apply to form their nominative plurals. For example the plural of *khār* → *khār* is a broken plural while as the plural of *rāś* → *raśi* is formed by addition of *–i*. *mār* and *sār* accept *-θ* termination and occur unchanged in the nominative plural. The instrumental plural affix *–av* is appended to the nominative plural of all nouns, such as- *rāśav sũt̃*, *khārav sũt̃*, *mārav sũt̃* etc. ◀

हान्तानां शश्च –19[41]. Explaining this sutra Īśvar Kaul says that *-a* is rejected and *-ū* is added to *-h* ending feminine bases to form their plurals. In this process the final *-h* changes into *-ś*, such as- *kāh* (eleventh day of either half of a lunar month) → *kāśū*, *bāh* (twelfth day of either half of a lunar month) → *bāśū*, *pāh* (manure) → *pāśū* [42].

▶ It is to be noted that replacement of final *-h* of the base by *-ś* is optional. The examples quoted by the author are the names of dates of the Hindu calendar. But, the forms conceived by the author do not match with the forms which are actually used by the Kashmiri speakers in their discourse. Rejection of *-a* and addition of *-ū* is a surmise. The plurals of *kāh* → *kāś*, *bāh* → *bāś* and *pāh* → *pāś*[43] are examples of broken plurals. *–av* is added to form their Instrmental plurals, such as- *kāśav sũt̃*. ◀

ऊकारादौकारस्य वत्वम् –20[44]. If *-ū* is followed by *–au*, it converts into *-v* with all masculine and feminine forms. The examples are *rāčau sūtin* (with nights), *yəḍüv/ pučhya* (for tummies), *dānūv sũtin* (with pomegranates), *bāčūv sũt̃* (by/because of family members).

▶ Īśvar Kaul's assertions are not justified. According to this sutra *-au* is appended to *-ū* ending nouns. But, the nouns illustrated by the author in support of the sutra are actually pronounced as *rāth* (night), *yaḍ* (tummy), *dān* (pomegranate), and *bāč* (family member) and not as *rātū*, *yəḍū*, *dānū* and *bāčū* as cited by the author. All these stems

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41 *hāntānām śaśca*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/19 p.15

42 ---------- ibid ---------- p.15

43 It is expressive of the varieties of manure.

44 *ūkārādaukārasya vatvam* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/20 p.15

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have a consonant at the word final position. In actual use *-ū* is entirely absent in all these bases. Diphthongs like *-ai* and *–au* are absent in Kashmiri. *-ū* followed by *-au* is thus, inconceivable and linguistically unauthentic. Semantically these illustrations refer to the instrumental and dative cases. The instrumental plural termination is, as elaborated upon earlier with illustrations, *-av* (see 2/1/4) which is added to all classes of nouns. The dative case is expressed by the oblique form followed by the dative case relation denoting post positional word *kũt / kič*. The dative case relation is also expressed by the genitive denoting term followed by the postpositional word *puč̃h*, such as- *śuṟ sündi puč̃h* (for child's sake). The above illustrated nouns are declined in the instrumental plural, as shown earlier also, like *rāth – av → rəčav; dən –av → dənav; bəč –av → bəčav, yaḍ -av → yəḍav.*◀

ऊदितोरकारागमः स्त्रियां सकारे –21[45]. According to author's explanation of this sutra *-a* is appended to *-ū* and *–i/ī* ending feminine nouns. The accusative denoting affix *-s* is dropped with all feminine names (ऊकारान्तस्येकारान्तस्य च लिंगस्य सकारे परेऽकारागमो भवति स्त्रियाम्। स्लोपः स्त्रियां सर्वत्र). The examples are: *paṭū* (plank) → *paci*; *tañū* (lean) → *tañi*; *haṭū* (piece of timber) → *haci*; *pūt̃h* (book) → *pothi*. In his explanation of the sutra Īśvar Kaul says that *-s* is suffixed to denote the second (accusative) case. In case the base is a feminine noun, this *-s* is always dropped and the final *-ṭ* is replaced by *-c*. *-ū* changes into *-i* and then to *-y* while as the preceding *-ū* converts into *-o*.

▶Īśvar Kaul's sutra is inexplicable and his explanation of the sutra is flawed and incomprehensible. The examples given in support of the sutra are not compatible with the contents of the sutra as none of these words end in *-ū* or *–i/ī*. Augment of *-o* is indistinct. Addition of suffix *-s* and its deletion in case of the feminine bases is conjectural. Change of *-ū* into *-i* and finally into *-y* is intricate and unintelligible. The reasoning given by Īśvar Kaul is faulty in as much as he has tried to apply the Pāṇinian rules and style to the grammar of

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[45] *ūditorakārāgamah striyām sakāre* : --------- ibid -------- 2/1/21 p.15

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the Kashmiri language which is different from Sanskrit and has its own linguistic peculiarities. Īśvar Kaul has, thus, rendered the simple descriptions into complicated and incomprehensible statements. The crude forms and oblique plurals of the above cited examples are *pəṭ* → *paci, təñ* → *tañi, həṭ* → *haci, pūṯh* → *pothi* respectively. These illustrations indicate that the termination *-i* is affixed to the feminine sg. bases whose final consonant is preceded by *-ə* or *-ə̄*. In this process *-ə* and *-ə̄* are replaced in order by *–a* and *-ā* e.g., *čər* (sparrow) → *čari*, *dəj* (handkerchief/a piece of cloth) → *daji*, *gəb* (she sheep) → *gabi*, *nər* (arm) → *nari*, *nə̄r* (pitcher) → *nāri*, *və̄j* (ring) → *vāji* etc. *-i* is also added to feminine sg. bases whose final consonant is either a palatal or an alveolar sound and is preceded by *-ɔ,-u or -ū*. In this process *-ū* converts into *-o*, e.g., *mɔṭh* (fist) → *mɔchi*, *kuch* (grain store) → *kuchi*, *dūj* (wooden slate) → *doji*, *kūr* (girl/daughter) → *kori*, *hūñ* (bitch) → *hoñi* etc.◀

ऊदन्तटवर्गस्य चवर्गः प्रथमाबहुत्वादिषु –22[46]. The alveolar stops (*ṭ, ṭh, ḍ*) followed by *-ū* of the feminine singular bases are replaced by the corresponding palatal stops (*c, ch, j*) in the first case (nominative) plural etc. The examples cited by Īśvar Kaul in support of the sutra are: *paṭū* →*pacya chyah* (wooden planks are), *pacyan chu garān* (chisels the wooden planks), *pacya sūtin* (by the planks); *kāṭhū* → *kachyan chu phuṭarān* (breaks the woods of vegetables सागों की लकडियों को तोडता है[47]), *baḍū* → *bajyan chyu dapān* (tells to the elderly) etc.

▶This sutra is a repetition of what has been described and analyzed till now. The words quoted above to explain the sutra are wrongly conceived and thus, misrepresented by the author. In Kashmiri the palatal sounds do not occur associated with *–y* while as in the above quoted words the palatal sounds *c, ch, j* are interpreted as associated with *–y* (पच्यन, काछ्यन, बज्यन[48]) which indicates

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[46] *ūdanta ṭavargasya cavargah prathamābahutvadiṣu* : -------- ibid -------- 2/1/22 p.16

[47] -------- ibid -------- p. 16

[48] -------- ibid -------- p. 16

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authors insufficient knowledge regarding the phonological and morphological structure of Kashmiri word stock. The sentences given above are incorrectly formulated. The constructions like *pacyan chuh garān, pacya sūtin, kāchyan chu phuṭrān,* and *kāchi sūtin* are not only grammatically incorrect but the words in these sentence also lack compatibility of sense. For example, the verb *phuṭarān* indicates 'breaking or ripping of a solid substance' such as walnut, almond, glass etc., while as the stalk of a vegetable (काछि) is either chopped or cut off from its leafy part. Thus, *kāchyan chu phuṭrān* lacks syntactic as well as semantic fitness. In actual use the sentence would be ***kāchi chu katürān / katürāvān*** (III per. mas. sg. chops the vegetable stalks) or *kāchi chu čaṭān* (III per. mas. sg. cuts apart the vegetable stalks). Similarly, other sentences are also grammatically incorrect. In actual use these sentences are employed by the Kashmiri speakers as- *paci chu garān* (he chisels / is chiseling planks), *paci / pacav* (sg./*plu.*) *sūt̃* (by the timber plank/planks), and, *kāchi / kāchav* (*sg./plu.*) *sūt̃* (by the vegetable stalk / stalks). Besides, the alveolar stops at the word final position are replaced by the corresponding palatal stops irrespective of *ūdantaṭavarga*[49] or any other distinguishing factor. The constructions like *pacyan chuh garān* and *kachyan chu phuṭarān* and above all the Hindi translation of these sentences फट्टियों को गढ्ता है and सागों की लकडियों को तोडता है given by the author clearly indicate that the author might have not been a Kashmiri speaker of the Kashmir province. ◄

तवर्गान्तानामप्रसिद्धः −२३[50]. This sutra is in continuation to the previous sutra. It means that the dental stops (*t, th, d*) at the word final position of the feminine bases are replaced by the corresponding dental affricates (*č, čh, z*).

►Īśvar Kaul uses the word *aprasiddha varṇa*[51] for dental affricates in order to differentiate them from the palatal stops. The

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[49] Alveolar stops associated with *-ū*

[50] *tavargāntānāmaprasiddhah* : -------- ibid -------- 2/1/23 p.17

[51] *Aprasiddho dantyah* : --------- ibid -------- p.17

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illustrations quoted are *rāth* → *rāč, rāčan, rāčav*[52] and *grand* → *grənz, grənzan* and *grənzav*[53] etc.

Further, in his explanation of the sutra Īśvar Kaul says that *-n* is replaced by *-ñ* as in *čāman* (cheese) → *čāmüñi sūt̃, īran* (pillar of a house) → *īrañi sūt̃*. But, these examples do not match with the above sutra because of the expression *aprasiddha varṇa* which signifies the replacement of dental stops by the dental affricates while as replacement of *-n* by *-ñ* signifies the replacement of dental nasal by palatal nasal. However, the words quoted above signify the instrumental singulars declined by palatalizing the final dental nasal of the base[54].◀

न ख्वन्तन्नान्स्वन्हन्बनादीनाम् –24[55]. According to this sutra the final *-n* of the nouns like *khɔn* (elbow), *tan* (body), *nān* (umbilical cord), *sɔn* (co wife), *han* (a little quantity) and *banü* (heap) is not replaced by *-ñ*, such as - *khɔnau sūtin, tanau sūtin, nānau sūtin, sɔnau sūtin, hani sūtin*, and *bani sūtin*.

▶This sutra is a group of feminine nouns ending in *–n*. The nominative plurals of these nouns are formed by addition of *–ü* as in *khɔnü, sɔnü, tanü* etc. while as their instrumental plurals are formed by suffixing *-av* to the base (*khɔnav sūtin, tanav sūtin, nānav sūtin* and *sɔnav sūtin, hanav sūtin*, and *banav sūtin*) and not the diphthong *-au* as employed by the author. The affix *–i* is employed to derive the instrumental singular of these names, such as- *khɔni sūtin hani sūtin*, and *bani sūtin* etc.◀

कथादीनां च –25[56]. According to author *-th* at the word final position is not replaced by the corresponding *aprasiddha varṇa -čh*. The illustrations cited are: *kath* (talk, matter, tale, narrative), *vath* (path, way, route), *vath* (the vitasta), *lath* (kick), *dath* (clot), *čith*

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[52] Nominative, oblique and instrumental fem. plural forms
[53] Nominative, oblique and instrumental fem. plurals
[54] Razdan S.- Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 164
[55] *na khvantannānsvanhanbanādīnām* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/24 p.17
[56] *kathādīnām ca* : -------- ibid ------- 2/1/25 p.18

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(muscle stiff), *čẽth* (head-long), *güth* (swift water current) and *tonth* (peak) etc.

▶The illustrated words are nominative feminine singular forms. Termination *-ü* is added to these nouns to form their plurals. In this process the aspiration of the final consonant is irregularly dropped. Thus, the plural forms are- *kathü*, *vatü*, *vathü*, *latü*, *datü*, *čithü*, *čẽtü*, *güthü* and *tontü* respectively. *–i* is added to the nominal singulars of these words to form their instrumental singulars such as- *kathi sũ̄t̃*, *vati sũ̄t̃*, *vẽthi sũ̄t̃*, *lati sũ̄t̃* etc. while as *-av* is employed with the nominative singulars to constitute instrumental plural of these nouns. The examples are: *kathav sũ̄t̃*, *vatav sũ̄t̃*, *vathav sũ̄t̃*, *latav sũ̄t̃*, *datav sũ̄t̃*, *čitav sũ̄t̃*, *čẽtav sũ̄t̃*, *güthav sũ̄t̃* and *tontav sũ̄t̃*. This sutra is as an exception to 2/1/23 according to which the dental stops at the word final positions are replaced by the corresponding dental affricates.◀

टवर्गान्तानाम् च –26[57]. This sutra implies that if the alveolar stop (*ṭ*, *ṭh* or *ḍ*) at the word final position is not associated with *-ū* it does not convert into the corresponding palatal stop (*c*, *ch* or *j*). The examples are: *naṭh* (shudder) → *naṭi sũ̄t̃*, *garveṭh* (home appliances, property) → *garveṭhi sũ̄t̃*, *hɔḍ* (obstinacy) → *hɔḍi sũ̄t̃* etc. An alveolar stop followed by *-ū* is replaced by the corresponding palatal stop, e.g; *čŏṭū* (bread) → *čɔci - čɔcav sũ̄t̃*.

▶The alveolar stops, as explained while discussing sutra 2/1/22, at the word final position of the bases are irregularly replaced by the palatal stops irrespective of *ūdanta-ṭavarga* or any other distinguishing factor. The author's assertion 'an alveolar stop followed by *-ū* converts into the corresponding palatal stop' is not correct because the alveolar stop *–ṭ* in *čŏṭ* is clearly not followed by *–u* or *-ū* as given by the author to justify his assertions. *–ṭ* is rather preceded by the mid back vowel *–ŏ* which converts into low back vowel *-ɔ* in the plural, such as- *čŏṭ* (bread) → *čɔci*.◀

वाल्साल्ज़ाल्कलां जः –27[58]. This sutra is a combination of nouns ending in *-l*. According to Īśvar Kaul *-l* is replaced by *-j* to form

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[57] *ṭavargāntānām ca* : -------- ibid ------ 2/1/26 p.18

[58] *vālsālzālkalām nah* : -------- ibid ------ 2/1/27 p.19

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feminine nominative plural as well as other case forms of these nouns, e.g., *vāl* (snake hole) → *vāj*, *sāl* (sister in law) → *sāj*, *zāl* (net) → *zāj*, *kal* (eagerness/longing/urge) → *kəj*.

►The author's assertions are correct but the explanation of the sutra and the illustrations cited in support of his assertions are non-inferential and misstated. In Kashmiri, the replacement of final *-l* by *-j* is commonly prevalent in the gender formation. In other words, the final *-l* of the masculine appellatives and attributives is replaced by *-j* to derive their feminine bases but only if *-l* at the final position of the masculine form is preceded by a high or mid back rounded long or short vowel *-ū, -u, -o* or *-ŏ* which also converts into the high front or mid central unrounded long or short vowel *-ī, -i, -ā* or *-ə* respectively. The examples are: ***mol*** (father) → ***māj*** (mother); ***kŏl*** (dumb mas.) → ***kəj*** (dumb fem.); ***vol*** (hole mas.) → ***vāj*** (hole fem.); ***hŏl*** (twisted mas.) → ***həj*** (twisted fem.) ***ñūl*** (blue/green or raw mas.) → ***nīj*** (blue/green or raw fem.) etc.. This rule also applies to those verb forms which are self expressive of the number, gender and person in the past tense. The examples are: *čŏl* (he ran away) → *čəj* (she ran away) *phŏl* (he progressed) → *phəj* (she progressed) etc. In addition *-l* converts into *-j* to derive the names of the objects which are comparatively smaller in size than the names from which these are derived. In view of this peculiarity of Kashmiri it is obvious that Īśvar Kaul's above cited illustrations are distinct words and one word is not a declined or derived from of the other. In other words, the term for snake or mouse hole is Kashmiri is *vol* the feminine singular form of which is *vāj* and feminine plural *vāji*. The word *vāl* is also used for snake/mouse hole[59] but its nominative plural is *vəl̃*, oblique sg. *vālis*, plu. *vāl̃an*, instrumental sg. *vāli sūt̃*, plu. *vāl̃av sūt̃* etc. Similarly, the masculine singular *zāl* (net) is declined as → *zāl*; *zālas*, *zālan*; *zālü sūt̃*, *zālav sūt̃* etc. *zāj* is a different feminine word meaning web formed by the pests and is used in the plural sense only while as *kal* (urge/eagerness/longing) occurs only in the singular form. The

[59] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 61

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statement that *kəj* is feminine singular or masculine plural of *kal* is, therefore, not correct. ◄

हालशब्दस्य स्त्रियां समासेऽपि; वा कुंडल् कर्तलोः –28/29[60]. According to author, final *-l* of *hāl* (hall) changes to *-j* even if it occurs compounded with other nouns as a second component (समासेऽपि). For example *čāṭühāl* → *čāṭühāj*. But, *-l* of *kõḍul* and *kartal* are optionally replaced by *-j*, e.g. *kõḍul* (a particular earthen pot) → *kõḍüj* and *kartal* (sword) → *kartəj* (small sword).

►The examples illustrated by the author do not vindicate his view point. The term *čāṭühāl* is a compound word consisting of two components *čāṭh* meaning 'a student' or 'a learner' and *hāl* meaning a place meant for imparting education or training to students or learners such as a school or a training centre. The word *čāṭühāj* is unintelligible and does not even exist in the Kashmiri dictionary. As stated above, *-l* is replaced by *-j* to derive the names of objects which are smaller in size than the name from which it is derived. The assumption optional replacement of *-l* by *-j* of *kõḍul* and *kartal* is therefore, incorrect. ◄

उवर्णान्तानामिकारः –30[61]. The meaning of this sutra is that *-u* at the final position of a noun is replaced by *-i* in nominative plural and other cases, e.g; *gur* (horse) → *guris* or *gurãn chu khasān* (mounts the horse/horses), *guri sūtin* etc. According to 2/1/38 (स्नाव) *-s* and *-n* are second (accusative) case denoting affixes. In the light of 2/1/12 *-a* occurs with *-n* which in turn converts *-u* into *-i*. For example- *paṭū* → *pacya, pacyan, paci sūtin.* According to 2/1/11 (बहुत्वेऽकारागमः) *-a* is added to form nominative plurals and according to 2/1/12 (न्प्रत्यये सर्वत्र) *-n* along with the augment of *-a* is added to all. According to 2/1/22 (ऊदन्तटवर्गस्य चवर्गः प्रथमाबहुत्वादिषु) *-ṭ* becomes *-c* and *-u* changes to *-i*. In the instrumental case *-i* is deleted as prescribed by 2/1/6 (इतो लोपः).

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[60] *hālśabdasya striyām samāseapi ; vā kuṇḍal kartaloh* :
KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/-28/29 p.19-20

[61] *uvarnāntānāmikārah* : ---------- ibid ---------- 2/1/30 p.20

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►Īśvar Kaul's sutra as well as his explanation of the sutra are not only intricate but are also impracticable expressions. The reason is the examples given in support of the sutra do not corroborate the contents of the sutra as none of these words end in *-u*. Replacement of final *-u* by *-i* is therefore, imaginary. The nominative plural of *gur* is formed, as stated earlier, by palatalizing the final consonant of the base. The oblique masculine plural denoting affix *-an* is directly suffixed to the nominative plural stems. Thus, the nominative and oblique plurals of *gur* are *guř* and *guřan* respectively. Similarly, the common noun *pəṭ* (plank) is declined as *paci* (planks), *pacan* (obl. plu.), *paci sūt̃* (inst. sg.) etc. The concept of *snāv* (स्नाव) is complicated, impracticable and baseless. It is obvious that the author has attempted to explain the structure of Kashmiri word stock on the lines of the Aṣṭādhyāyī which has rendered the simple descriptions into faulty, intricate and ambiguous statements.◄

नोदन्तानां पुंसि –३१[62]. According to this sutra the final *-ū* of masculine nouns is not replaced by *-i*. The examples are: *dānū* (pomegranates), *dānūv sūtin* (by pomegranates), *hə̃zū sūtin* (by the boatmen), *bāčūv sūtin* (by family members), *gənzūv sūtin* (by skinners) etc.

►This sutra is incorrect and the examples are misinterpreted. These nouns have, in actual pronunciation, a dental sound at the word final positions. This final dental sound is preceded by the mid central long or short vowel. The crude forms of these nouns, therefore, are *dān, hə̃z, bāč* and *gənz* respectively. *-av* is suffixed to these nouns to form their instrumental plurals, such as- *dān –av → dānav*, *hə̃z -av → hə̃zav*, *bāč –av → bāčav* and *gənz –av → gənzav* . Īśvar Kaul's explanation of this sutra is complicated and indistinct. The use of *snau* (स्नौ) i.e. *–s* and *-n* as accusative denoting suffixes, augment of *–a* with *–n*, change of *-u* into *-o* and finally into *-v* are just speculations and do not bear any resemblance with the declensional morphology of Kashmiri.◄

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[62] *nodantānām pumsi* : ---------- ibid ---------- 2/1/31 p.20

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व्यंजनान्तस्योकारोपधाया अन् –३२[63]. According to Īśvar Kaul the preceding *-u* of the final consonant becomes *-a* in the nominative plural and other cases. The example is *vāndur*[64] (monkey) → *vāndar* (monkeys), *vādrau sūt̃* (by the monkeys).

▶This sutra refers to broken plurals derived by making some alterations within the internal structure of the base. Other such examples are- *sɔnur* (goldsmith) → *sɔnar*, *hāputh* (bear) → *hāpath*, *phŏt* (basket) → *phət̃*[65]etc. It would be in place to mention that the word *vāndur* is wrongly spelled as *bādar*[66] in the printed copy. The word *bādar* for monkey is neither prevalent in Kashmiri nor is this word listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary.◀

पूर्ववर्णोकारस्यौकारः स्त्रियाम् –३३[67]. *-ū* preceding the final consonant of the feminine bases changes into *-o* in nominative plural and other cases, e.g; *pūthya* → *pothi chu prān* (is reading books), *pothyi sūtin,* (with the book), *pothyau pučya* (for books), *kūr* → *koryan chu rachān* (looks after the girls/daughters), *koryan, koryau* etc. The author further says that on this analogy *-ī* changes into *-e* as in *sīr* (brick) → *seri, seṟan, seṟav* or *khīt̃* (field) → *kheti, kheṯan, kheṯav* etc. But this rule does not apply to the words like *ṭīr* (lump of cooked rice) → *ṭīri, ṭīryan, ṭīrau, pīr* (low and small dinning table) etc.

▶As discussed and explained earlier with exemples (see 2/1/12), *-ū* in the medial position of the feminine names converts into *–o* in the nominative plural and other cases. Similarly, *-i* following the initial consonant changes, but irregularly, into *–e*. In this regard the author refers to Pāṇini's sutra स्थानेऽन्तरतमः[68] which provides that if there is a choice of replacements to occur in place (स्थाने) of a substituend, that one is chosen which is most proximate to the

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63 *vyañjanāntasyokāropadhāyā an* : ---------- ibid ------- 2/1/32 p.21

64 ---------- ibid -------- (manuscript p. 19)

65 See Razdan S – Kashmiri Grammar: History and Structure p. 156-57

66 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam: p. 21 (published copy)

67 *pūrvavarṇokārasyaukārah striyām* : -------- ibid ------- 2/1/33 p.21

68 Pāṇini 1.1.50

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substituend. According to Īśvar Kaul "स्थानेऽन्तरतमः वचनात् यथा पूर्ववर्ण संबन्धिनः ऊकारस्य ओकारो भवति तथैव ईकारस्य एकारो भवतीति बोध्यम्" *–e* is substituted for *–ī* on the analogy of conversion of *-ū* into *–o*. It is pertinent to mention that in Kashmiri also the high front vowel *-ī* and high back vowel *-ū* are replaced by *–e* and *–o* respectively which are most proximate to the substituends. This is a peculiarity of Kashmiri language and while highlighting this peculiarity Pāṇini's above quoted sutra need not have been invoked.

One of the illustrations cited by Īśvar Kaul is *khīt̃*. This word is not commonly used by the Kashmiri speakers of Srinagar and its surrounding areas. Derived from Sanskrit *kṣetra* the word *khīt̃* is prevalent in the sense of 'agricultural land' among the Kashmiri speakers of the maraz region including Kashtawar. ◀,

बहुषु पुंस्यप्रथमायाम् –34[69]. According to Īśvar Kaul *-ū* preceding the final consonant of the masculine singular bases becomes *-o* in all cases except in nominative plural. The examples are: *gūr*, (milkman) → *gūr̃* (milkmen), *gor̃-an, gor̃-av*; *gūl* (water chestnut) → *gūl̃* (water chestnuts), *gol̃-an, gol̃-av*.

▶The illustrations cited aove by the author indicate that, in addition to conversion of-*ū* into *-o* the use of plural suffixes *–an* and *-av* with masculine and feminene bases palatalizes the final consonant of the base as well, such as- *kūr* → *koř̃an, koř̃av*; *gūr̃* → *gor̃-an, gor̃-av* etc.◀

न मूलादीनाम् –35[70]. It means that *-ū* before the final consonant remains unchanged in *mūl* and other words such as- *mūl, kastūru, kūṭu, čũṭhū, chūl, ṭūru, ḍūru, ḍūs, tūrū, dūrū, nastūru, būth, yūrū, rūd, lūkh, lūdr, lūbr, vūṭh, sūr, hūs* etc.

▶The above quoted list of words is faulty in as much as the words are misconceived and misrepresented and, thus, give a wrong idea about the phonological structure of these words. *–u* or *-ū* at the word final position is imaginary. In fact, these word are pronounced

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69 *bahuṣu pumsyaprathamāyām* : ------- ibid ------ 2/1/34 p.22
70 *na mūlādīnām* : -------- ibid -------- 2/1/35 p.23

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as *mūl* (root), *kŏstūr* (a singing bird), *kūṭ* (log, pillar), *čũṭh* (apple), *chūl* (cascade), *ṭūr* (bowl), *ḍūr* (vegetable / flower bed), *ḍūs* (mace), *tūr* (chill), *dūr* (far away), *nastūr* (person having long nose), *būth* (ghost), *mūr* (thin twig), *rūd* (rain), *lūkh* (people), *lūdar ~ lūdur* (greedy), *lūbur* (greedy), *vũṭh* (camel), *sūr* (ash), and, *hūs* (uproar)[71] respectively. Further, these words belong to different classes of nouns and, therefore, cannot be morphologically clubbed together. For example *mūl*, *kūṭ*, *čũṭh*, *chūl*, *ṭūr*, *ḍūr*, *ḍūs*, *būth*, *lūdur*, *lūbur*, *vũṭh*, and *sūr* are masculine common nouns and decline on the pattern of *śur* (child), *gur* (horse), *čūr* (thief), etc. (see 2/1/12). *mūr* is feminine noun and is declined on the pattern of *kūr*. *nastūr* is an adjective and thus, takes the number and gender of the appellative it qualifies. *tūr (fem.)* and *rūd (mas.)* take only the singular case terminations while as the collective noun *lūkh*, being a simple word carrying the meaning of a collection of persons, takes the plural affixes only. Similarly, *hūs* and *dūr* are employed as both i.e; adjective as well as adverb and cannot be included in any of the above given groups.

Following the traditional declensional system of Sanskrit Īśvar Kaul illustrates the declension of *mūl* as follows:

Case	*Sg.*	*Plu.*	*Case*	*Sg.*	*Plu.*
I	mūl	mūl	V	mūl niś	mūlau niś
II	mūlas/mūl	mūlan or mūl	VI	mūlku	mūlan hund
III	mūla sūtin	mūlau sūtin	VII	mūlas p̃aṭh	mūlan p̃aṭh
IV	mūla pučh	mūlau pučh	VIII	hā mūl	hā mūlau

As stated earlier, this elaborate declensional system of Sanskrit does not apply to the modern Indian vernaculars including Kashmiri. Kashmiri records only four cases in each number viz; nominative, oblique, instrumental and vocative singular and plural. Accordingly, the extent declension of *mūl* is as follows:

Case	*Sg.*	*Plu.*
Nominative	mūl	mūl
Oblique	mūlas(k̃ut/niś/p̃aṭh-ü)	mūlan(k̃ut/niś/p̃aṭh-ü)
Instrumental	mūlü (sũt̃)	mūlav (sũt̃)

[71] Concealed rumor : Kashmiri Dictionary vol. vi, p.

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Vocative	(he/hayo/hato/ho) mūlü / mūlah.◀	(he/ho) mūlav

व्यंजनान्तादकारागमो व्यंजने –३६[72]. *-a* is augmented to the final consonant of the consonant ending masculine bases such as *kāv* (crow) → *kāva sund* (belonging to crow). *-s* of the genitive postpositional word *-sund* is replaced by *-h* (*hund*) with the feminine bases[73]. The example is *māli hund*. The examples of masculine consonant ending nouns are *guri sund* (belonging to horse) and *kāvau sütin* (with the crows)[74].

▶In Kashmiri, the genitive case relation is expressed by employing the post positional word *sund / hund* or any of its allomorphs like *-und ~ -ond*, *-uk ~ -üc*, *-on ~ -ə̃ñ* after the oblique sg. form of the names of living objects, inanimate objects, pronouns as well as oblique plurals of the nouns of all classes.[75] In this process the *-s* of oblique singular denoting terminations *-as* and *-is* is dropped, *-a* is replaced by *–ü* and *–i* clubs with the final consonant of the base in the form of palatalization of that consonant. The genitive denoting post positional allomorphs like *–und* (mas. sg.), *–ond* (mas. sg.) and *–hund* (mas./fem. plu.) are also directly used after the oblique terminations without deleting any part of the base or oblique termination except the conversion of *–a* and *–i* into *–ü* and palatalization of the final consonant respectively. It is noteworthy that the most popularly accepted term is *sund / hund*. Given below are some illustrations for perspicuity of these assertions:

Obl. sg.

kāv **–as** – s/und → kāv**ü** sund
gur **–is** – s/und → gu**r̃** sund
kūr **–i** – hu/ond → ko**r̃ond**
gāv → gəv hund/**ond**

Obl. plu.

kāv **–an** – hu/ond → kāv**an** hund/hond
gu**r̃** **–an** – hu/ond → gu**r̃an** hund/hond
kori **–an** –hu/ond → ko**r̃an** hund/hond
gəv **–an** –hund → gəv**an** hund

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[72] *vyañjanāntādakārāgamo vyañjane* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/1/36 p.24
[73] *strīsambandhaikānekatve snau hund həndyantau* : ------ ibid ------ p. 24
[74] ------ ibid ------ p. 24
[75] Razdan S- Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 169

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These illustrations clearly show that the assertions regarding augment of *–a* are not correct. Besides, *hund* is not used only with the feminine nouns but also with the masculine plural bases as in *guṟan hund/hond*. It is noteworthy that the genitive denoting postpositional word further declines according to the number and gender of the noun which is related to something or someone such as:

ləḍükü **sund gur** chu gāsü kh̃avān (the boy's horse is eating grass)	ləḍükü **sünd̃ guṟ̃** chi gāsü kh̃avān (the boy's horses are eating grass)
ləḍükü **sünz gāv** chi gāsü kh̃avān (the boy's cow is eating grass)	ləḍükü **sünzü gəv** chi gāsü kh̃avān (the boy's cows are eating grass)
ləḍükü **sündis guris** k̃ut chu gāsü anān (someone is fetching grass for boy's horse)	ləḍükü **sünd̃an guṟan** k̃ut chu gāsü anān (someone is fetching grass for boy's horses)

Īśvar Kaul is silent about this peculiarity of Kashmiri.◀

स्त्रियामिकारः –37[76]. According to this sutra *-i* is augmented at the final position of the consonant ending feminine bases. In his explanation of the sutra the author says, "स्त्रीसम्बन्धैकानेकत्वे स्नौहुन्दहन्द्यन्तौ" (2/1/42) *sund* changes to *hund* with the feminine sg. as well as plu. bases, e.g; *māl* (garland) → *māli hund* (of the garland). The example of vowel ending base *paṭu* (plank) is *pacya hund* (of planks). The instrumental plural of *māl* is *mālau sūtin* (by the garlands)[77].

▶As explained while discussing the previous sutra, the genitive case relation is expressed by using the post positional word *sund / hund* or its allomorphs *-und~~ond*, *-uk~~üc*, *-on~~ãñ* after the oblique sg. and plu. forms of the names of living objects, lifeless objects, pronouns as well as the nouns of all classes. The term *māli* is oblique singular form of *māl* which clearly indicates that the assertion regarding augment of *-i* is not justified. The word for plank is misconceived as vowel ending '*paṭu*' and its genitive form is incorrectly spelled as *pacya hund*. In view of the actual

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[76] *strīyāmikārah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/37 p. 25

[77] -------- ibid --------- p.25

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pronunciation, *pəṭ* (plank) has a consonant at the end and its genitive forms are → *paci* (planks fem. plu.) → *pacond/ paci hund* and *pacan - hund ~ hond* respectively.◄

द्वितीयायां स्नावऽसंबन्धषष्ठ्यां च –३८[78]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of this sutra *-s* and *-n* affixes are employed to denote the singular and plural forms of accusative and other cases including the genitive if it does not indicate relation. The examples are: *gur* (horse) → *guris chu khasān* → (mounts the horse); *guṟan chu rachān* (rears the mares घोडियों[79] को पालता है). *-a* is augmented before plural affix *-n*. The final *-u* of *-u* ending bases is replaced by *-i* before *-n* which finally changes into *-y* in the genitive case. The examples are: *gəras kərizi namaskār* (do salute the guru/teacher) and *dəb̃an dizi čādar* (do give the blanket to washer men). *-s* is employed with *gər* as singular denoting affix and *a-* is augmented before *–s/n*. *-n* preceded by *a-* is employed with *dŏb* as plural denoting affix. As stated above, final *-u* of *-u* ending bases is replaced by *–i* before *-n* and finally converts into *-y* in the genitive case. This rule establishes the formation of *dəb̃an*.

►Īśvar Kaul's above cited description is not correct. The reason is that, in Kashmiri the cases such as accusative, dative, ablative, genitive and locative are expressed by the oblique form followed by the required case relation denoting postpositional word. As described earlier, *-as* is the termination which is added to masculine singular bases to form oblique masculine singular forms. Similarly, *-an* termination is appended to masculine nominative plural bases to constitute their oblique masculine plurals[80], e.g; *gər* (guru/teacher) *–as* → *gəras*, *gəran*; *guṟ̃* (horses) *–an* → *guṟ̃an* and *dŏb* (washer men) *-an* → *dəb̃an*. The process of replacement of ending *–u* by *–i* and its conversion into *–y* is misconceived by the author (see 2/1/21).◄

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78 *dvitīyāyām snāvasambandhaṣaṣṭhyām ca* : -------- ibid ------- 2/1/38 p.25

79 ---------- ibid --------- (manuscript) p. 22

80 Razdan S.- Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 158 - 161

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वा प्रथमावदसर्वनाम्नः –३९[81]. The nominative singular and plural forms are optionally employed sequencially to express the accusative singular and plural of all names. But this does not apply to the pronouns. For example: *kŏr chu garān* (is manufacturing the (metal) bangle) and *kəris chu garān* (is manufacturing the (metal) bangle)[82]; *čɔci chu k̃havān* (is eating breads) and *čɔcan chu k̃havān* (is eating breads)[83].

▶The examples given in support of वा प्रथमावत् (the first case forms are optionally used to express the second case) justify these assertions partially because the use of nominative or accusative is not choice based. In the first sentence *kŏr chu garān* the object *kŏr* (bangle) is the direct receiver of verb √*gar* (to make / manufacture) while as in the second sentence *kəris chu garān* (is engraving/shaping the bangle) *kŏr* is the indirect object while as the direct object of the verb √*gar* (to carve / engrave / shape) is the engraving. It indicates that the same object (*kŏr*) in the nominative case form is the direct receiver of the action of manufacturing while as by the addition of oblique termination *–is*, it becomes the indirect receiver of action. The sentence *čɔci chu k̃havān* bears syntactic as well as semantic compatibility while as *čɔcan chu k̃havān* is incorrect and incomprehensible.

While explaining the sutra Īśvar Kaul further says that if a sentence is a combination of accusative and genitive constituents, the object of action occurs in the nominative case (द्वितीयाषष्ठी समुदायवाक्ये तु नित्यं प्रथमावत् भवत् इति बोध्यम्)[84], e.g; *dŏbis dizi čādar*[85] (do give the blanket to the washer man). According to Īśvar Kaul *dŏbis* is employed in the genitive case while as *čādar* is in the nominative case[86].

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81 *vā prathamāvadasarvanāmnah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 2/1/39 p.26

82 -------- ibid -------- p.26

83 -------- ibid -------- p.26

84 *dvitīyāṣaṣṭhīsamudāyavākye tu nityaṃ prathamāvatbhavat iti bodhyam* : ---------- ibid -------- p.26

85 --------- ---- ibid -------- p.26

86 *atra dŏbis iti ṣaṣṭhī* ----- ibid ---- p.26

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By saying द्वितीयाषष्ठीसमुदायवाक्ये the author insinuates towards the Pāṇinian rules and style regarding the government of cases (*kāraka prakaraṇa*) in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit the indirect object of the root √*dā* (to give) is governed by the Dative case. The primary sense of the dative case is *sampradān.* According to Pāṇini *sampradān* is the indirect object which the agent of the action √*dā* intends as goal through the direct object of his action (कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम्)[87] and according to the vārrtika the indirect object intended through the root √*dā* is also called *sampradān* (क्रियायायमभिप्रैति सोऽपि सम्प्रदानम्)[88]. The example is *viprāya* (*vipra* + *dat. Mas. sg. affix /e/~/-āy/*) *gām* (*go* + *accus. fem. sg. affix /-am/*) *dadāti* विप्राय गां ददाति (he gives a cow to a Brahmana). In this example *vipra* (Brahmana) is the indirect object which the agent of √*dā* intends as goal through the direct object *go* (cow). But, the root √*dā* is sometimes found used with the genitive or the locative case as in *rajakasya vastram dadāti* (he gives dress to the washer man). In this example *rajaka* (washer man) is not the intended goal of the agent and is, therefore, governed by the genitive case.

But, this rule does not apply to Kashmiri. In Kashmiri *dŏb-is* is simply employed in the oblique case while as the direct object *čādar* is in the nominative case. The statement द्वितीयाषष्ठीसमुदायवाक्य of the author has, therefore, rendered the simple descriptions into complicated statements for the readers who are not acquainted with the above described rules of the declensional morphology of Sanskrit. Besides, the use of the word *asarvanāmnah* is also ambiguous as the pronouns in Kashmiri decline in three cases viz; nominative, oblique and instrumental and take the same case terminations as are appended to nouns[89].◀

स्लोपः स्त्रियां सर्वत्र –40[90]. According to this sutra *-s* is dropped with all feminine bases in the accusative and genitive cases, e.g; *māli*

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87 *karmaṇā yamabhipraiti sa sampradānam* : Paṇini 1/4/32

88 *kriyayā yamabhipraiti sopi sampradānam* : Vārtik on Paṇini's 1/4/32

89 Razdan S - Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 198

90 *slopah striyām sarvatra* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p.27

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chu čhünān (he wears the garland)[91], *māli hund poś* (flower of the garland). According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra *-s* is added to *māl* in the nominative case. In the light of the sutra *strīyām ikārah* 2/1/37 *-s* is dropped and *-i* is added to the feminine bases.

▶Replacement of *-s* by *-i* with the feminine bases is not justified. As explained earlier, *-i* is basically a different termination which is added to form the nominative plural and oblique singular of the feminine bases whose final consonant is preceded by the mid central or high back long or short vowel (see 2/1/10-12) such as: *kūr* (girl/daughter) → *kori* ; *gər* (watch) → *gari* ; *māj* (mother) → *māji* ; *nər* (arm) → *nari* etc.[92] Similarly, the termination -an is appended to all masculine and feminine nominative plural bases to form their oblique plurals. The genitive denoting postpositional word *sund* is employed with the masculine singular forms while as its variant *hund* is employed with the masculine plural and feminine singular and plural forms. Besides, *ond,* another variant of the genitive denoting postpositional word, is optionally added to the feminine singular bases, e.g. *māli hund poś ~ mālond (māli - ond) poś* (flower of garland); *kori hund śur ~ korond (kori - ond) śur* (daughter's child) etc. But, *māli chu čhünān* (wears the garland) is incorrect.◀

पुंसि सम्बन्धषष्ठ्यां च –41[93]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of this sutra *-s* is deleted before the genitive postpositional word *sund* and it applies to all masculine bases. The example is *gər sund čāṭh* (guru's pupil). According to sutra 2/1/42 *-s* of *sund* is replaced by *-h* with the feminine bases and according to sutra 2/1/49 *-h* is replaced by *-s* with the masculine bases. The author further says, *-s-uk* is used with inanimate nouns of which *-s* is dropped and only *-uk* is employed (इयक शब्दात् अप्राणिनेति स–उक प्रत्ययः अनेन स लोपः) as in *ḍaka–uk* → *ḍakuk* (pertaining to forehead/luck/husband). In

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91 *mālām pātayati* : ---------- ibid ---------- p.27

92 Razdan S - Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 159

93 *pumsi sambandhaṣaṣṭhyām ca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/41 p.27

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cases other than the possessive case, *-s* is expressive of the dative sense, such as- *gɔras chu namaskār karān* (salutes the guru)[94].

►As stated earlier (2/1/37), the genitive case relation is expressed, in Kashmiri, by using the post positional word *sund / hund* with the variants such as *–und/-ond*, *-uk /-üc* or *-on/-ə̄ñ* after the oblique form of the names the objects. Of these, *-und/ond* and *uk/üc* are directly used after the names whose oblique singulars are formed by addition of *-as* or *-is*. In this process - the final consonant of the bases, to which oblique singular affix *-is* is added, is palatalized before *sund/und/uk/üc*, such as:

Base	*Oblique sg.*	*Genitive sg.*
dūn (bedmaker)	dūnis – und	dūñ sund
põz (he monkey)	pəzis – und	pəž̃ sund
śur (child)	śuris – und	śuř̃sund
poś (flower)	poś – uk/ üc	pośuḳ/pośüc
ḍakü	ḍakü – uk/üc	ḍakuk/ ḍaküc

The terms *ḍ̃akuk/ḍ̃aküc* and *pośuk/pośüc* as well as other illustrated words indicate that *uk/üc* is directly added to the base.◄

स्त्रीसंबन्धैकानेकत्वे स्नौ हन्द्वन्तावेकत्वे; बहुत्वे हन्द्यन्तौ–42/[95]43[96].

According to these sutras if a masculine singular noun belongs to or is related to a feminine sg. noun, *-s-hund* is employed while as *-n-hund* is used to denote that the masculine singular noun is related to feminine plu. noun. The examples are: *māji hund nĕcuv* (mother's son), *mājan hund nĕcuv* (mothers' son); If a masculine plural noun belongs to or is related to a feminine sg.or plu. noun *-s-hünd̃* or *n-hünd̃* are employed in that order. The examples are: *māji hünd̃ nĕciṽ* (mother's sons), *mājan hünd̃ nĕciṽ* (mothers' sons).

►As stated earlier (see 2/1/36-37), the genitive denoting post positional word *sund* or *hund* is placed after the oblique form of the noun to which an object or a person is related. Besides, the given post

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[94] *gurave namaskaroti* : --------- ibid ---------- (mans.)

[95] *strīsambandhaikānekatve snau hundvantāvekatve* : ------- ibid -------- 2/1/42 p.28

[96] *bahutve handyantau* : ------- ibid -------- 2/1/43 p.29

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positional word assumes the form according to number and gender of the noun which is related to some other noun. This is what the author conveys in the sutras cited above. But, the statement regarding use of *-s-hund /-n-hund*; *s-hünd̃ / -n-hünd̃* is not supported by the illustration cited by the author. In other words, these illustrations clearly show that *hund* is used directly after the oblique fem.sg. forms, such as- *māj→ māji hund* and plu. *mājan hund* (pertaining to mothers'). Similarly, *hund* and *hünd̃* are employed in sequence according to mas.sg. and plu. number of the object, such as- *nĕcuv* (son) → *nĕcivi sund*, *nĕcivan hund* etc.◄

स्त्रियां हन्जू अन्तावेकत्वे; बहूत्वे हन्ज अन्तौ –44[97]/45[98]. According to these sutras, if a feminine singular or plural noun is related to a feminine singular noun in that case *s-hünz / hanz* is used, such as- *māji hünz kūr* (mother's daughter) and *māji hanz kori* (mother's daughters). if a feminine singular or plural noun is related to a feminine plu. noun *-n-hünz /-n-hanz* are used respectively. The examples are: *mājan hünz kūr* (mothers' daughter) *mājan hanz kori* (mothers' daughters).

►The assertions regarding *s-hünz / hanz* and *-n-hünz /-n-hanz* are wrongly conceived. The illustrations cited by the author clearly point to the use of genitive denoting word after the oblique sg. *māji hünz* or plu. *mājan hünz* of *māj*. The genitive postpositional termination *–hünz* and *–hünzü* are employed, as stated consistently while commenting upon the foregoing sutras, according to singular or plural number of the object which pertains to someone or some object. The examples are- *māji hünz kūr* (mother's daughter), *māji hünzü kori* (mother's daughters), *mājan hünz kūr* (mothers' daughter), *mājan hünzü kori* (mothers' daughters), *–hanz* is wrongly spelled as the term is actually used as *–hünz/ü.*◄

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[97] *striyām hanzū antāvekatve* : ---- ibid ------- 2/1/44 p.29

[98] *bahutve hanz antau* : --------- ibid -------- 2/1/45 p.29

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पुंप्राणिन एकत्वसम्बन्धे हस्य सः सर्वत्र –46[99]. According to this sutra if a person or an object is related to or belongs to an animate masculine singular noun, */h-und/* is dropped and */s- und/* is always adopted such as- *məl̃ sund necuv* (father's son), *məl̃ sünz kūr* (father's daughter), *dāndü sund hãg* (bull's horn), *gur̃ sund loṭ* (horse's tail). But, in case of the masculine nouns other than animate ones */-uk/* is added to the base such as- *kanuk vāl* (hair of the ear), *čãg̃uk tīl* (oil of the earthen lamp), *athuk māz* (flesh of the hand). Īśvar Kaul further says that *kan* and *athü* (ear/s and hand/s) are undoubtedly related to animates but the fact is that if a person's or animal's ear or flesh of the hand is torn off, it remains no more an animate object. Neither does the person, whose ear or flesh is torn off, cease to be a human being. Further, if a person or an object is related to or belongs to an animate feminine singular noun, the genitive postpositional word */h-und/* takes the number and gender of the person or object which is related to or which belongs to some other noun e.g; *gəv* ***hund vŏčh*** (cow's he calf), *gāv* ***hünz vačhür*** (cow's she calf), *kañi*[100] ***hund pŏt*** (tip of the stone), *kañi* ***hünz chal*** (piece of the stone), *māji* ***hund mol*** (mother's father), *māji* ***hünz māj*** (mother's mother).

►It is pertinent to mention that the author has translated *māj* (mother), *gāv* (cow), *mol* (father) and *kori* (daughters) into Hindi as माई, गउ, पिव and कुडियां[101] respectively which lends irrefutable support to the assertion that the author must not have been a Kashmiri speaker of the Kashmir province.◄

सोंनरोंफ शब्दयोर्वा –47[102]. If *sɔn* (gold) and *rɔph* (silver) words are employed, in that case *sund / sünz* is optionally used according to gender category of the object which is made of gold or silver. The examples are *sɔnü* ***sund kŏr*** (golden bangle) *sɔnü* ***sünz gãgüj*** (small golden vessel) *rɔpü* ***sund khos*** (small silver bowl) *rɔpü* ***sünz lūr***

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[99] *pumprāṇina ekatvasambandhe hasya sah sarvatra* : -------- ibid ------ 2/1/46 p. 30

[100] Feminine inanimate noun.

[101] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam (manuscript) p. 27

[102] *sɔnrɔph śabdayorvā* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/47 p.31

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(silver stick), *sɔnuk* ***chətür*** (golden small umbrella), *rɔpuk* ***thāl*** (silver platter) *sɔnüc vāj* (gold ring) *rɔpü* ***raz*** (silver chain).

►The above cited examples indicate that *sund / sünz,* and *ü* are employed neither as inflectional affixes nor as the genitive denoting postpositional words. These are actually employed as secondary suffixes with the nominal bases to denote the sense 'made of' such as *sɔnü sund kŏr* (bangle made of gold) *sɔnü sünz gãgüj* (small jug made of gold) *rɔpü sund khos* (small bowl made of silver) *rɔpü sünz lūr* (stick made of silver). *rɔpü raz* (chain made of silver).

Further, the suffixes used to denote 'made of' are basically *uv/üv/ü/i* and not *uk /üc* as conceived by the author. The examples are: ***hacuv tamāśi*** (wooden toy), ***yerüv ṭūp̃*** (woolen cap), ***trāmü gilāsü*** (tumbler made of copper), ***sartali thāl*** (platter made of brass). The terms *sɔnuk chətür*, *sɔnüc vāj* are incorrect expressions. The grammatically correct forms are *sɔnü* ***sund chətür*** (small umbrella made of gold), *rɔpü* ***sund thāl*** (platter made of silver), *sɔnü* ***sünz vāj*** (ring made of gold). The use of *sund* in the sense of 'made of' should, thus, have been discussed at the appropriate place in the chapter on secondary derivational affixes.◄

अप्राणिनापुंसोः कुक्यौपुंसि; च्चौ च स्त्रियां –48/49[103]. According to Īśvar Kaul *-uk* and *-ki*[104] affixes are added to singular names of the inanimate objects to denote genitive masculine singular and plural forms respectively while as *-cü* and *-ca* are employed to express genitive feminine singular and plural. The examples are: ***kuliki vəthür*** (leaves of the tree), ***hāruk mõg*** (green lentil of the month of Āṣāḍha), ***māgüki dŏh*** (the days of the month of Māgha), ***kulic ləṇḍ*** (twig of the tree), ***kulica lanjya*** (branches of the tree), ***nāgüc nārij*** (narrow flume of the spring), ***nāgüca nāriji*** (narrow flumes of the spring). However, if the inanimate object, to which something pertains, is plural in number, the postpositional word *hund / hünz* is employed after the oblique form of the inanimate noun, such as: ***kulan hündi vəthür***

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[103] *aprāṇināpumsokukyaupumsj; cūcau ca striyām* :
KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/-48/49 p. 31

[104] ---------- ibid -------- (manuscript) p. 27

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(leaves of trees), *kuL̃an* ***hund*** *vəthür* (leaf of trees). *-sund* is used with the names of living objects, e.g., *kāvü sund* (crow's), *gəv hund* (cow's), *gur̃ sünz zang* (horse's leg), *kaṭü sünzü khori* (sheep's ankles[105]).

►The use of *ki* to form inanimate genitive masculine plurals is not correct. These plurals are basically formed by palatalizing the *–k* of masculine sg. term *–uk* and replacing *u-* by *ü-/i* (*uk→ük̃*). In other words, *-ük̃* and *ik̃* are genitive plural denoting suffixes, such as- *māguk̃* ***akh*** *dŏh* (one day of the month of Māgh) → *māgük̃* ***dəh*** *dŏh* (ten days of the month of Māgh), *kuL̃uk* ***akh*** *vəthür* (one leaf of the tree) → *kuL̃uk̃* ***dəh*** *vəthür* (ten leaves of the tree). Use of *ki* (*māgüki dŏh, kuliki vəthür*) is misperceived. Similarly, feminine affixes are *-ic* → *kulic ləṇḍ* (twig of tree) and *ici* → *kulici lanji* (twigs of tree), *nāgüci nəriji* (flumes of spring). The example like *dāñuk tŏmul* is not compatible with the contents of the sutra because the genitive denotes relation between the co-existing objects while as *dāñi* is the source and *tŏmul* (rice) is its refined product which comes into existence only when *dāñi* ceases to exist.◄

मनुष्यसंज्ञयोनुन्यौ पुंसि; स्त्रियांञ्ञौ च –50/51[106]. *-un* and *ni* are appended to the masculine names of human beings, e.g; *ganun nĕcuv* (Gana's son), *radhakrüśününi guri* (Radhakrishan's horses). *-un* is also added to the word *ḍakü* (forehead) when the sense of fate or destiny is to be conveyed e.g; *ḍakun batü* (may have blessed married life) otherwise *-uk* is employed, e.g., *ḍakuk rath* (blood of forehead). *-ñ* and *-ña* are added to the feminine names, e.g., *maniñ kūr* (mana's daughter), *maniña kori* (mana's daughters), *krapāramañ* *māj* (Kriparam's mother), *kraparamaña bĕñi* (Kriparam's sisters).

►The pronunciation of *-ni*, *-ñ* and *-ña* is misconceived as these do not match with the forms as are used and pronounced by the Kashmiri speakers in their normal discourse. These are basically *–üñ,* and *–üñi* respectively. The illustrations quoted in support of the sutra

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[105] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 32

[106] *manuṣyasanjñayonunyau pumsi; striyām ñañau ca :*
-------- ibid -------- 2/1/-50/51 p. 32-33

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are pronounced as: *radhākrüśün-**üñ** gur*, *man-**üñ** kūr*, *man-ü-**ñi** kori*, *kraparam-**üñ** māj*, *krapārām-**üñi** běñi*. *ḍakun batü* is also used as a term of benediction especially for a married woman to wish her husband's munificence'.◀

सप्तम्यां स्नावऽन्दर्मन्ज़प्यठन्तौस्वार्थभेदतः −52[107]. According to this sutra, *andar, manz* and *p̃aṭh* are added to *-s* and *-n* affixed nouns to express the seventh case. The word *andar* denotes 'inside', *manz* means 'in, into' and *p̃aṭh* expresses 'at, on'. The examples are: *garas andar* (inside the house), *nāvi manz* (in the boat), *garan andar* (inside the houses), *nāvan manz* (in the boats), *guris p̃aṭh* (on the horse) *guṟan p̃aṭh* (on the horses).

▶The place where an action takes place with reference to the subject or object is called, by the Sanskrit grammarians, *adhikaraṇa kāraka*.[108] and is put in the seventh (locative)[109] case. In Kashmiri, the locative case relation is expressed by using the postpositional words *manz* (in/inside) and *p̃aṭh* (on) after the oblique form of the noun as in- *nāvi manz* (in the boat), *bəṭhis p̃aṭh* (on/at the bank of the river) etc. *-andar* is an adverb and not a locative postpositional word or affix as assumed by the author. Further, as described earlier, the addition of *–s* and *–n* affixes, prosthesis of *-a* and *-i* and deletion of *-s* are complicated and faulty assumptions (see 2/1/38).◀

अधिकरणे क्यथन्तौ −53[110]. *k̃ath* follows *–s* and *–n* affixes as locative suffix. Besides, the grammatical rules (augment of *-a, -i* and deletion of *-s*) as stated above also apply[111]. The examples are *thālas k̃ath* (in metallic platter) *thālan k̃ath* (in metallic platters), *nāvi **k̃ath*** (by the boat) *nāvan **k̃ath*** (by the boats).

▶The terms *manz*, *p̃aṭh* and *k̃ath* are postpositional words and not suffixes as given by the author. Of these the terms *manz* and *p̃aṭh* are

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[107] *saptmyām snāvandarmanzapyaṭhantau svārthabhedatah* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 2/1/52 p.33

[108] *ādhāro adhikaraṇam* : Pāṇini – 1.4.45

[109] *saptamī adhikaraṇe* : -------- ibid -------2.3.36

[110] *adhikaraṇe kyathantau* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 2/1/53 p.34

[111] *sādhanam pūrvavat* : --------- ibid --------- p.34

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most commonly used to express the locative case relation while as *k̃ath* is very rarely found in use. In addition the illustrations *nāvi k̃ath* (by the boat) and *nāvan k̃ath* (by the boats) refer to the mode of action rather than the location of action as assumed by the author. The examples are: *nāvi **k̃ath vot*** (he arrived by the boat) and *nāvan k̃ath **āyi*** (they came by the boats).◄

चतुर्थ्यां कित्किच् अन्तौ पुंस्त्रीकर्मैकतः; कित्किचान्तौ कर्मबहुत्वतः -54/55[112]. *kit*, *kič* and *kiti*, *kiča* are fourth (sampradān) case relation denoting affixes which occur according to the gender and number of the object of the transitive verb. The examples are: *mālis **kit** ŏnun **poñ*** ([he] brought water for [his] father), *mālis **kič** əñin **gāv*** ([he] fetched a cow for [his] father), *guris **kiti** anin **ravü***[113] (brought ragged blanket for horse), *guṟan **kiti** anin **ravü*** (brought ragged blanket for horses), *gɔras **kiča** añan **pothy*** (brought books for teacher), *gɔran **kiča** añan **pothy*** (brought books for teachers). But, in case of the intransitive verbs these postpositions occur according to the gender and number of the subject, such as: *vaṭhünas **kit** āv* ([he] began to fatten), *vaṭhünas **kiti** āy* ([they] began to fatten).

►The terms given above by the author are dative postpositional words which are actually employed as *k̃ut / kiṯ̃* and not *kit / kiti* as given by the author. The feminine form of *k̃ut / kiṯ̃* is *kič / kičü* and not *kiča*. The word *pothy* is misconceived and, thus, wrongly spelled. Its correct form is *pūṯh/pothi*. According to Sanskrit grammarians, *sampradān* denotes one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient through the object of the action (giving)[114]. It is the indirect object of the action and the fourth triplet or case is introduced to denote the *sampradan kāraka*[115]. In Kashmiri, the dative postpositional word is used after the oblique form of the noun and it agrees with the direct object of the verb in number and gender, such as- *śuris k̃ut onun **tamāśi** mas.sg.* (III per.sg. brought a toy for the child), *śuris kiṯ̃ əñin*

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[112] *caturthyām kitkič antau pumstrīkarmaikatah ; kitikičāntau karma bahutvatah :* ----- ibid ---- 2/1/-54/55 p. 34 - 35

[113] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol.iii. P. 48

[114] *karmaṇā yamabhipraiti sa sampradānam* : Pāṇini – 1.4.32

[115] *caturthī sampradane* : --------- ibid ------- 2.3.13

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tamāśi *mas.plu.* (III per.sg. brought toys for the child), *śuris* ***kič*** *əñin* ***kitāb*** *fem.sg.* (III per.sg. brought a book for the child), *śuris* ***kičü*** *añan* ***kitābü*** fem.plu. (III per.sg. brought books for the child). The dative being the recipient through the direct object of the action denotes that the action involved is necessarily a transitive verb. Īśvar Kaul's statement that in case of the intransitive verbs these affixes (postpositions) occur according to the gender and number of the agent is, therefore, baseless. Besides, the illustrations *ṽaṭhünas* ***kit*** *āv*, *ṽaṭhünas* ***kiti*** *āy* given in support of his statement are incorrect constructions.◀

कर्तृतृतीयायामिदौतौ –56[116]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of this sutra (तिसृषु कर्तृतृतीया हेतुतृतीया सहार्थतृतीयासुमध्यात् इदौतौ)[117], *-i* and *–au* are the third case singular and plural denoting declensional endings introduced after a nominal stem to denote the agent, cause and accompaniment. Further, short *–i* is introduced after a feminine base while a shorter *–i* is added to the masculine stems (अत्रापि पुंलिंगे इकारस्य अर्धमात्रता बोध्या स्त्रीलिंगे तु पूर्ण)[118] . The examples are: ***guri*** *mor* (killed by the horse), ***guryau*** *mor* (killed by the horses); ***təmi*** *vŏn* (he said), ***timau*** *vŏn* (they said); ***kori*** *dŏpu* (the girl said), ***koryau*** *dŏpu* (the girls said).

▶This sutra and Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra is merely an adoption, with minor alterations, of three different sutras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. These three sutras are: कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया[119](the third triplet is introduced after a nominal base to denote the agent and the instrument of action), हेतौ[120](the third triplet is employed to denote a cause), and सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने[121](the third triplet is introduced after the nominal stem co-occurring with the indeclinable *saha* provided that the nominal stem does not denote the principal

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116 *kartRtRtīyāyāmidautau* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/56 p. 35

117 *tisRṣu kartR tRtīyā hetu tRtīyā sahārtha tRtīyāsu madhyāt idautau* :
------- ibid ------ p. 35

118 ---------- ibid -------- p. 35 (manuscript p. 32)

119 *kartR karṇayostRtīyā* : Pāṇini – 2.3.18

120 *hetau* : -------- ibid ------- 2.3.23

121 *sahayukte apradhāne* : -------- ibid ------2.3.19

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agent). Īśvar Kaul's assertions are flawed in as much as he has frequently tried to apply the Pāṇinian rules to the Kashmiri language which is different from Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, twenty one affixes constitute the declensional endings of a noun. Denoted by the technical term *vibhakti* these endings are divided into seven triplets and in the order in which they appear have the appropriate ordinals denoting them. These are: *prathamā* (first case - nominative with vocative as a sub- class) → *–su-au-jas* , *dvitīyā* (second case - accusative) → *-am-auṭ-śas*, *tRtīya*, (third case - instrumental) → *-ṭā-bhyām-bhis*, *caturthī* (fourth case - dative) → *-ṅe-bhyām-bhyas*, *pañcamī* (fifth case – ablative) → *-ṅasi- bhyām-bhyas*, *ṣaṣṭhī* (sixth case - genitive) → *-ṅas-os-ām* and *saptami* (seventh case - locative) → *-ṅi-os-sup*. In the order in which they appear in each triplet they denote the singular, dual and plural endings. This rule does not apply to Kashmiri. As stated earlier, Kashmiri has preserved only two cases of OIA, viz; i) nominative with vocative as a sub-class, and, ii) instrumental. Other cases relations such as accusative, dative, ablative and locative are expressed by the oblique form followed by the case relation denoting postpositional words. This fusion of various cases into one form (oblique) resulted into disuse of the Sanskrit ordinals (*prathamā, dvitīyā, tRtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī, saptami*) denoting the seven triplets. The technical terminations such as प्रथमा; द्वितीया; तृतीया; चतुर्थी; पंचमी; षष्ठी; सप्तमी etc. employed in the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam are, therefore, misrepresented. Besides, the notion of shorter *-i* is erroneous. It is basically, as stated in the previou sutra, palatalization of the final consonant. Similarly, the plural termination, as described earlier, is *-av* instead of *-au* as conceived by the author. The examples cited above are actually used as- ***gur̃ mor***, ***gur̃av mor***; ***təm̃ vŏn***, ***timav vŏn***; ***kori dŏp***, ***kor̃av dŏp***.◄

अन्द्रान्तौ निर्धारणे च –57[122]. The singular and plural denoting affixes *-i* and *–au* are also added to a nominal stem co-occurring with the word *andar* (inside), e.g; *gar andar chu jān lok* (a saintly person

[122] *andrāntau* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/57 p..36

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is inside the house – गृहेऽमुकः साधुरस्ति[123]); *garau andar chu jān ãgun*[124] (there is nice courtyard inside the houses).

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions are not tenable for the reasons that *andar* is an adverb and not a postpositional word as assumed by the author. As explained earlier, the locative case relation is expressed by using the postpositional words *manz* (in/inside) and *põṭh* (on/at) after the oblique form of a noun or pronoun (see 2/1/38). The illustrations *gar andar chu jān lok* and *garau andar chu jān ãgun* are erroneous and do not go with the accepted sentence structure of the Kashmiri language. The word *lok* is misconceived and thus, misrepresented. The actual word is *lūkh* meaning people. The Sanskrit translation of the above cited illustration अमुकः साधुरस्ति given by the author as well as use of auxiliary *chu* (is) in the singular number indicates that a certain (singular) saintly person is inside the house while as the word *lūkh* indicates presence of more than one person inside the house. The word for a single person is '*naphar*' or '*inüsān*'. Both these words are of Persio-Arabic origin and are universally used by all speech communities of Kashmir. The author, as stated in the preface, has described the grammatical structure of Kashmiri which is comparatively more Sanskritzed and is spoken by a particular socio-religious community of Kashmir .i.e., the Kashmiri Pandits. But, the word *lok* for 'man' is not used even by the Kashmiri speakers of the Pandit comunity. None of the constituents of the constructions quoted as illustrations reveals addition of *–i* as explained in the sutra. The second illustration *garau andar chu jān ãgun* is also fallacious.◄

अकारव्यंजनान्तानां पुंस्येकवचने वाऽनऽसर्वनाम्नाम् –58[125]. *–an* is optionally appended to the masculine singular *–a* and consonant ending names to denote the agent of an objective or impersonal construction. This does not apply to pronouns (सर्वनाम शब्दान्

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[123] ------- ibid ------ p..36

[124] -------- ibid -------- p.36

[125] *akāravyañjanāntānām pumsyekavacane vāana asarvanāmnām* : -------- ibid ------ 2/1/58 p.36

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वर्जयित्वा)[126]. The author further says, "the optional use of *-an* is seen only in the present form of Kashmiri while as in the ancient Kashmiri optional use of *-i* was also prevalent"[127]. The examples are: *Īśvaran dəpu* (the god said); *dəyi dəpu* (the god said),

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions regarding optional use of *-an* and *-i* are not correct. As discussed earlier (see 2/1/4) *-an* and *-i* are instrumental case terminations and are employed to denote the agent of the objective and impersonal constructions. The illustrations such as *ḍakan karu* (the destiny did), *kharan nəču* (the donkey danced), *dəyi dəpu* (the god said), *zãgi loyu* (hit by the leg) etc. are wrongly listed. These are actually employed as- *ḍakan kŏr*, *kharan nŏč*, *dəy dŏp*, *zãgi loy* which indicate that the author's assertion regarding use of *-an* in the present day Kashmiri and *-i* in the ancient Kashmiri is baseless. In addition, *zãgi loy* lacks structural as well as semantic compatibility.◄

हेतौ सूतिन्नन्तौ सूत्यन्तौ वा –59[128]. *sūtin* or *sūt̃* is used after *-i* and *-au* suffixed nouns to denote a cause (हेतौ), such as: *athü sūtin k̃hon* (III per.sg. ate with his hand); *athau sūtin k̃hon* (III per.sg. ate with his hands); *śrāki sūtin morun* (III per.sg. killed with a knife); *śrākau sūtin morun* (III per.sg. killed with knives); *khɔrü sūt̃ āv* (III per.sg. came on foot); *khɔrav sūt̃ āv* (III per.sg. came on foot).

►Īśvar Kaul's illustrations quoted in support of the sutra are misstated. The reason is that the constituents such as *athü sūtin*, *śrāki sūtin*, *athav sūtin*, *śrākau sūt̃* etc. denote the instruments (करण) of *eating* and *killing* instead of a cause (हेतु) as assumed by the author. Further, the instrumental case primarily expresses either the means or instrument by which an action is done or the agent of objective and impersonal constructions. To express the instrument of action *-ü* and *i* are added to the names of the masculine and feminine singular inanimate objects respectively. *-av* is expressive of the instrumental plural inanimate objects. Besides, a detachable postpositional word

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126 ---------- ibid ---------- p.37

127 ---------- ibid ---------- p.37

128 *hetausūtinnantau sūtyantau vā* : -------- ibid ------- 2/1/59 p.37

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sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an/sūtin follows the *–ü, -i* and *-av* ending forms to indicate the instrument of action, such as- *śur chu pĕnsalü sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an/sūtin lekhān* (the child writes / is writing with a pencil); *zār̃ mor śrāki sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an panünuy boj* (the gambler killed his own partner with the dagger), *śur chu pĕnsalav sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an lekhān* (the child writes / is writing with pencils); *zār̃ mor śrākav sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an panünuy boj* (the gambler killed his own partner with daggers).

The detachable postpositional word *sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an/sūtin* preceded by *-ü, -i* or *-av* ending form is also expressive of a cause. For example in a sentence like *əlimü sūt̃ chi nadāmath yivān* (modesty comes from education) the cause *əlim* (education) of *nadāmath* (modesty) is denoted by *əlim-ü* followed by ***sūt̃.*** Īśvar Kaul's statement "*sūtin* or *sūt̃* is used after *-i* and *-au* suffixed nouns to denote a cause" is misinterpreted.◄

सहार्थायां स्नौ –60[129]. According to this sutra *sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an /sütin* are employed with *-s* and *-n* suffixed nouns to indicate accompaniment. The examples are: *mālis sūt̃an āv* (III per. mas. sg. came along with father); *bāyis sūt̃an m̃ūl* (III person mas. sg. met with / joined his brother).

►The instrumental case relation denoting postposition *sūt̃ ~ sūt̃an/sūtin* is used after the oblique form of the nouns and pronouns to denote accompaniment. Addition of *–s* and *–n* affixes are faulty assumptions (see 2/1/38).◄

हेतोः सम्बन्धषष्ठी कर्तृतृतीययोः प्रयोगलिंगात्प्रत्ययौ वा –61[130]. According to this sutra the genitive denoting sixth case suffix and the agentive instrumental denoting third case suffix are optionally employed after *-i* and *-au* ending nouns to express a cause. For example *guri sündi sūtin āv* (III per. mas.sg. came on horseback); *nāvi hündi sūt̃ vot* (III per.mas.sg. arrived by the boat); *mohñivan hündi sūt̃ gav* (per.mas.sg. went alongwith the servants), or, *guri sūt̃ āv* (III pers.mas.sg. came on horse); *nāvi sūt̃ vot* (IIIper.mas. sg.

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[129] *sahārthāyām snau*: ---------- ibid ---------- 2/1/60 p.38

[130] *hetoh sambandhṣaṣṭhī kartRtRtīyayoh prayogaliṅgātpratyayau vā*: --------- ibid ---------- 2/1/61 p.38

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arrived by the boat); *mohñivau sũ̃ gav* (III per.mas.sg. went alongwith servants).

►As explained constantly, Kashmiri has preserved only two cases of OIA, viz; i) nominative with vocative as a sub-class, and, ii) instrumental while as other cases such as accusative, dative, ablative, genitive and locative are expressed by the oblique form followed by the respective case relation denoting postpositional words. The fusion of various cases into one form (oblique) resulted into disuse of the Sanskrit ordinals (*prathamā, dvitīyā, tRtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī, saptami*) denoting the seven triplets. The use of technical terminations such as सम्बन्धषष्ठी (genitive sixth case) and कर्तृतृतीया (agentive third case) by the author is, therefore, erroneous. The sentences framed by the author in support of his sutra, such as- *mohñivan* ***hündi*** *sũ̃ gav, guri* ***sũ̃*** *āv, nāvi* ***hündi sũ̃*** *vot* etc. are incongruous with the accepted grammatical structure of Kashmiri. The correct formulation of these sentences would be: ***guriṡ pãṭh*** *āv* (III per.massg. came on horse); *nāvi* ***manz*** *vot* (III per. mas.sg. arrived by boat); ***mohñivan sũ̃*** *gav* (III per.mas. sg. went alongwith servants) etc.. In these sentences the nouns like *gur* and *nāv* express the modes of action and not the cause as assumed by the author. Similarly, *mohñuv* is the accompanying person and not a cause. *-i* is suffixed to the genitive case relation denoting postpositional word *sund* to form the causative termination *sündi*. The examples are: *śuṟ sündi phuṭ tamāśi* (the toy was broken by the child), *ləḍükü sündi lŏgus dakü* (III per.mas. sg. got pushed over by the boy). Use of *sũ̃* after the causative termination *sündi* is optional and context specific.◄

खोत् निश वाऽपायपंचम्याम् –62[131]. The genitive denoting suffix is employed with *khotü ~ khotan* and *niś ~ niśin* to denote the fifth case expressive of point of separation. The illustrations are: *gərü sündi khotü chu gāṭul* (III per.mas. sg. is wiser than his Guru); *kañi hüdi khotü chu trakur* (III per.mas.sg. is more strong than a stone); *rəpü niś chu sən jān* (gold is better than silver); *rəpav khotü chi dār jān* (money is better than silvers).

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[131] *khotü niś vāapāyapañcamyām* : -------- ibid ------- 2/1/62 p.39

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▶The principal sense of the ablative case is 'motion away from a solid point'[132]. Hence the noun expressive of a stable point, from which the motion takes place, is put in the ablative case. The two indeclinable words i.e, *khotü* and *niś*, are basically used to denote the comparative and superlative degree of the adjectives. These indeclinables follow the noun with which the comparison is made and the adjective itself remains in the positive degree. In the comparative degree the noun occurs in the oblique or genitive form while in the superlative degree the name of the class occurs in the instrumental plural form. The pronominal adjective *sārī*, in its instrumental plural form (*sārivüy*), precedes the name of the class. For example: *ləḍükas ~ ləḍükü sündi khotü ~ niś chi kūr gāṭüj* (the girl is wiser than the boy). *gɔrü sündi khotü chu gāṭul* (is wiser than the Guru) *sārivüy ləḍükav khotü ~ niś chu Kabir gāṭul* (Kabir is wisest of all the boys). Besides, the use of the word *rɔpav* is erroneous in as much the names of the metals in Kashmiri do not occur in the plural number. Similarly, the qualitative adjective *trakur* is usually employed to denote the stiffness of an object or impudent behavior of a person and not hardness of a stone or rock for which the appropriate word is *sakhüt* (*kañi hüdi khotü chu sakhüt*).

The ablative case relation is expressed, in Kashmiri, by employing the postpositional word *p̃aṭhü* or *niś* after the noun expressive of the stable point, e.g; Karim *āv gāmü* ***p̃aṭhü*** vāpas (Karim returned from the village), *kuli p̃aṭhü* p̃av panüvəthür (the leaf fell down from the tree). *niś* usually occurs with the verb √*an* (to bring / fetch), e.g; *dŏbis niś an* palav (fetch the clothes from the washer man), *gūris niś an* dɔd (fetch the milk from the milkman).◀

सामान्यचतुर्थ्यां पुछ्य –६३[133]. The word *puc̃h* optionally follows the genitive or instrumental form to express the indefinite fourth case (सामान्यचतुर्थ्यां) singular and plural, e.g., *putra puc̃h āv* (III per mas.sg. came for the sake of son), *putrau puc̃h āv* (III per mas.sg. came for the sake of sons), *putra sündi puc̃h āv* (III per mas.sg. came

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[132] *druvamapāya apādānam*: Pāṇini – 1.4.24

[133] *sāmānyacaturthyām puchya* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/63 p..39 .

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for the sake of son), *putran hündi pučh āv* (III per mas.sg. came for the sake of sons).

►In Kashmiri, the dative case relation is expressed by employing the postpositional word *kut ~ kič* after the oblique form of the noun (see 2/1/54). The term *pučh* is also employed but very rarely after the genitive postpositional word (*sund* according to number and gender of the object) to express the dative case relation, such as- *nečivi sündi pučh āv* (came for the sake of son) and *korendi / kori hündi pučh āv* (came for the sake of daughter). The words *putra* and *putrau* are misconceived and, thus, misspelled by the author. These words are actually pronounced as *pŏtrü /pɔtürü pučh* and *pŏtürav/ pɔtürav pučh* respectively. But, author's statement सामान्यचतुर्थ्या is incomprehensible and does not show any compatibility with the declensional morphology of nouns in Kashmiri. It is noteworthy that the use of *pučh* has become obsolete and the term *khātürü* is commonly used to denote the sense 'for the sake of'.◄

उकप्रत्ययस्योकारस्याऽकारः –64[134]. According to author's explanation of the sutra *pučh* is added after the genitive affix *–uk*. In this process *-u* changes into *-a* before *pučh* and (according to 2/1/30) *–i* is augmented before *-k*, e.g., *paṭyaki pučh* (for the woolen cloth).

►The statement made in this sutra is not justified for the reasons that the crude form of the noun denoting 'woolen cloth' is *pŏṭ*. The termination *-uk* is added to names of objects in the sense 'belonging to'. if the final consonant of the noun, to which *-uk* is affixed, is preceded by *-ŏ*, it is replaced by *–a* and the final consonant is palatalized before *–uk*, e.g., *kŏr* (metal bangle) *-uk* → ***kañuk*** → *kañuk sɔn* (gold of the bangle), *khŏt* (niche) *-uk* → ***khañuk*** → *khañuk sāmānü* (things stored in the niche), *cŏḍ* (small earthen pitcher) *-uk* → ***čaḍuk*** → *čaḍuk dɔd* (milk stored in the small earthen pitcher). The nouns derived by the addition of *–uk* function as attributives and, thus, take the number, gender and case of the appellatives they qualify, such as- *čaḍikis dɔdas trāv zāg* (add rennet to the milk in the earthen pitcher). Addition of *–uk* to *pŏṭ* and followed by *pučh* is

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[134] *ukapratyayasyokārasyāakārah*: ------- ibid ------ 2/1/64 p. 40

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meaningless. The termination *-uv* is commonly used in the sense of 'made of', such as- *paṭ̃uv koṭh* (jacket made of hand woven woolen cloth), *paṭ̃iṽ palav* (dresses made of woolen cloth), *mĕc̃uv bānü* (earthen pot). The sense 'made of' is also indicated by making some alterations in the internal structure of the base, such as- *pəṭ̃ koṭh* (jacket made of hand woven woolen cloth), *pəṭ̃ palav* (dresses made of woolen cloth), *mĕči bānü* (earthen pot). The most commonly used dative postpositions are *k̃ut ~ kič, khətürü, mɔkhü* and *bāpath*. The indeclinable *puc̃h* is very rarely found in use. Addition of *–uk* to *pŏṭ* and followed by *puc̃h* is irrelevant. Use of affixes expressive of 'belonging to' or 'made of' is the subject of secondary derivatives and, thus, should have been discussed in the chapter on 'Secondary Stem Formation'.◀

पंचम्यामिदौतौ प्यठान्तौ निशान्तावन्द्रान्तौ वा –65[135]. The postpositions *p̃aṭh, niś* and *andar* are employed with the *-i* and *-au*[136] affixed nominal stems to express the ablative singular and plural case relation, such as- *gām p̃aṭh* (from the village), *gāmau p̃aṭh* (from the villages), *sarpa niś* (from the snake), *sarpau niś* (from the snakes), *gar andar drāv* (came out from inside the house), *nāvi andar drāv* (came out from inside the boat).

▶This sutra is a repetition of 2/1/62. As explained earlier, the ablative case relation is expressed, in Kashmiri, by employing the postpositional word *p̃aṭhü* (and not *p̃aṭh* as conceived by Īśvar Kaul) or *niś* after the noun expressive of the stable point, such as- *karīm āv gāmü p̃aṭhü vāpas* (Karim returned from the village), *kuli p̃aṭhü p̃av panüvəthür* (the leaf fell down from the tree). As explained earlier, *niś* usually occurs with the verb √*an* (to bring / fetch), e.g., *dŏbis niś an palav* (fetch the clothes from the washer man). The adverb *andar* is in itself expressive of a stable point and does not occur as ablative postposition, e.g; *kustām drāv əndürü p̃aṭhü* (somebody came out from inside). The examples like *sarpa niś*, *sarpau niś*, *gar andar drāv*

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[135] *pañcamyāmitautau pyaṭhāntau niśāntāvandrātau vā*:
------- ibid ------2/1/65 p. 40

[136] See 2/1/34 - 37

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cited in support of the sutra are structurally erroneous constructions.◄

वर्गप्रथमान्तानां प्रथमायां द्वितीयः; स्त्रियामेकवचन एव –66/67[137]. If a masculine noun ends in the first letter of plosives, it is replaced by the second letter of the same class in the first case singular and plural, such as: *trakh* (a Kashmiri unit of weight), *kaṭh* (sheep), *hath* (hundred), *tāph* (sunshine). In case of the feminine nouns this rule applies only to singular forms, e.g., *krakh* (uproar, crying), *rač* (a very small quantity), *naṭh* (trembling), *vath* (way, path), *čāph* (chewing). The plurals of these nouns are *krak*, *rač*, *naṭ*, *vat*, and *čāp*) respectively.

►These two sutras are incomprehensible statements. The author asserts that the first letter of the varga (plosives)[138], that is the voiceless un-aspirated consonant (*k,c,ṭ,t* and *p*) at the final position of a masculine noun is replaced by the second letter of the same class i.e., the voiceless aspirated consonant (*kh,ch,ṭh,th* and *ph*) to form its nominative singular and plural. It indicates that the crude forms of the above cited illustrations should be *trak, kaṭ, kāc, hat,* and *tāp* respectively which is not correct. There are numerous masculine and feminine common nouns in Kashmiri which have a voiced or voiceless, aspirated or un-aspirated consonant or vowel *–ü* at the word final position and are employed in the same form in the nominative singular. However, the aspiration of the final consonant is dropped only if a declensional affix is appended to it. The nouns illustrated above by the author are actually sequentially declined in the nominative, oblique and instrumental singular and plural as - *kaṭh – -θ, -as, - an, -av → kaṭh, kaṭas, kaṭan, kaṭav; krakh – -ü, -i, -an → krakü, krěki, krakan; rač – -ü, -i, -an → račü, rači, račan; vath – -*

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[137] *vargaprathamāntānām prathamāyām dvitīyah; striyāmekavacan eva:*
--------- ibid --------- 2/1/-66/67 p. 40-41

[138] According to place of articulation the plosives are classified, by Panini, into five classes called varga. Each varga consists of five speech sounds of the same class and is named after the first letter of the class, such as *kavarga, cavarga, ṭavarga, tavarga* and *pavarga*.

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ü, *-i*, *-an* → *vatü*, *vati*, *vatan*. *naṭ* (tremor) and *čāph* (chewing) are employed only in the singular number.◀

न संयोगे तचोः −६८[139]. The voiceless un-aspirated dental stop *-t* or affricate *-č* combined with a consonant at the final position of a noun is not replaced by the voiceless aspirate *-th* or *-čh* respectively. The examples are: *süč* (tailor), *batüc* (she duck), *bəküč* (female pup), *maküč* (axe), *mast*[140] (hair) and *nast*[141] (nose). The consonants other than *-t* and *-č* are replaced by their respective voiceless aspirates. This rule applies only to the nominal stems whose final letter is a consonant clusters, e.g; *remph* (diminution), *čāmph* (consolation). This does not apply to *rath* (blood), *rãčh* (nickname)[142]etc..

▶The author's statement that the given rule applies only to those nouns whose final letter is a consonant cluster (पूर्ववर्णसंयुक्तयोः)[143] is not justified for two reasons. One, the consonant clusters, in Kashmiri, consist of a consonant phoneme associated with the trill and can occur only in the initial and medial positions of the word, such as- *prār* (wait), *drŏg* (costly), *črŏ̃g* (a handful of dry vegetables) etc.. Two, none of the above illustrated nouns shows presence of *-t* or *-č* combined with another consonant at the final position of the word as assumed by the author. Besides, *mast* and *nast* are misrepresented in as much as these forms are actually pronounced as *mas* and *nas* respectively.◀

उदन्तानामोदुपधाया आत्वमप्रथमैकत्वे −६९[144]. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that (प्रथमैकवचनं वर्जयित्वा उदन्तानां उकारान्तानां लिंगानां उपधाभूतो यः ओकारः तस्य आत्वं भवति शेषासु विभक्तिषु....) *-o* preceding the final letter of the *-u* ending nouns is replaced by *ā* in all case forms except the nominative singular. *-i* is added to the final consonant as in- *māli* (fathers), *mālis*

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139 *na samyoge tačoh*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/68 p..41

140 -------- ibid ---------- p. 41

141 -------- ibid ---------- p. 41

142 Nick-name which is either derogatory or derived from association with some place, family background or profession

143 -------- ibid ---------- p. 41

144 *udantānāmodupadhāyā ātvamaprathamaikatve*: --------- ibid ------- p. 42

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(father obl. sg.), *māli sund* (father gen. sg.), *vāli* (small round holes), *vālis* (small round hole obl. sg.), *vāli dŏp*[145](the small round hole said), *bāyi* (brothers), *bāyis* (brother obl. sg.), *bāyi sund* (brother gen. sg.).

►Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra is not clear. The illustrations quoted above also do not match with the assertions of the author. According to author, the preceding *-o* of the *-u* ending nouns changes into *-ā* while as in the above illustrations *-o* of *mol*, *vol* and *boy* is replaced by *-ā* instead of *-ā*. Similarly, the illustrated nouns end in a consonant instead of *-u* as assumed by the author. The concept उदन्तानां (nouns ending in *-u*) is, therefore, hypothetical. In addition, *-ŏ* and *-o* preceding the final letter of the word are, as explained earlier, replaced by *-ə* and *-ā* respectively in the nominative plural, oblique and genitive singular forms while as these are replaced by *-a* and *-ā* respectively before the addition of oblique plural termination. In this process the final consonant of the stem is palatalized (see 2/1/4).◄

इदुदूदन्तानामवर्णाप्रसिद्धता –70[146]. The preceding *–a* of the *-i* and *-u* ending stems changes into uncommon vowel as exemplified under the previous sutra. Other examples are - *pŏṭu* (woolen cloth) → *paṭi*, *hŏṭu* (throat) → *haṭi* and *tanu* (body) → *tani*. According to author since these stems have *-u* at the end, the preceding *-a* changes into corresponding uncommon vowel (.....इत्यादीनां शब्दानां स्वयं उकारमात्रात्वात् उपधायाः अकारस्य अप्रसिद्धता.....)[147]. The author further says that according to 2/1/30, the final *-u* is replaced by *-i* to form the plurals and this *–i* also causes the conversion of the preceding *–a* into uncommon vowel as in *pəṭi* (woolen cloths), *həṭi* (throats), *təni* (bodies). The words such as *mājū* (mother), *kāṭhū* (vegetable stalk) have *-ū* at the end. It also makes the preceding *-a* to be replaced by the uncommon vowel and according to 2/1/11, *-ā* is further augmented to form the plurals. According to 2/1/22, *-ṭh*

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[145] This construction is unintelligible.

[146] *idudūdantānāmavarṇāprasiddhtā* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 2/1/70 p..42

[147] ---------- ibid -------- p. 42

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becomes *-ch* and *-u* is replaced by *-i* to form *māji* (mothers) and *kāchi* (vegetable stalks).

▶The above sutra and the reasoning given by the author are intricate and impossible to fathom. The examples given in support of the sutra do not corroborate with the contents of the sutra as none of these words occur as *-i* or *-u* ending. The actual pronunciation of these stems is *pŏṭ*, *hŏṭ* and *tan* respectively. Change of *-u* into *-i* and replacement of the preceding *-a* is imaginary. In *pŏṭ* and *hŏṭ -ṭ* at the end is preceded by *-ŏ* which, as stated above, is replaced by the mid central short vowel *-ə* in the nominative plural, oblique and genitive singular forms and by *-a* before the addition of oblique plural termination, such as - *pŏṭ - pəṭ̃- paṭ̃an*; *hŏṭ - həṭ̃- haṭ̃an*. If *-ə* or *-ā* precedes the final consonant of the stem, it is replaced by *-a* or *-ā* respectively in the nominative plural and other case forms, e.g; *māj* → *māji*, *mājan*; *kāṭh* → *kāchi*, *kāchan*, and, *čər* (sparrow) → *čari*, *čaṟ̃an*[148] etc.◀

जाम ओत्वं परस्वरलोपश्च; गाव शब्दस्यौकारः –71/72[149]. *ā* of *zām* (husband's sister) and *gāv* (cow) is replaced by *-o* in all case forms except in nominative singular. The examples are: *zām* → *zom*, *zom von*, *zomav*, *zom hund* ; *gāv* → *gov*, *govün*, *gov hund* etc.

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions are misconceived. The reason is *-ā* in the medial position of the words *zām* and *gāv* is neither dropped nor is converted into *-o*. *-ā* is actually replaced by the mid central long vowel *-ə̄/*, such as - *zām* → *zəm*, *zəm vŏn*, *zəmav*, *zəm hund*. Similarly, *gāv* → *gəv*, *gəvan*, *gəv hund* etc. *zom* and *gov* are incorrect.◀

उदन्तत्र्यक्षराणामुकारस्याकारः; नक्वछ्लादीनां शेषं कर्म –73/74[150]. *–u* preceding the final consonant of the *–u* ending tri-syllabic stems is replaced by *-a* in all the cases except nominative singular as in *gāṭulu*

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[148] Razdan S - Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 159

[149] *zām otvam parasvara lopaśca; gāvaśabdasyaukārah* :
Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 2/1/-71 /72 p..43-44

[150] *ūdantatryakṣarāṇāmukārasyākārah; na kɔčhalādīnām śeṣam karma* :
------ ibid ------ 2/1/-73/74 p. 44

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(wise) → *gāṭlis, gāṭl̃an, gāṭl̃av* etc. This does not apply to the monosyllabic or disyllabic words such as – *kul* (tree) → *kulis, kul̃an* etc. Further, the declensional affixes added to the tri-syllabic word like *gāṭul* are different than those which are added to stems like *kɔčhulu* (porter), *čakulu* (small piece of any object such as wood, metal, cheese etc.), *gɔgulu* (covering), *vātulu* (sweeper), *gaguru* (rat), *batukhu* (duck) and *mɔnguru* (lamb).

►उदन्त i.e; stems ending in *-u* is not justified as none of the above illustrated stems is literally उदन्त. Change of *-u* to *-a* is also not correct. In *gāṭul -u* preceding the final letter *-l* is replaced by *-ü* instead of *–a* as given by the author. The nominative plural of *gāṭul* is formed by palatalizing its final *-l* (*gāṭul* → *gāṭül̃*) and its plural in other cases is formed by appending the respective plural case terminations to the nominative plural *gāṭül̃*, such as- *gāṭul* → *gāṭül̃, gāṭül̃an, gāṭül̃av*. However, a different rule applies to stems like *kɔčhul*, *čakul* etc. In other words *-u* preceding the final letter of these stems is replaced by *-a* and the final letter is not palatalized, such as - *kɔčhal* (porters), *kɔčhülas/an* (obl. sg./ plu.), *kɔčhülan / av* (ins. sg./ plu.). Similarly, other illustrated bases decline as: *čakul* → *čakülas, čakülan*; *gɔgul* → *gɔgülas, gɔgülan*; *vātul* → *vātülas, vātülan, vātülav*; *gagur* → *gagüras, gagüran, gagürav*; *batukh* → *batükas, batükan, batükav*; *mɔngur* → *mɔngüras, mɔngüran* and *mɔngürav* etc.◄

इकारे लोपः –75[151]. According to Īśvar Kaul, the final *-u* of the *-u* ending stem is dropped before *-i* such as - *gāṭul, gāṭli, gāṭli vŏn, gāṭli sündi pučh* etc.

►These assertions are baseless in as much as the illustration cited by the author is a consonant ending stem and does not possess *-u* at the end. The word *gāṭlu* is incorrect. Besides, addition of *-i* is also not correct. As stated above, *-u* preceding the final letter is replaced by *-ü* and the final letter is palatalized before the addition of the declensional plural affixes. The declension of *gāṭul* (wise) is shown below to make this statement cogent:

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[151] *ikāre lopaḥ*: ------- ibid ------- 2/1/75 p. 45

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	Sg.	*Plu.*
Nom.	gāṭul	gāṭũl̃
Obl.	gāṭülis	gāṭũl̃an
Ins.	gāṭũl̃	gāṭũl̃av
Gen.	gāṭũl̃ sund	gāṭũl̃an hund◄

युकारोपधाया इत् ; यूकारस्येसोरीत् ; शेषेष्वेकारः –76/7/ 78[152]. According to author, the preceding *-yu* of the stems ending in *-u* is replaced by *-i* while as *-yū* changes to *-ī* in all case forms except in nominative singular. The examples are - *ẽuṭhu*, *ziṭhis*, *ziṭ̃h*, *čũ̃nu*, *čĩnis*, *čĩñ*. *-ī* further changes to *-e* in the case forms other than nominative plural and accusative singular forms, as in – *čeñan*, *čeñuk* etc.

►The words cited by the author do not have *-u* at the end. These are basically consonant ending stems and are pronounced as *ẽuṭh* (elderly person) and *čũ̃n* (pillar) respectively. If the final consonant of a masculine root or stem is preceded by *-yu* or *-yū* like sound[153] it is replaced by *i* or *-ī* respectively to form the nominative plurals and oblique singulars and *–e* (2/1/78) to form the oblique plurals and instrumental and genitive singular and plural forms of inanimate objects, e.g.,

	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	ẽuṭh	ziṭ̃h	čũ̃n	čĩñ
Obl.	ziṭhis	ziṭ̃han	čĩnis	čeñan
Ins.	ziṭhis sũ̃t	ziṭ̃han sũ̃t	čeni sũ̃t	čeñav sũ̃t
Gen.	ziṭ̃h sund	ziṭ̃han hund	čeñuk	čeñan hund◄

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[152] *yukāropadhāyā it ; yūkārasyesorīt ; śeṣeṣvekārah* : --------- ibid ------- 2/1/-76/77/78 p. 45-46

[153] In *ẽuṭh* and *čũ̃n* the initial sounds are actually palatalized consonants followed by a vowel and a consonant. The combination of palatalization of the consonant preceding *u/ū* causes the vowel to sound as *–yu*.

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नगुरुत्वं ह्रस्वस्य संयोगे –79[154]. According to author the short vowel followed by a consonant cluster is not pronounced as a long vowel, e.g; *mahanyuv* (man).

►The assertions of the author are not clear. Even the word *mahanyuv* quoted as example also does not explain the author's statement.◄

►Analysis of present chapter shows that the author has oftentimes tried to describe the inflection morphology of nouns in Kashmiri in the light of the Paninian methodology. This approach of author has converted the simple declensional system of Kashmiri into intricate and incomprehensible descriptions. The major drawback of the chapter is author's misperception regarding pronunciation of the Kashmiri nouns. All most all nouns have been described as ending in *-u* or *-ū* which is incorrect and misleading especially for those whose mother tongue is not Kashmiri or who are not Kashmiri speakers and moreover for those researchers who are not fully conversant with the linguistic peculiarities of Kashmiri. The dominant tendency to introduce the Kashmiri words ending with *–u* or *-ū* is evident not only in the writing but also the author's frequent use of the words like *udanta* and *ūdanta* (उदन्त, ऊदन्त) in his sutras indubitably support the impression that he has literally inadequate knowledge of the distribution of the speech sounds in Kashmiri which is the main reason for his misunderstanding of the pronunciation of the Kashmiri names. The author has classed the high central and mid central short and long vowels as uncommon letters (*aprasiddha varṇa*) without taking into account the differences between them which shows author's inadequate knowledge of oral factors of Kashmiri vowels.◄

The author has concluded the chapter on noun morphology with the words (इति शारदाक्षेत्र भाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते लिंगप्रकरणे लिंगपादःप्रथमः) 'here ends the declension of nouns, the first part of noun morphology in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'.

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[154] *na gurutvam hrasvasya sanyoge* : ------ ibid ------ 2/1/79 p. 46

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2.2
Vocative Terms[1]

►The second sub-chapter, *sambuddhipādah*, throws light on the vocative case of the Kashmiri nouns. The vocative case pertains to *modes of address* or the *act of calling*. It is also called the nominative of address. The terms of address in Kashmiri are correlated with the socio-cultural status as well as interpersonal relationship between the addresser and the addressee. Different types of interjections, first names, diminutive first names, honorific first or surnames, prepositional and postpositional particles, kinship terms and terms associated with professions are employed before or/and after the personal or common name of the addressee. Īśvar Kaul has used the word *pratyaya* (affix) for these terms which is not correct. The reason is that affixes are basically bound morphemes which are directly appended, in the forms of prefixes, infixes or suffixes, to the bases either to constitute new terms or to indicate the inflexion of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. Affixes manifest their meanings only after these are appended to the free forms. Besides, the addition of affixes may cause some changes in the internal structure of the stem while as the terms used in the act of addressing are placed before or after the name of the addressee and thus, act as prepositional or postpositional words respectively. The examples are: *hatubi danuvati* (O! Dhanwati), *hatav rosy lālav* (O! Rosy dear). ◄

According to Īśvar Kaul, the affixes (pre/post positional words) mentioned here onwards (इत उत्तरं[2]) are employed to denote (आमन्त्रणे –1[3]) the mode of direct address in Kashmiri. The author says:

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1 *atha liṅgaprakaraṇe sambuddhipādah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam: p.8

2 *ita uttaram* : -------- ibid ------- p. 47

3 *āmantraṇe*: --------- ibid -------- 2/2/1 p.47

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पुमादराह्वाने विशिष्टान्नाम्नो वा पूर्वं हे −2[4] . *he-* is the honorific interjection employed by a male person before the personal name of a male addressee. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that masculine personal names preceded by the interjection *he-* are usually followed either by the respectful interjection *juv* or by the surname of the person, such as– *he naran juv*; *he ganü kol*.

►Before commenting on the above-cited sutra it is desirable to mention that the native speakers of Kashmiri belong to two main religious communities viz; Hindus (generally called Pandits) and Muslims. Both the communities are further divided into socio-economic groups on the basis of professions and avocations. Pandits, who are all Brahmins by caste, are historically grouped into three classes viz., *purohits*, *kārkuns* and *buhuris*. Generally these three socio-economic groups do not enter into matrimonial alliances with each other. The *purohits* are religious gurus and their profession is to guide and assist the other two groups in the performance of the religious rites, rituals and ceremonies and constitute the clergy of the community. Accordingly, the mode of address used for this group is always respectful. Among the *karkuns*, the persons engaged in sundry professions such as cooking, confectionery, bakery and tailoring are considered socially lower in status. Rest among the *karkuns* constitutes the service class. They are the largest segment of the community and enjoy higher status among the *karkuns*. The terms of address used for the service class are the same as those for the *purohits*. The *buhuris* are businessmen dealing especially in grocery and other items of day to day use. Muslim community is also divided into different professional groups such as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, goldsmiths, potters, braziers, oil extractors/traders, greengrocers, bakers, butchers, cobblers, sweepers, cooks, barbers, tailors, water-carriers, white collar workers and businessmen etc. Their modes of address reflect the socio-economic stratum of the people who interact.

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[4] *pumādarāhvāna viśiṣṭānnāmno vā pūrvam he*: ------- ibid -------- 2/2/2 p.47

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he- followed by *-juv* after the name of a person has almost disappeared among the Pandits while as it is in use among Muslims even now. *-juv* is a honorific interjection employed, in the present day Kashmiri, after the initial names of elderly persons such as- ***he sulü juv***, ***he kādir juv*** etc. *–juv* does not follow the surname of a person. In other words ***he sulü dar juv*** is not the norm. *-juv* is replaced by *kākh* and is employed by the members of both the communities, such as- *he narān kākh*, *he sɔnü kākh* etc. *-kākh* is also used as a respectful term in the informal address by the youngsters of the Muslim community for the elderly member of the family like grandfather or great grandfather etc. Īśvar Kaul is silent about the modes of address used by the Muslim Kashmiri speakers in their discourse.◀

अन्ते सा प्रत्ययश्च ; हतसाहे पूर्वं वा –3/4[5]. In more respectful address *-sā* is also employed after *-juv* or surname or even after the personal name of a person, such as- ***he naran juv sā***, ***he ram kol sā***, ***he nārān sā***. *hatsā-* is optionally employed before *-he* such as - ***hatüsā he naran juv sā***, ***hatüsā he ram kol sā***, ***he nārān sā***.

▶The addition of suffix *-sā* is not in use in the present day Kashmiri. Instead, the honorific terms like *-jī* and *-sāb* are used after the first name or surname of the addressee, e.g., ***he sulü sāb***; ***he ashok jī***; ***he razdan sāb***. *-jī* and *-sāb* are commonly used with the Hindu names and Muslim names respectively. Besides, *sāb* is used with surnames and professional titles of both the communities, such as- ***he kol sāb***; ***he dar sāb***; ***he zargar sāb*** etc. *hatüsā-* is used while addressing spouses and juniors for showing intimacy. Sometimes, a wife may also use the honorific term *-sāb* after the surname or professional title of her husband such as *kol **sāb**, dākhtar **sāb**, riyaz **sāb*** etc.◀

बा प्रत्ययः पुरोहित सामान्यदासेषु –5[6]. *bā* is used after the names of the *purohits*, common men and servants, such as- *he naran bā*. *-bā* is not employed after the surname of a person. Thus, *he ganü breṭh bā* is incorrect.

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5 *ante sā pratyayaśca ; hatasāhe pūrvam vā* : ------- ibid ------- 2/2/3 – 4 p.47

6 *bā pratyayah purohita sāmānya dāseṣu*: --------- ibid ------- 2/2/5 p. 48

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►These assertions of Īśvar Kaul do not apply to the present day Kashmiri. *-bā* generally occurs combined with the imperative II person (sg./plu.) verb forms in the sense of order or command, such as- *vəth bā/vəthiv bā* (you sg./plu. get up), *tul bā/tuliv bā* (you sg./plu. pick up), *par bā/pəriv bā* (you sg./plu. read) etc.. In addition, about two generations back, *-bā* used to be a respectful term employed even by the daughter to address her father or by mother-in-law to address her son-in-law etc. It is probable that the use of *-bā* after first names of *purohits*, common men and servants might have been prevalent among the Kashmiri speakers of the nineteenth or early twentieth century and became obsolete with the passage of time. However, the term *boy* (brother) was most commonly used with the names of *purohits* during the latter half of the twentieth century but this term also elided gradually.

-bā combined with the words like *hatü*, *talü* or *k̃āh* is used before the first name to formally address non- acquaintances, formal relations and persons of low profession such as labourers, servants, cooks etc. as in- ***hatübā ram ji/juv, talübā sulü kākh/juv*** etc. The feminine form of *-bā* is *-bī* as in ***hatübī ramrānī.***◄

हतसाहेपूर्वं वा वृद्धेषु; आ प्रत्ययः कनिष्ठनीचयोः ; हताशब्दः पूर्वं च -6/7/8[7]. If a *purohit* is an elderly person (तेषु पुरोहितादिषु वृद्धेषु सत्सु) *hatüsāhe* or *hatübāhe* is prefixed before his name to show respect for the addressee, e.g., *hatüsāhe səhaz **bā**, hatübāhe zan **bā**.* Its feminine form is *hatübī* as in *hatübī danüwatī.* Further, according to आ प्रत्ययः कनिष्ठनीचयोः *ā* is suffixed to the first names of youngsters or persons of low social status and according to हताशब्दः पूर्वं च *hatā* is employed to address a person (youngster or a person of low status) who is some distance away but within the sight of the addresser.

►According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the above-cited sutra final *-u* of *–u* ending nouns is replaced by *–i* which further changes into *–y* in the vocative case such as: *gulu → gul̃ā.* In addition, the

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[7] *hatüsāhe pūrvam vā vRddheṣu; ā pratyayah kaniṣṭhanīcayoh; hatāśabdah pūrvam ca* : -------- ibid ------- 2/2/6-8 p. 48

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terminations which are added to masculine and feminine nouns in the objective case are employed to form their respective vocative forms. These assertions are unfounded. The name *gulu* is actually employed as *gulü* and does not possess *-u* at the final position. Replacement of *-u* by *-i* and then by *-y* is, therefore, uncalled for. It is rather a peculiarity of Kashmiri that *–l* preceding the final vowel of a name is optionally palatalized in the vocative case, e.g; *gulü* → *gulā* ~ *gul̃ā*. As stated in the previous chapter, in constructions wherein verb takes two objects, the direct object occurs in the nominative form and the indirect object occurs in the oblique form. The assertions that the accusative case terminations are employed in the nominative of address are, therefore, incorrect.

Further, the illustrations quoted in support of the sutras reflect addition of *-o* as well, such as: ***hato paryo***. ***hatā mānā***; ***hatā mānü kolā***; ***hatā gul̃ā***. The term *-hatüsə* is used not only before the names of the elderly persons to show respect but is also used while addressing spouses and youngsters to show intimacy. ***hatüsə*** or ***hatüsə he*** is used by the Kashmiri Pandit speakers while as the terms used by the Muslim speakers are *jināb* and *həz*, the derivations from Persio-Arabic words ***janāb*** and ***haz/drat*** meaning sir, Excellency respectively. These terms are used after interjection *hatü*, such as- ***hatüjināb / hatühəz sulü səb***. The present day Kashmiri shows replacement of *hatüsə* by the honorific term *hatümāhrā*. This term is used only by the Pandit speakers in informal conversation to address elderly persons as well as in formal conversations to show respect.◀

हा दूरविषादयोराप्रत्ययस्यचोकारः ; हतो वा –9/10[8]. *-hā* or *-hato* is used before the name of a (deceased) person to express pain or grief or to address a person from remote distance. In this process *-ā* at the end is optionally replaced by *-o*, such as- ***hā narāno***; ***hā kāko*** or ***hato parõ***.

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[8] *hā dūraviṣādayorāpratyayasyacokārah ; hato vā* :
——— ibid ——— 2/2/-9/ 10 p.49

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माजप्रत्ययोवृद्धस्त्रियोनाम्नः;बेञ सामान्यायाः;हतपूर्वौ पूर्वे च −11/12/13[9]. *-māj* (mother) is used before or after the name to address an elderly or aged woman (especially unfamiliar). The women of the same age group address each other by using the word *beñ ~ biñ* (sister) before and/or after her name. These words, i.e; *māj* and *běñ/biñ* are usually preceded by the interjection *hatü*, such as- ***hatü māj*** *pārvat* ***māj***; ***hatüběñ/biñ*** *pārvat* ***běñ***.

य प्रत्ययः कनिष्ठनीचयोः; हाहतहत्' पूर्वः पूर्वे च −14/15[10]. *-y* combined with *hā, hat* or *hatü* is employed before the names of females to address juniors and women of low status, such as: *hāy vačhüriy, hatay vačhüriy, hatāy vačhüriy*.

►It is quite surprising that in the above-cited sutra the author says that the interjections like *hay, hāy* etc. are used before the names of females especially of younger persons or of women of low status while as the illustrations quoted by the author reveal the use of interjections under discussion before the terms denoting female animals.

The interjection *hatay/hayay* is most commonly used by Pandit women speakers in informal conversation to address younger and women of the same age group to show intimacy. The examples are: ***hatay/hayay*** *dulari*. In addition, *hatay/hayay* is also used in ordinary conversations to address the women of low status. Muslim women use *hatav* in formal and close relationships and *hatay* in informal relationships. *-av* is appended to names following *hatav*, such as- ***hatav*** parveen***av***/parveen ***lalav***. The speakers of Maraz or south Kashmir use ***hatay həy*** or ***hāy*** to address women of same age group or youngsters, such as- ***hatay hāy*** *rajay* or *hāy rajay*.◄

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[9] *mājpratyayovRddha striyonāmnah ; běñ sāmānyāyāh ; hatapūrvau pūrve ca :* --------- ibid --------- 2/2/ -11/12/ 13 p. 49

[10] *ya pratyayah kaniṣṭhanīcayoh; hā hata hatü pūrvah pūrve ca :* ------- ibid ------- 2/2 / 14,15 p. 50

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स्त्रियादराहूते पुंनाम्नो बा प्रत्ययः –16[11]. In honorific address women use interjection *-bā* after the names of males. But, this interjection is usually employed to address a *purohit*.

►As stated earlier (see 2/2/5), interjection *bā/bī* combined with words like *hatü*, *talü* or *k̃āh* was most commonly used by women in the formal conversation before the names of males to address formal relations, non- acquaintances and persons of low profession such as labourers, servants, cooks etc. The examples are: ***hatübā ram ji/juv/ hatübī ramrānī***, ***hatübā bāyṭāṭāṭhi***, ***hatübī bĕnṭāṭ̃h*** etc. Use of *-bā* in the present day Kashmiri has become obsolete and is now very rarely used by the elderly people to address the persons of low professions only.◄

अव प्रत्ययः प्रियकनिष्ठ्योः; हतपूर्वौ पूर्व च; अ वा –17/18/19[12]. *hatü-* combined with *-av* or *-ā* is used to address youngsters and juniors, such as: *hatav kākav/ hatā kāka*.

►It is to be noted that *hatav* is used by the native speakers of Kashmiri who belong to the Maraz region of Kashmir and *-ā* is used by the native speakers who belong to the Kamraz and Srinagar regions.◄

बाय बायौ सामान्यसंज्ञायाश्च –20[13]. *bāyi* or *bāyau* is used with general names of persons such as- *hatübā mahadiva* ***bāyi*** or *hatau mahadiva* ***bāyau***.

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions are not correct. The term *boy* (brother), as stated earlier, was most commonly used with the names of *purohits* during the latter half of the twentieth century but this term is nearly extinct. *-au* (*hatau*) is a regional variant of *ā/sə* (*hata/hayā/ hatüsə*) most commonly used by the native speakers of south-east and south-west regions of the Kashmir valley, such as- *hatau bāylālav*. ◄

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11 *striyādarāhūte pumnāmno bā pratyayah* : ---------- ibid ---------- 2/2/16 p.50

12 *au pratyayah priyakaniṣṭhayoh ; hatpūrvau pūrvam ca* : *a vā*: --------- ibid ------2/2/-17/18/19 p. 50

13 *bāya bāyau sāmānyasamjñāyāśca* : -------- ibid -------- 2/2/20 p. 51

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दूरे पूर्व हतौ च; प्रत्याह्वाने म्लेच्छ्यापि –21/22[14]. *hatau* is used to address a person from remote distance, such as *hatau mansaramau*. *hatau* is also employed by Muslim women to address their husbands.

▶As stated above, *hatau* (in a particular tone) is prevalent among the Muslim speakers of south Kashmir. It is used by elders to address younger persons and juniors as well as by the younger people to address the elderly in formal relations, such as: ***hatau*** *razakā~au,* ***htau*** *ṭaṭhyā,* ***hatau*** *kakā.*◀

ब्राह्मण्यां पतिसंबोधनाभावः; केवलो हतशब्दः क्वचिन्नैकट्ये –23/24[15].

According to this sutra, among Kashmiri Pandits no formal modes of address are used by the wife for her husband except that at a near distance the wife may, while addressing her husband, use *hatü*.

▶It is true that there are no formal modes of address used by the wife for her husband or by the husband for his wife. The use of *hatü* associated with *hũh* → *hatü hũh* (without taking name or surname of the husband) was prevalent among the Pandit speakers up to first quarter or utmost first half of the twentieth century A.D. But, this practice is no longer in vogue. The present day Kashmiri couples of younger generations address each other by their first names while as the elderly couples do not take each other's names directly. The wife may use her husband's surname or his professional title associated with honorific interjection *sāb*, e.g; *ḍākhṭar sāb; profisarsāb* etc. or may only use honorific interjection ***hatüsā***. In upper class Muslim society the wife may address her husband by using the honorific term ***hatühəz*** before his name or surname or professional title followed by *sāb* such as- ***hatühəz*** *həmīd* ***sāb*** */ qureśī sāb / ḍākhṭar sāb* etc. while as in the lower strata of society the wife may address her husband by using non honorific terms *hatā ~ hayā, hato ~ hayo* or *ho* before his name such as: ***hatā / hayā / ho*** *rāhmānā.*◀

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[14] *dūre pūrvam hatau ca; pratyāhvāne mlecchayāpi* : --- ibid --- 2/2/-21/22 p. 51

[15] *brāhmaṇyāmpatisambodhanābhāvah ; kevalo hatü śabdah kvacinnaikaṭe* :
------ ibid ---- 2/2/23-24 p. 51

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स्त्री संबोधनेपुंवत् –25[16] . Īśvar Kaul says that women address each other in the same manner as they are addressed by men.

▶It is to be noted that the interjections employed to address a woman by a man or a woman may optionally be followed by the first name of the addressee, e.g; *hayay/hatay/ hatübī kaküñ /jigür̃* etc.◀

अंगीकारे सम्बोधनमुख्यप्रत्ययाआहनशब्दात्परा उक्त्युपक्रमे –26[17]. In the assertive address vocative interjection follows the acceptance denoting word *āhan*, such as: *āhansə̄* (yes hon.), *āhanbā* (yes informal), *āhanū* (yes youngster), *āhanbi/ñ* (yes o! sister), *āhanmāj* (yes o! mother) etc.

हपूर्वाश्चकेवल क्रियाया अन्ते ; वर्तमानायां प्रत्ययादावेव ; तदभावे नपूर्वाः –27/28/29[18]. In the address denoting action *h-* is employed before the interjection. Meanwhile, if the verb is in the present tense, *sə̄* is employed after *h-* as in: *āhansə̄ parān* ***hasə̄*** chus (yes! I am reading). In case of refusal; *n-* is employed (in place of *āhan*), such as- ***nasə̄*** ~ ***nabā*** *parānasə̄ ~ parānabā chu* (no, he does not read/study).

▶It noteworthy that in such address the negative particle *nü* is used after the auxiliary (in the present or past tnse) also, such as- ***nasə̄*** *parānasə̄* ***chunü*** */* ***osnü*** (no, he is/was not reading/studying). ◀

कर्मयुक्तायाः कर्मान्ते ; कर्तृयुक्तायाः कर्तुरन्तेच –30, 31[19]. If the doer of action is hidden in the sentence, *hasə̄* is appended to the object of the transitive verb. But, if the subject is also present, *hasə̄* is appended to the subject instead of object. Besides, *āhansə̄* is used in the beginning of the sentence to express affirmation. The examples are: *āhansə̄ batühasə̄ chu ranān* (o yes! III mas.sg.is cooking food),

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16 *strīsambodhane pumvat* : -------- ibid ------ 2/2/25 p. 51

17 *aṅgīkāre sambodhanamukhyapratyayā āhanśabadātparā uktyupkrame* : ---------- ibid -------- 2/2/26 p. 51

18 *hapūrvāśca kevalkriyāyā ante ; vartamānāyām pratyayādāveva ; tadabhāve napūrvāh* : -------- ibid ------ 2/2/-27/28/29 p.52

19 *kermayuktāyāh karmānte; kartRyuktāyāh karturante ca* : -------- ibid -------- 2/2/-30/31 p. 52

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āhansə̄ naranühasə̄ chu pūt̃h parān (o yes! Naran is reading the book).

►Īśvar Kaul's description of modes of address contains the vocative terms which, with the passage of time, have become almost obsolete and now are very rarely used. In their place new terms like *ji*, *sə̄b*, *māhrah* have gained currency. The author is silent about the kinship terms of address. In Kashmiri a number of vocative case terms are added to the basic honorific terms used after the kinship names. These vocative case terms are: *-ā*, *-ī* and *palatalization* of the final consonant. Of these terms *-ā* is used for masculine singular youngster or person of same age group while as *-ī* is used for feminine singular youngster and elderly in close relations. The examples are: *boy-raj-ā* → ***bāyrājā*** (oh! dear brother); *běñ-ṭə̄ṭh-ī* → ***běñṭə̄ṭhī*** (oh! dear sister). The final consonant of the basic honorific term of singular feminine forms is palatalized to show respect, such as *běñ-ṭə̄ṭh* → *běñṭə̄ṭ̃h*. It is, thus, evident that the choice in the use of vocative terms is determined by the nature of various interpersonal relationships among the people. The factors like context of situation, the subject of discourse, occasion, social status, age, gender etc. play an important role in shaping the use of terms of address in Kashmiri. Īśvar Kaul's description of modes of address in Kashmiri is cryptic and community specific.◄

The author, while concluding the chapter on the vocative case, says (इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते संबुद्धिपादो द्वितीयः) 'here ends the vocative case, the second part of noun morphology in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region.

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2.3
Declension of Pronouns[1]

▶The third sub chapter *Sarvanāmapādah* deals with the declension of pronominal words of Kashmiri. Before describing Īśvar Kaul's assertions regarding declension of pronominal words it would be in place to give a brief introduction of the pronouns of Kashmiri.

The pronouns of Kashmiri can be categorized as given below:

1. Personal,
2. Demonstrative,
3. Relative,
4. Correlative,
5. Interrogative,
6. Indefinite,
7. Collective,
8. Reflexive.

All pronouns, except reflexive and first and second person personal pronouns, decline for number and gender in three cases viz; nominative, oblique and instrumental and take the same case affixes and post positional words which are employed with nouns. The first and second person personal pronouns run parallel to each other and have eight fundamental forms, viz; nominative, oblique, genitive and causative in singular and plural. Their genitive forms function as adjectives and in this form they take the number, gender and case of the substantives they qualify. The reflexive pronoun declines only in the singular number. It is also employed as a substantive and in that sense it declines in nominative and oblique cases while as in the form of an adjective it takes the genitive suffix as well.◀

Īśvar Kaul describes the declension of the Kashmiri pronominal words as follows:

तिह् यिह् क्याह् हह् हुह् शब्दाः पुंस्यप्राणिनि; सुह् युस् कुस् इह् हुह् शब्दाश्च प्राणिनि –1/2[2]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of these two sutras, Kashmiri pronominal words *tih yih k̃āh hüh* and *huh*

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1 *atha Liṅgaprakaraṇe Sarvanāmapādah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam: p.54

2 *tih yih k̃āh hüh huh śabdāh pumsyaprāṇini ; suh yus kus ih huh śabdāśca prāṇini* -------- ibid -------- 2/3/-1/ 2 p. 54

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correspond to Sanskrit *tat* (that), *yat* (what, who etc.), *kim* (what?), *idam* (this), and, *adas* (that). The terms *suh yus kus ih huh* correspond to Sanskrit *sah* (he), *yah* (who), *kah* (who?), *ayam* (this), and, *asau* (that) respectively. The terms given in the first sutra refer to inanimate as well as animate masculine objects in the nominative singular. The terms mentioned in second sutra denote animate masculine nominative singular forms.

►These two sutras refer to the demonstrative, relative, correlative, and interrogative pronouns of Kashmiri. Īśvar Kaul's pronominal words *tih*, *yih*, *k̃āh*, *hüh*, *huh*, *suh*, *ih*, and *huh* mentioned in the above-cited sutras are shown as ending in *–h* which reflects his flawed understanding of the pronunciation as well as inadequate knowledge of the structure of these words. None of the Kashmiri pronouns except *k̃āh* ends in the glottal fricative *-h* as conceived and employed by the author in this chapter. The correct forms, as used by the Kashmiri speakers in their speech and as are listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary, are *yi*, *hu*, *hɔ*, *ti*, *su*, *sɔ* etc. The word *hüh* is unintelligible. The terms which are incorrectly listed as glottal fricative *-h* ending in the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam have not been followed in this analytical study. It is clarified for readers that the correct forms of these pronouns, as are prevalent among the speakers of Kashmiri, have been employed in this work.

The demonstrative pronouns are of two types in Kashmiri, viz.,

i. Proximate demonstratives i.e., the demonstrative pronominal words which are employed to refer to a person or an object present, near at hand or at a distance but within the range of the sight of the speaker, and,
ii. Remote demonstratives i.e., the demonstrative pronominal words which are used to refer to a person or an object absent or beyond the range of sight of the speaker.

The proximate demonstrative masculine and feminine singular forms are *yi, hu* and *hɔ* while as *su* and *sɔ* are remote demonstrative masculine and feminine singular forms respectively. *yi* and *yus~yusüy / yɔs~yɔsüy* are relative pronouns corresponding to *who, which, what*

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in English and their correlative forms are *ti* and *su~suy / sɔ~sɔy* respectively. *k̃āh* and *kus* are employed interrogatively in the sense of 'what', 'which' and 'who'.◀

उकारोपधायाः स्त्रियां वत्वमप्राणिनि; युस्कुसोरन्त्यस्य द्वित्वमकारागमश्च –3;4[3]. According to these sutras the third person feminine singular animate is derived by replacing *-u* of third person masculine singular by *–v* such as *suh* → *svah* (he, she), *huh* → *hvah* (he, she). The final *-s* of masculine singular forms *yus* (who so ever) and *kus* (who) is reduplicated and *–a* is augmented to form the feminine singular, such as *yvassa, kvassa*[4].

▶It is notable that the vowel *-u* close to initial consonant of III person masculine singular pronoun changes into low back vowel *-ɔ* and not into the semi vowel *-v* as assumed by the author. The feminine forms of *su* and *hu* are, thus, *sɔ* and *hɔ* and not *svah* and *hvah* as assumed by the author. Assumption regarding reduplication of final *-s* of and augment of*–a* is also not correct. In fact, the feminine forms of *yus* and *kus* are formed by appending *–ü* to the base and conversion of high back short vowel (*–u*) in the medial position of the base into low back vowel (*-ɔ*) → *yɔsü, kɔsü*. The forms *yvassa* and *kvassa* given by the author are incorrect. ◀

उभयेषां तम् यम् कम् इम् हुमो द्वितीयाद्येकवचनेषु; अन्त्यस्य वाऽमिसोः –5/6[5]. The pronominal words *su, yus, kus, yi,* and *hu* used for both, animate and inanimate (प्राणिवाचिनाम प्राणिवाचिनां च) objects, correspondingly convert into *tam, yam, kam, im,* and *hum* in the second case. The affixes[6] *-s* and *-n* are employed to form their second case singular and plural respectively. *-am* is optionally added with *i-* and *-s* to denote singulars of second and other cases.

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3 *ukāropadhāyāh striyām vatvamaprāṇini; yuskusorautyasya dvitvamakārāgamaśca* — ibid — 2/3/-3 / 4 p. 54-55

4 ---------- ibid -------- p.55

5 *ubhayeṣām tam yam kam humo dvitīyādyekavacaneṣu ; antyasya vāamjso :* ------- ibid ------- 2/3/-5 / 6 p. 55

6 ---------- ibid -------- p. 55

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▶The nominative plurals of the demonstrative pronouns *su, yus, kus, yi,* and *hu* are *tim, yim, kam ~ küm, yim,* and *hum* respectively. The pronouns in Kashmiri, as stated above, decline in three cases viz; nominative, oblique and instrumental and take the same case terminations which are employed with the nouns. The term second case (द्वितीयाद्येकवचनेषु) is inappropriate. *-as* and *-is* suffixes are optionally employed to form the oblique masculine and feminine singulars of *yus/yi* and *su* while as *-an* is added to nominative plurals to constitute the oblique plurals. Besides, *-əm~-m* is added before *-is*, e.g., *yi* (this) → ***yas ~ yəmis ~ əmis / yiman***; *su* (he / that remote) → ***tas ~ təmis / timan***. But, in case of *hu* (he / that prox.) only *-is* is added and *-as* is rejected, e.g., *hu* → ***humis / human***. Hence, Īśvar Kaul's above cited assertions are unconvincing and baseless.◀

अप्राणिनि स्प्रत्ययलोपस्तकारादेशश्च –7[7]. Īśvar Kaul, in his explanation of this sutra, says that according to 2/1/38 (द्वितीयायां स्नाव), *-s* and *-n* are employed to form second case masculine singular and plural forms respectively. *-s* is dropped and *-t* is employed with the pronouns of inanimate objects, e.g. *tath chu čaṭān* (someone is cutting that object).

▶This statement of Īśvar Kaul is incomprehensible. According to sutra *-s* is replaced by *-t* while as the example cited to explain the sutra shows replacement by *-th*. As explained earlier (see 2/1/38), the oblique terminations are *-as* and *-an* and not *-s* and *-n* as stated by the author. These terminations are added to masculine singular and plural bases to form their respective oblique forms. The concept of second case is inappropriate. The demonstrative pronoun *yi* is used for animate as well inanimate objects while as *ti* is used only for inanimate objects. *-ath* and *-an* are added to form the oblique singular and plural forms of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns of inanimate objects, such as- *yath, tath, huth, kath* (this / that / what obl. sg.), *yiman / timan / human / kaman* (these / those /

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[7] *aprāṇini spratyayalopastakārādeśaśca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/3/7 p.55

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which obl. plu.) etc.. In this process final *–i* of the base is dropped to avoid vowel repetition.◀

च्ह्ब्वहोश्च्यम्यौ च; प्रत्ययस्य लोपो द्वितीयाकर्तृतृतीययोः; सश्च
–8/9/10[8].

The second person and first person personal pronouns *čüh* and *bvah* change to *čya* and *mya* respectively; affix *-s* is deleted in the second case (प्रत्ययस्य लोपो द्वितीया) while as instrumental denoting affixes *-i* and *-au* are dropped in the subjective construction.

▶The first and second person personal pronouns are *bü* and *čü* respectively and not *bvah* and *čüh* as written in the manuscript. These two pronouns run parallel to each other and have eight fundamental forms viz; nominatives, obloquies, causatives and genitives in singular and plural. For clear understanding of the readers the declension of these two pronouns is shown as below:

	bü (I)		*čü* (you)	
	sg.	plu.	sg.	plu.
Nom.	bü	əs̃	čü	tŏhya
Obl.	mĕ	asi	čĕ	tɔhi
Caus.	m̃āni	sāni	cāni	tūhndi
Gen. mas.sg. obj.	m̃on	son	con	tuhund
Gen. fem.sg. obj.	m̃əñ/	səñ/	cəñ/	tuhünz
Gen. mas.plu. obj.	m̃əñ/	səñ/	cəñ/	tuhüd̃
Gen. fem.plu. obj.	m̃āñi	sāñi	cāñi	tuhünzü

The oblique forms of these two pronouns are also used as agentive instrumental before the preterit of transitive and intransitive verbs in the objective and impersonal constructions respectively where the subject is generally required to be in the instrumental case. In the subjective construction, the subject occurs in the nominative case. The examples are:

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[8] *čh bvahoścyamyau* ; pratyayasya lopo dvitīyā kartR tRtīyayoh; saśca
-------- ibid -------- 2/3/-8/9/10 p. 56

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Subjective construction:

	bü (I)	*čü* (you)
Sg.	**bü** b̃ūṭhus pathar (I sat down)	**čü** b̃ūṭhukh pathar (you sat down)
Plu.	**əs̃** bīṭh̃ pathar (we sat down)	**tŏhya** bīṭhivü pathar (you sat down)

Objective construction:

Sg.	**mĕ** kh̃av akh čũṭh (I ate one apple)	**čə** kh̃oth akh čũṭh (you ate one apple)
Plu.	**asi** kh̃av akh čũṭh (we ate one apple)	**təhi** kh̃ovü akh čũṭh (you ate one apple)

Impersonal construction:

Sg.	**mĕ** nŏč (I danced)	**čə** nŏčuth (you danced)
Plu.	**asi** nŏč (we danced)	**təhi** nocüvü (you danced).

The same post positional words which are employed with nouns occur in combination with the oblique form of the personal pronouns to derive the sense of different case relations, e.g.,

Instrumental/accompaniment:

Sg.	**mĕ** sūt̃/sūtin (along with me)	**čə** sūt̃/ sūtin (along with you)
Plu.	**asi** sūt̃/ sūtin (along with us)	**təhi** sūt̃/ sūtin (along with you)

Dative:

Sg.	**mĕ** k̃ut (for me)	**čə** k̃ut (for you)
Plu.	**asi** k̃ut (for us)	**təhi** k̃ut (for you)

Ablative:

Sg.	**mĕ** niś (from me)	**čə** niś (from you)
Plu.	**asi** niś (from us)	**təhi** niś (from you)

Genitive:

Mas.	**m̃on** sŏndūkh (my box)	**con** sŏndūkh (your box)

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Sg.	**son** sŏndūkh (our box)	**tuhund** sŏndūkh (your box)
Plu.	**m̃ãñ** sŏndūkh (my boxes) **sãñ** sŏndūkh (our boxes)	**cãñ** sŏndūkh (your boxes) **tuhünd̃** sŏndūkh (your boxes)
Fem.	**m̃ãñ** kitāb (my book)	**cãñ** kitāb (your book)
Sg.	**sãñ** kitāb (our book)	**tuhũz** kitāb (your book)
Plu.	**m̃ãñi** kitābü (my books) **sãñi** kitābü (our books)	**cãñi** kitābü (your books) **tuhũzü** kitābü (your books)

Locative:

Sg.	**mĕ** p̃aṭh/mãz (at/with/in me)	**čĕ** p̃aṭh/mãz (at/with/in you)
Plu..	**asi** p̃aṭh/mãz (at/with/in us)	**tɔhi** p̃aṭh/mãz (at/with/in you)

It is worth to mention that the postpositional word *niś* is also used in the sense 'alongside or near/adjacent to', e.g., *m̃on makānü chu cānis dukānas niś* (my house is adjacent to your shop)

From the above description it is evident that the first and second person pronominal bases *bü* and *čü* decline in the form of *mĕ* and *čĕ* respectively in oblique and other cases and not as *mya* and *čya* as given by the author. Addition and deletion of *–s, -i* and *-au* is inappropriate. Use of *-i sūtin* is employed optionally to denote the instrument or cause of action.

षष्ठ्यामन्त्यस्वरस्य च्यख्यातत्वं च; स्त्रियामाकारः पुंबहुत्वे च; प्रत्ययादेरोत्पुंसि –11/12/13[9]. Īśvar Kaul in his explanation of the

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9 *ṣaṣṭhyāmantyasvarasya čyakhyātatvam ; striyāmākārah pumbahutve ca ;*

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sutra says that in the genitive case, final vowel of *čü* and *bü* is dropped and *čya*[10] becomes *cya* (च्यख्यातत्वं), such as *cyon* (your) and *myon* (mine) etc. In case of feminine forms the final vowel of the base changes into *ā*. This applies to masculine plurals as well. According to 2/1/50 *–un* is affixed and *-u* of *-un* is replaced by *-o* in masculine singular, such as- *myon* (mine), and, *cyon* (your).

►Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra invariably raises many issues. In Kashmiri, *-un* is suffixed to the oblique forms of first and second person personal pronouns to form their genitives. Addition of *-un* results in some euphonic changes, such as- palatalization of the initial letter of the masculine and feminine oblique singulars (*mĕ*, *čĕ*), deletion of initial *ə* of first person plural (*əs̃*) and conversion of *-u* into *–o* such as *mĕ - un → m̃on*, *čĕ - un → con*, *əs̃ - un → son*. It is noteworthy that the genitive form of a pronoun takes the number and gender of the object which is related or belongs to the pronoun in the genitive case, such as – ***m̃on*** *bəṭüvü* (my purse), ***m̃āñ*** *kitāb* (my book), ***m̃āñi*** *kitābü* (my books). *-und* is appended to second person plural to form its genitive plural, such as- *tŏhya - und → tuhund.*◄

प्रयोगलिंगस्यौकारोपधाया आत्वं सर्वत्र –14[11]. According to this sutra the causative singulars of first and second person pronouns are always formed by replacing *-o-* in the medial position of a declined form by *-ā-*, such as: *con → cāni sūtin* (by you sg.), *m̃on → m̃āni sūtin* (by me), *son → sāni sūtin* (by us), *tuhund → tūhündi sūtin* (by you plu.).

►According to author's assertions and the declined forms cited above in support of his assertions the causative singulars of first and second person pronouns are derived by replacing the mid back vowel *-o-* in the medial position of a declined form by the low central long vowel *—ā-* (*con → cāni*), (*m̃on → m̃āni*), (*son → sāni*), or, high central short vowel *-ü* (*tuhund → tūhündi*). Use of instrumental post

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10 *pratyayāderotpumsi* : ---- ibid ---- 2/3/-11/12/13 p. 57-58
The correct pronunciation is, as stated under 2/3/8-10, *čĕ*, *mĕ*. The forms *cya*, *mya* wrongly conceived by the author

11 *prayogalingasyaukāropadhāyā ātvam sarvatra* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/3/14 p. 58

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positional word *sūt̃ / sūtin* is optional with the first and second person pronouns and is very rarely used in common discourse. The causative forms of the given pronouns are seldom indicative of the cause of an action. The example is: *yi gilāsü phuṭ mãni* (this tumbler got broken because of me). The structures *mãni sündi sūtin* and *cāni sündi sūtin*[12] cited by author are not correct. The author's assumptions regarding *-i sūt̃/sūtin* have already been discussed under 2/1/6.◄

त्वह्यस्यौ बहुत्वे –15[13]. The plural of *čü* and *bü* is *tŏhya* and *əs̃* respectively.

तिम् यिम् कम् इम् हुमश्चोभयेषाम्; स्प्रत्यय इकारागमः

–16/17[14].

The demonstrative pronouns *tim, yim, kam, im, hum* are used for both, animate and inanimate, plu. objects. Addition of *-s* results in augment of *-i* before *–s*, such as- *ti* → *tam* - *-s* → *tamis*.

►In his explanation of the sutra, the author repeats the same intricate process of addition of *-s* and *-n,* augment of *-a* and *-i* with *-s* and *-n* etc. about the formation of accusative case forms of the demonstrative pronouns (द्वितीयायां स्नौ, इति न प्रत्ययः)[15]. This assertion is not grounded on facts or logic. As discussed earlier, the demonstrative pronouns in Kashmiri take the same case terminations which are employed with nouns. In nominative and instrumental cases, the feminine forms are also formed. Shown below is the declension of demonstrative pronouns *yi* and *su* to assist the readers and researchers in understanding the declensional morphology of Kashmiri pronouns.

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12 --------- ibid --------- p. 58

13 *tŏhyasyau bahutve* : -------- ibid -------- 2/3/15 p. 59

14 *tim yim kam im humaścobhayeṣam ; spratyaya ikārāgamah*
-------- ibid -------- 2/3/-16/17 p. 59-60

15 --------- ibid ---------- p. 59

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Proximate demonstratives:

i) *yi* (this):

Nominative:

Mas.		Fem.	
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
yi	yim~nɔm~ɔm[16]	yi	yimü~nɔmü~ɔmü

Oblique:

Mas. /Fem.	
Sg.	Plu.
yĕmis~əmis	yiman~nɔman~ɔman

Instrumental:

	Subjective use:	*Objective and impersonal use*:	
	Mas. / Fem.	Mas.	Fem.
Sg.	yĕmi ~ami (sũ̃t ~ sũtin)	yĕm̃/əm̃	yĕmi/ami
	(with this (instrument of action))	(by this agent of action)	
Plu.	yimav~nɔmav~ɔmav	yimav~nɔmav~ɔmav	
	(sũ̃t ~ sũtin)	(mas./fem.)	
	(with these (instruments of action))	(by these agents of action)	

Accompaniment:

Mas. / Fem.	
Sg.	yĕmis~əmis sũ̃t ~ sũtin
Plu.	yiman~nɔman~ɔman sũ̃t ~ sũtin
	(along with this/these)

Dative:

Mas. / Fem.	
yĕmis~əmis k̃ut	
yiman~nɔman~ɔman k̃ut	
(for this / these)	

Ablative:

Sg.	yĕmi~əmi/yasündi p̃aṭhü/niś
Plu.	yimav~nɔmav~ɔmav/yihndi p̃aṭhü / niś
	(separation from this/these point/s)

Genitive:

yĕm̃~əm̃ sund	
yiman~nɔman~ɔman/ yu-hun	
(belonging to this/these)	

Locative:

sg.	yas/yĕmis~əmis~yath~ath p̃aṭh/mãz
plu.	yiman~nɔman~ɔman p̃aṭh/mãz
	(at /with/in this/ these)

[16] *nɔm* and *ɔm* are regional variant of *yim* and these are frequently used in the sense of *these* by the Kashmiri speakers of the Marāz and Kāmarāz regions respectively.

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The above-cited illustrations show that the genitive denoting post positional word is used, with the demonstrative pronouns, either after the instrumental singulars (*yĕm̃ sund*) or after the oblique singular and plural forms. (*yasund/yĕmisund, yuhund/yimanhund*). In this process -*s* of *–as/-is* is dropped to avoid repetition while as the oblique plural suffix *-an* is optionally dropped (*yas-und/yĕmi-sund, yu-hund/yim-an-hund*).

Remote demonstratives:

i) *su* (he/that):

Nominative:		*Oblique*:	
Mas.		Fem.	
Sg.	su	sɔ	tas~təmis
Plu.	tim	timü	timan

Instrumental:

Subjective use :

	Mas. / Fem.
Sg.	tami (sũt̃ ~ sũtin)
Plu.	timav (sũt̃ ~ sũtin)

(with that/those instrument/s of action)

Objective and impersonal use:

Mas.	Fem.
təm̃	tami
timav	timav

(by that/those agent/s of action)

Accompaniment:

	Mas. / Fem.
Sg.	təmis sũt̃ ~ sũtin
Plu.	timan sũt̃ ~ sũtin

(along with that/those)

Dative:

Mas. / Fem.

təmis k̃ut

timan k̃ut

(for this / them)

Ablative:

Sg. tami /tati/tasündi p̃aṭhü / niś

Plu. timav/tihndi p̃aṭhü / niś

(separation from that/these point/s)

Genitive:

təm̃ sund/tasund

timan/ti-hund

(belonging to that/those)

Locative:

Sg. tas/təmis p̃aṭh/mãz

Plu. yiman p̃aṭh/mãz (at /with/in that/ those). ◄

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त्वहेर्हन्दौहिलोपः पुंस्त्रियोर्वस्यात्वं च; असेराद्यन्तस्वरयोर्लोपाकारावुनुञौ –18;19[17].

The literal meaning of these sutras, according to Īśvar Kaul's explanation, is, "the nominative plural of second person pronoun is *tvahi.* The addition of genitive postpositional word *hund* causes deletion of final *-hi* of *tvahi.* Further, *-v* changes into *-u* in both the genders. *-h* does not change into *-s* with the masculine personal pronouns, such as *tuhundu* (your mas.), *tuhunzu* (your fem.)"[18]. The author further says that *s-hund / s-hünz* affixes are appended to denote masculine forms while as *-s* is dropped to constitute the feminine forms. This leads to the deletion of *-hi* and replacement of *-v* by *-u.* Addition of *-un* and *-ñ* to *əs̃*, the direct plural of first person personal pronoun, causes deletion of the initial vowel and conversion of final vowel into *-ā.* Thus are formed *sonu* (our mas. sg. object) and *sāni* (our mas. plu. objects)[19].

►Conversion of *–v* into *–u* is baseless as the direct plural of *čü* is *tŏhya*[20]and its oblique plural is *tɔhi.* The genitive of first and second person personal pronouns, except second person plural, is denoted by the addition of *–un* to their oblique forms (see under 2/3/8-10). The second person plural accepts the genitive denoting postpositional word *hund/und* after its oblique plural *tɔhi* → *tuhund.* The constituted form shows transformation of low back vowel *-ɔ* into the high back vowel *–u.* It is more probable that *–s/–h* of *sund/hund* is dropped if it is employed after a base ending in *–s* or *–h*, such as- ***tas /təmis → tasund/təm̃sund, tɔhi → tuhund.***◄

प्राणिनि मिलोपो वा सकारे –20[21]. According to this sutra addition of *-s* to demonstrative pronouns referring to animate objects causes

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17 *tvaherhandauhilopah pumstriyorvasyātvam ca; aserādyantasvayorlopākārāvunuñoh* : ---- ibid --- 2/3/-18/19 p. 60

18 The forms in vogue are *tuhund* and tuhünz respectively.

19 a) Sanskrit explanation of the sutra KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 60
b) Correct forms are *son* (mas. sg.), *sāñ* (mas. plu. and fem. sg. object) and *sāñi* (fem. plu. objects)

20 Koul, O.N – An Intensive Course in Kashmiri: p. 68

21 *prāṇini milopo vā sakāre* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/3/20 p. 61

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optional deletion of *–mi*, such as- *tas*, *tamis*, *tasund* etc. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that *–s* is suffixed to *su* (सुह शब्दात्स्प्रत्ययः), according to 2/3/5 *–tam* is used in place of both (उभयेषाम् इति तम् आदेशः), according to 2/3/17 *–i* is augmented with *–s* (स्प्रत्यये इकारागमः) and this sutra (2/3/20) recommends deletion of *–mi* and by this process are formed *tas*, *tamis* (obl. sg.), *tasund/tamisund* (gen. sg.); *yas*, *yamis* (obl. sg.), *yasund/y amisund* (gen. sg.); *kas*, *kamis* (obl. sg.), *kasund/ kamisund* (gen. sg.). The genitives of *im* and *hum* are *isund/imisund* and *hasund/humisund* respectively. The author further says that optional deletion of plural affix *–man* is provided with all (बहुत्वे तु सर्वेषां मन् इत्यस्य विकल्पेन लोप इष्यते) such as- *timan hund ~ tihund*, *yiman hund ~ yihund*, *kiman hund ~ kahund*, *iman hund ~ ihund* etc.

▶The examples cited by the author refer to the formation of genitives of the demonstrative pronouns. In his Sanskrit explanation of the sutra the author says that *su, yus, yi, kus,* become *tas/ tamis*, *yas/yamis*, and *kas/kamis* respectively and the initial *s-* (of *sund*) causes deletion of *-mi-* as in *kamis → kasund*; *yamis → yasund* etc.. The genitive denoting post positional word is used, as explained earlier (2/3/17), either directly after the instrumental singular forms of the pronouns other than personal pronouns or after the oblique singular and plural forms derived by the addition of *–as/-is* and *–an* suffixes. In this process the final consonant of the oblique singular bases, derived by the addition of *-is*, is palatalized before *sund*, *-s* is dropped and *-i* is replaced by *–ĕ* and *–u* by *-ə* while as the oblique plural suffix *-an* along with the final sound of the stem is optionally dropped such as:

	Mas. object	Fem. object
Sg.	yĕm̃~əm̃~ yas **sund**	yĕm̃~əm̃~yas **sünz**
Plu.	yĕm̃~əm̃~ yas **sünd̃**	yĕm̃~əm̃~ yas **sünzü**
Sg.	kəm̃~kas **sund**	kəm̃~kas **sünz**
Plu.	kəm̃~kas **sünd̃**	kəm̃~kas **sünzü**
Sg.	təm̃~tas **sünd**	təm̃~tas **sünzü**
Plu.	təm̃~tas **sünd̃**	təm̃~tas **sünzü**

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Sg.	yi~yiman~nɔman~ɔman **hünd**	yi~yiman~nɔman~ɔman **hünz**
Plu.	yi~yiman~nɔman~ɔman **hünd̃**	yi~yiman~nɔman~ɔman **hünzü**
Sg.	ku~küman **hund**	ku~küman **hünz**
Plu.	ku~küman **hund̃**	ku~küman **hünzü**
Sg.	ti~timan **hund**	ti~timan **hünz**
Plu.	ti~timan **hund̃**	ti~timan **hünzü**

Further, some illustrations given by Īśvar Kaul in support of the foregoing sutra reveal that the author certainly might have not been a Kashmiri speaker of the valley. These illustrations are: *im* → *isundu*, *hu* → *husundu* and *yi* → *asundu*[22]. All these forms are structurally incorrect and unintelligible. The actual forms of these words, as explained earlier, are: *yi* → *yim, yĕm̃sund, yihund ~ yimanhund, əm̃sund ~ ohand*; *hu* → *hum, hum̃sund ~ huhund* or *humanhund*. This and similar other sutras convert the otherwise simple compositions into intricate formulations and keep the readers and researchers engaged in futile processes of additions, deletions and replacements of sounds with regard to the formation of the declined terms of pronouns.◀

निश्चयार्थे धातुलिंगस्वरूपान्ते यः प्रत्ययोर्मध्ये वा −21[23]. *-y* is a definitive affix which is either suffixed to nouns, pronouns, secondary derivatives and verbal forms or is infixed between two affixes in the definitive sense, such as *tasunduy ~ təmi(m̃)sunduy* (only his), *gɔrüsüy andar* (in teacher only), *gɔrünüy andar* (in teachers only), *gāṭuluy* (only wise), *karānüy chu* (is doing as yet), *gɔrüsündiy pučhy* (for teacher only).

▶The illustrations given by Īśvar Kaul indicate that *-y* is basically the emphatic affix which has four variants or allomorphs, such as- *-y, -iy, –üy* and *-uy*,. These allomorphs are phonologically and

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22 ---------- ibid --------- p. 62; (manuscript p. 62)

23 *niścayārthe dhātuliṅgasvarūpānte yah pratyayormadhe vā*

------ ibid ----- 2/3/21 p. 63

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morphologically conditioned. For example *-y* is used after *oblique* singular feminine nouns and qualitative adjectives, such as: *koriy* (only to the girl), *zanāniy* (only to the wife), *gāṭüjiy* (only to the wise woman), *vɔzüjiy* (only to the woman sweeper) etc.; *-iy* is inserted between two post positional words, such as: *gɔrü-sünd-iy-puc̃h* (only for the sake of Guru), *śur̃-sund-iy-bāpath* (only for the child) etc.; *-üy* is used after *oblique* singular and plural forms of masculine nouns, pronouns, qualitative adjectives and participles, such as: *śurisüy/śurinüy* (only to the child/children), *tas~təmisüy/timünüy* (only to him/them), *gāṭülisüy/gāṭülanüy* (only to wise person/persons), *vuchithüy* (by just looking at), *pərithüy* (just after education/reading/studying), etc;. *-uy* is used after the *genitive* postpositional words *–und~hund*, *uk*, *u/on*, such as- *śurisunduy* (only of the child), *tasund~təmisunduy* (only his), *nominative* masculine sg. of qualitative adjectives whose final letter is preceded by *-u*, such as- *gāṭuluy* (only the wise), *vɔzuluy* (only the red) etc.; The terms *gɔrüsüy andar* and *gɔrünüy andar* are not in common use. It will not be out of place to mention that inclusion of nouns *gɔr* and *gāṭul* as illustrations is a deviation from the main subject, the 'description of pronouns'. Similarly, *karānüy* denotes the pronominal use of verb √*kar* (to do) and, therefore, should have been discussed under verb morphology.◄

सोरुशब्दस्वरूपेभ्यो नित्यमेव –22[24]. The collective pronoun *soru* generally takes *-y* affix in all the three cases, such as- *soru* (all, entire, whole) → *soruy* (the entire lot), *sāriy*[25](all).

►In Kashmiri, the collective masculine pronoun is *soruy*. Its feminine form is *sārüy*. The form *soru* used by Īśvar Kaul in the sutra is incorrect. *soruy* usually occurs before an appellative as its signifier and, therefore, takes the number, gender and case of the signified. It is noteworthy that besides addition of *–s/ -n/ -v/-i-üy* etc., the different case forms of this pronoun are usually expressed by making some changes in the internal structure of the base, such as:

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24 *soruśabdasvarūpebhyo nityameva* : --------- ibid ------- 2/3/22 p. 63

25 The actual form is *sāriy*.

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	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	soruy	sərī	sərüy	sãray
Obl.	sərisüy	sārinüy	sāriy	sārinüy
Ins.	sərī	sārivüy	sārī	sārivüy◀

प्रत्यये औकारस्याव् –२३[26]. *-au* at the end of the word followed by suffix *-y* changes into *–av* (औकारस्य य् प्रत्यये परे अव भवति[27]), e.g., *gurivūy sūtin* (only by the horses), *namavūy sūtin* (only by the nails).

▶The illustrations given above indubitably establish Īśvar Kaul's assertions as irrelevant. The reason is there is no *-o* or *-au* (ओ or औ) at any position (initial, medial or final) of the illustrated bases which, following the addition of *-y*, is replaced by *–av* (अव). Instead, these examples clearly prove that the affix *-vüy* in the sense of emphasis, is appended to masculine and feminine plural nouns and pronouns, such as: *śuri-vüy, timü-vüy, sāri-vüy, guri-vüy, namü-vüy* etc. it is also worthwhile to mention that *gur* and *nam* are nouns and should have been described at appropriate place in the chapter on declension of nouns.◀

ब्याखशब्दस्य बिय प्रथमाबहुत्वादिषु –२४[28]. *b̃ākh* (other) changes to *biy* in nominative plural and other cases and declines on the pattern of a consonant ending base, such as: *b̃ākh* (other) → *biy* (others) → *biyan* (others obl. plu.) etc.

▶The word *b̃ākh* very rarely occurs as a pronoun. It is usually employed as an adjectival prefix. Denoting the sense 'additional, 'different' or 'alternative', *b̃ākh* is always followed by a noun, such as: *b̃ākh śur* (another/ the other child), *b̃ākh kūr* (another/ the other girl), *b̃ākh zanānü* (another/ the other lady), *b̃ākh kitāb* (another / the other book) etc. Thus, it takes the number, gender and case of the following noun, e.g;

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[26] *ya pratyaye aukārasyāv* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 2/3/23 p. 64

[27] ---------- ibid -------- p. 64

[28] *byākh śabnasya biy prathamā bahutvādiṣu* : --------- ibid ---------- 2/3/24 p. 64

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	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	b̃ākh śur	b̃ekh śuř	b̃ākh kūr	běyiki kori
Obl.	**běyis śuris**	**běyan śuřan**	**běyis kori**	**běyan koř̃an**
Ins.	běy śuř	**běyav śuřav**	**běyi kori**	**běyav koř̃av**

The term *b̃ākh* is also used as *b̃ekh* which is a regional variant of *b̃ākh* and probably a combination of *běyi* (more) and *akh* (one) meaning one more. It declines as shown below:

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	b̃ekh śur	b̃ekh śuř	b̃ekh kūr	b̃ekh kori
Obl.	běyi kis śuris	běyi k̃an śuřan	běyi kis kori	běyi k̃an koř̃an
Ins.	běyik̃ śuř	běyi k̃av śuřav	běyiki kori	běyi k̃av koř̃av

The above cited illustrations show that in oblique and instrumental cases *b̃ākh* becomes *běy* in the standard form of Kashmiri and not *biy* as stated by the author. However, the speakers of Kamraz region use the form *biy*.◄

कृतुशब्दस्योपधायाः प्रथमाबहुत्वेद्वितीयाद्येकवचनादिषुचाप्रसिद्धता −25[29]. According to this sutra *-ū* preceding the final consonant in *kūtu* is replaced by the uncommon vowel in the first case plural and second case singular forms and so on, such as- *kūti, kūtim, kūti* (how many, to how many/much, by how many/much).

►*kūt* or *kūtah ~ kotah* is actually employed as an indefinite measuring adjective. It is used before the name of an object to be weighed or measured, such as: *kūt / kūtah~kotah tŏmul, oṭ tü mŏdrer* etc. (how much rice, flour and sugar etc.). *kūt* is replaced by *kəč / kūt̃ / kūčü* to express indefinite number of countable objects, animate as well as inanimate. The form *kūtim* cited by the author is incorrect. For the convenience of readers shown below is the declension of *kūt* and *kəč*:

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[29] *kūtuśabdasyopdhāyāh prathamābahutvedvitīyādyekavacanādiṣucāprasiddhatā*: ------- ibid -------- 2/3/25 p.64

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kūt / kūtah / kotah

Nom.	*kūt / kūtah / kotah tomul/gyav /dɔd/kapur* (how much/so much rice/ ghee/ milk/cloth)
Obl.	*kūtis tomulas/gyavas /dɔdas/kapüras* (to how much/so much rice/ghee/milk/cloth)
Ins.	*kūti tomulü / gyavü /dɔdü sūt̃* (with how much/so much rice/ ghee/milk)

kəč / kūt̃ / kūt̃ah / kūčü / kūčah

	Mas.	Fem.
Nom.	*kəč / kūt̃ / kūt̃ah śur̃ / kalam* (how many/so many children/pens)	*kəč / kūčü / kūčah kori / talvārü* (how many/so many girls / swords)
Obl.	*kəčan / kūt̃an naphüran* (to how many persons)	*kəčan / kūčan kor̃an* (to how many girls)
Ins.	*kači / kəčav / kūt̃av kalamav sūt̃* (with how many pens)	*kəčav /kūčav lor̃av sūt̃* (with how many sticks).

बहुत्वे वैत्वम् −26[30]. According to this sutra *-e* is optionally employed with the plurals of *kūt* and is replaced by the uncommon vowel in all cases except nominative such as *kūt̃an, kət̃an, kūt̃av sūtin.*

►The words quoted as illustrations do not show any optional addition of *-e* as assumed by the author.◄

य्यूतुत्यूतुयूतुयशब्दानामीत्वमप्रथमैकवचने −27[31]. *-y* of *yutū, t̃ūtū* and *yūtuy* changes into *-ī* in all case forms except in nominative singular, such as: *yīti* (as much as, as many as), *tīti* (that much, so much, to that extent) etc.

►*yūtu* and *t̃ūtu* are incorrect. These are actually pronounced as *yūt* and *t̃ūt*. *yūt* and *t̃ūt* are used before the names of the objects to

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30 *bahutve vaitvam* : ---------- ibid -------- 2/3/26 p. 64

31 *yyūtutyūtuyūtuyaśabdānāmītvamaprathamaikavacane* : ---------- ibid --------- 2/3/27 p. 65

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express indefinite quantity of that object (see 6/112). These two adjectives mostly occur relatively and correlatively, such as: ***yūt khanḍ trāvos t̃ūt m̃ūṭh bani*** (the more the sugar the sweeter the beverage). The feminine forms of *yūt* and *t̃ūt* are ***yīč*** and ***tīč*** respectively. *yəč* and *təč* are used to denote the indefinite number of persons and objects. *yūt/ yəč* and *t̃ūt / təč* decline on the pattern of *kūt* and *kəč* respectively, such as:

yūt /t̃ūt

Nom.	*yūt / yūtah tomul*	*t̃ūt / t̃ūtah dəd*
	(this much rice)	(that much milk)
Obl.	***yītis tomulas***	***tītis dədas***
	(to this much rice)	(to that much milk)
Ins.	***yīti tomulü s̃ūt̃***	***tīti dədü s̃ūt̃***
	(with this much rice)	(with that much milk)

yəč / yīt̃ - təč / tīt̃:

Mas./Fem.	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	yəč	yīt̃/yīčü	təč	tīt̃/tīčü
Obl.	**yəčan**	**yīt̃an/yīčan**	**təčan**	**tīt̃an/tīčan**
Ins.	yīti/yəči	yīt̃av/yīčav	tīti/tači	tīt̃av/tīčav
	s̃ūt̃	**s̃ūt̃**	**s̃ūt̃**	**s̃ūt̃**

This declension shows that *-ū* preceding the final letter is replaced by *-ī* and not *-y* as assumed by the author. Besides, *-uy* or *-üy* is appended after the case terminations to derive emphatic like *yūtuy* (this much only), *t̃ūtuy* (that much only), *yūtuy-t̃ūtuy* (a small quantity.◄

मूँष ऐत्वम् –२८[32]. According to this sutra *-ai* is added to */mũṣ/* (buffalo) in nominative plural and other case forms such as *maiṣa* (buffalos), *maiṣan* (to buffalos) *maiṣo sūtin* (by/with buffalos) etc.

►This sutra lacks appropriateness, suitability and usefulness for the reasons explained below.

The present chapter pertains to the declension of pronouns in Kashmiri. The word *māś* is a common noun and should have not been

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[32] *mũṣ aitvam* : ------- ibid ------ 2/3/28 p. 65

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discussed in this chapter. In addition, the given noun is pronounced as *māś* and not as *mũṣ* as given by the author. Diphthongs *ai* and *au* are, as explained in the inventory of Kashmiri speech sounds, absent in Kashmiri. The alveolar sibilant (ṣ) also does not exist in Kashmiri. The forms constituted by addition of *-ai* to *moṣ* and the use of alveolar *ṣ* in *mũṣ* (*maiṣa*, *maiṣan*) is not in accordance with the forms which are in vogue among the Kashmiri speakers of the valley. These assumptions and the words illustrated by author compel the readers to question whether Īśvar Kaul was in reality a native speaker of Kashmir (see 6/7). For more lucidity this analytical statement given below is the declension of the noun *māś*:

	Sg.	*Plu.*
Nom.	māś	māśi
Obl.	māśi	māśan
Ins.	māśi	māśav / māśan (→ accompaniment)

It is noteworthy that *māś* is a feminine form and its masculine is derived by adding *kŏṭ* to the base such as- *māśikŏṭ*.◄

कूंहोऽन्त्यस्य सश्च; केन्च शब्दा नित्यं बहुत्वे; कांछ़ाह केंछ़ाह शब्दावेकत्वे –29/30/31[33].

While describing the declension of indefinite pronouns of Kashmiri the author says that *-ai* is employed in place of *–ū* of *kũh* and its final letter *–h* is replaced by *-s* (कूंह शब्दस्य उपधाया ऐत्वंभवति अन्त्याक्षरस्य च सकारो भवति[34]), such as- *kainsi daph* (tell someone), *kainsi dəpu* (someone said), *kainsi hund* (someone's). In his explanation of the sutra the author further says that the synonym of *kũh* is *kãh* which accepts the same inflectional terminations as are applied to *kũh* (कूंहशब्दापरपर्यायस्य कांह शब्दस्य चेत्थं बोध्यम्)[35]. According to sutra 30 (केन्च.....बहुत्वे) and 31 (कांछ़ाह.....एकत्वे) *kenč* declines only in plural number while as *kānčhāh* and *kenčhāh*

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[33] *kũhoantyasya sasca; kenč śabdo nityam bahutve; kānčhāh kenčhāh śabdāvekatve* : ----- ibid ----- 2/3/-29/30/31 p. 65

[34] ------- ibid -------- p. 65

[35] ------- ibid -------- p. 65

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decline only in singular number. The examples quoted by Īśvar Kaul are *kenč, kenčan, kenčau, kānčhāh* etc.

▶The word *kũh*, as conceived by author, does not exist in Kashmiri. Accordingly, author's claim that *kãh* is synonym of *kũh* proves to be baseless. The fact is that the indefinite pronouns in Kashmiri are *kãh* (any one) and *kustām* (someone). Their plural forms are *kẽh / kenč* and *kümtām* respectively. *kančhah* is synonym of *kãh-akh ~ akhah*. It is important to note that *kẽh / kenč* (some/a few) and *sārī* (all) are also employed as indefinite numeral adjectives, such as- *kẽh śuṟ ās gindān* (some children were playing), *kẽhan / kenčan śuṟan ditikh tamāśi* (toys were given to some/a few children), *az chi sārī vātimüṯ* (all have arrived today). Shown below is the declension of these pronouns to make the statement more cogent.

kãh

	Mas. / Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	kãh	kẽh / kenč
Obl.	kãsi	kẽhan / kenčan
Ins.	kãsi	kẽhav / kenhav / kenčav / kenčan (→ accompaniment)

kustām

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	kustām	kümtām	kɔstām	kümütām
Obl.	kəmistām/ kastām	kümantām	kəmistām/ kastām	kümantām
Ins.	kəm̃tām	kümavtām	kamitām	kümavtām

The declension of *kustām / kɔstām* indicates that this pronoun is formed by appending the secondary suffix *-tām* to the interrogative pronoun *kus / kɔs* (who mas./fem.). What is more significant in this regard is that the inflectional affixes *-as, -is, -an* and *–av* are not suffixed but are infixed between the base *kus/kɔs/küm* and the derivational affix *tām*.◀

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ज़्ह् शब्दस्य दु द्वितीयादिषु; अयागमः स्वरे –32;33[36]. *zh* changes to *dv* in second and other cases. This *dv* causes augment of *–ay* such as- *dvan* (two obl.), *dvayau sūtin* (two inst.).

►Īśvar Kaul's statement is commented on as follows:

The word used to denote the cardinal number two is *zü* and not *zh* as given by the author. *z-* is replaced by *d-* in all cases and not by *dv/dva* as mentioned in the sutra. Addition of inflectional terminations causes final *-ü* of *zü* to changes into *-ɔ* or *-ŏ* as in *dɔn koṟan* (to two girls), *dŏyim kūr* (the second girl) etc.

It is noteworthy that the author, in this and other following few sutras, talks about the declension of the definite numeral adjectives of Kashmiri. The definite numeral adjectives are of five types viz., cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, fractional numbers, repetitive numbers, and, collective numbers. For more lucidity given below is the description of these numeral adjectives-

i) Cardinal numbers: In Kashmiri the cardinal numbers upto ten are simple words while as the cardinals from eleven to ninety-nine are, to some extent, compounds of the dvigu (numeral determinative) character. All cardinal numbers are declinable. *akh* (one) is declined in singular only while as numbers *zü* (two) onwards are declined in plural only, such as:

akh (one) → Nom. *akh*, Obl. *əkis*, Ins. *ək̃;*
zü (two) → Nom. *zü*, Obl. *dɔn* , Ins. *dɔyav / dɔn / dɔyi sūt̃.*
trĕ (three) → Nom. *trĕ*, Obl. *tran* , Ins. *trĕyav / tran / trĕyi sūt̃.*

There is no description of cardinal numbers in the KaśmīrśabdāmRtam.

ii) Ordinal numbers: the ordinal numbers in Kashmiri are formed by suffixing *–yum ~ -yim* to the cardinal numbers (see 6/111-120). These numbers decline as follow:

akh (one) → Nom. *ək̃um*, Obl. *əkimis*, Ins. *əkim̃;*
zü (two) → Nom. *dŏyum*, Obl. *dŏyimis/dŏyim̃an* , Ins. *dɔyim̃ / dɔyimi sūt̃.*

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[36] *züha śabdasya du dvitīyādiṣu ; ayāgamah svare* : --- ibid --- 2/3/32 – 33 p. 66

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trě (three) → Nom. *trěyum*, Obl. *trěyimis/trěyiṁan* , Ins. *trěyiṁ / treyimi sü̃t̃.*

Īśvar Kaul is silent about the declension of ordinal numbers in Kashmiri.

iii) Fractional numbers: Fractional numbers in Kashmiri occur before substantives to which they are attributed and agree with them in gender and case such as:

ḍɔḍ (one and a half) → Nom. *ḍɔḍ rɔpay,* Obl. *ḍɔḍas kapas (*mas.) / *ḍɔḍi rɔpüyi* (fem.), Ins. *ḍɔḍi sü̃t̃.*

There is no mention of fractional numbers in KaśmīrśabdāmRtam.

iv) Repetitive numbers: Repetitive numbers are employed to denote as to how much a thing is more than its intended quantity or in how many layers or folds is an object presented. In Kashmiri *-gan* is employed to ascertain the definite surplus quantity of an object while as *-gun ~ gŏn* is added to ascertain the definite number of layers or folds of an object. Besides, the difference between *-gun* and *-gŏn* is that *-gun* is affixed to cardinals from *akh* (one) to *čor* (four) and *śe* (six) while as *-gŏn* occurs with *pãčh* (five), *sath* (seven) and other cardinals. The examples are: *dɔgan ḍār* (double amount), *dŏgun kapur* (two folded cloth), *āṭhügŏn kapur* (eight folded cloth) etc. The repetitive numbers take the same case terminations which are added to nouns, e.g;

gun:

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	*Plu.*	*Sg.*	*Plu.*
Nom.	dŏgun	dŏgüñ	dŏgüñ	dŏgüñi
Obl.	dŏgünis	dŏgüñan	dŏgüñi	dŏgüñan
Ins.	dŏgüni	dŏgüñav	dŏgüñi	dŏgüñav

The author has not given any description of the formation or occurrence of the repetitive numbers of Kashmiri.

v) Collective numbers: The collective numbers are formed by addition of *(-ü)-vay* to cardinals from *zü* and onwards (see 6/186/187/188). The oblique and instrumental case terminations are infixed in *–vay*. In addition, *n* or *ś* is arbitrarily used before *–vay* with

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the cardinals from *zü* (two) to *čor* (four) and *śe* (six) and the final letter of these cardinals is dropped before *n* or *ś*, e.g.,

	zü (two)	*sath* (seven)
	Mas./ Fem.	Mas./ Fem.
Nom.	dɔnüvay/dɔśüvay	satüvay
Obl.	dɔnvüniy/dɔśüvüniy	satüvüniy
Ins.	dɔnvü/dɔśvü-vüy sūt̃ (instrument)	satvü-vüy sūt̃
	dɔnvü/ dɔśvü-niy sūt̃(accompaniment)	satvü-niy sūt̃

čor (four)

Nom.	čɔnüvay/čɔśüvay
Obl.	čɔnvüniy/čɔśüvüniy
Ins.	dɔnvü/dɔśvü-vüy sūt̃ (instrument)
	dɔnvü/ dɔśvü-niy sūt̃ (accompaniment)

Īśvar Kaul is silent about the declension of collective numbers in Kashmiri. ◄

त्रिहषहोरन्त्यलोपश्च; वा चोरशब्दस्य नप्रत्यये ह्रस्वश्च –34;35[37]. According to sutra 34, the addition of *–ay* leads to the deletion of the final vowel of cardinal numbers *trě* and *ṣě*, such as *tryayav sūtin, ṣayau sūtin*. According to 35 the consonant preceding suffix *-n* is dropped and medial *-o* is shortened, such as- *čor* (four) *čɔn*.

►The analysis of Īśvar Kaul's statement shows that the instrumental plural case termination is *–av* and not *–ay* as given by the author. Addition of *–av* to a consonant ending base does not cause any change in the base, e.g., *čor – av → čorav, dəh – av → dəhav*. Addition of *–av* to a vowel ending base causes augment of *y* before *–av*, such as *śě – av → śěyav*. The instrumental plural of *trě* and *śě* is *trěyav* and *śěyav* respectively and not *tryayau* or *ṣayau* as cited by the author. The oblique plural termination is *–an* and not only *–n* as mentioned by the author. *–r* at the end of *čor* (four) is optionally dropped in oblique plural. In this process *–o-* in the medial position

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[37] *trihṣahorantyalopaśca; vā čorśabdasya na pratyaye hRsvaśca* :
------- ibid ------ 2/3/34-35 p. 66-67

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changes into *-ɔ-* (*čor* → *čoran* ~ *čɔn*) and not *u* (ओकारस्य उकारः)[38] as assumed by the author.◀

पानशब्दादिप्रत्ययलोपः; अकारलोपोपधाहृस्वौ चोनुञोः –36;37[39]. According to these sutras the word *pān* declines in the singular number only such as: *pān* → *pānas, pānü* etc. If genitive termination *–un* or *–uñ* is added it leads to the deletion of *-ā-* in the medial position of *pān*, such as- *pān* → *panun, panüñ.*

▶*pān* is a reflexive pronoun. As a substantive it declines only in singular number in nominative, oblique and genitive cases, such as- nom.→ *pān / pānü*; obl. → *pānas*; gen. → *panun / panüñ*. As an attributive it occurs, in the genitive case, in the sense of 'own' and declines in accordance with the substantive it qualifies, e.g.,-

	Mas.	
	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	pan**un** kalam	pan**üñ** kalam
Obl.	panün**is** kalümas	panüñ**an** kalüm**an**
Ins.	panüni kalümü sũt̃	panüñ**av** kalüm**av** sũt̃
	Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.
Nom.	pan**üñ** kitāb	panüñi kitāb**ü**
Obl.	panün*i* kitāb**i**	panüñ**an** kitāb**an**
Ins.	panüñi kitābi sũt̃	panüñ**av** kitāb**av** sũt̃.◀

अखजोरयोराहागमोनिश्चयसामान्ये –38[40]. *āh* is added to cardinals *akh* and *zü* to form approximation denoting numbers, e.g., *akāh* (approximately one), *jorāh* (approximately two).

त्रिहस्तारादेशः; चोरश्च्वमरः; पांचः पोन्शिः; षहोऽन्त्यस्य खाह –39;40;41;42[41].

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38 ---------- ibid --------- p. 67

39 *pānśabdādipratyayalopah: akāralopopadhāhRsvau conuñoh* : ------ ibid ------ 2/3/36-37 p. 67

40 *akhajorayorāhāgamoniścayasāmānye* : -------- ibid -------- 2/3/38 p. 68

41 *trihastārādeśah; čoraśčɔmar: pāńčah ponśi; şahokhāh antyasya* : -----ibid ----- 2/3/ 39-42 p. 68, 69

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The approximation denoting forms of *trě* (three), *čor* (four) and *pānčh* (five) are *tārü, čɔmar* and *ponśi* respectively. *khāh* is affixed to *ṣě* (six) such as *ṣakhā*.

►It is to be noted that Īśvar Kaul uses the word *ṣě* for six which is incorrect as Kashmiri does not possess the *alveolar ṣ*. The term is actually pronounced as *śě*. Besides, the most commonly used approximation denoting form of *čor* is *čɔmbürü* while as the termination *marü* is used with *pā̃čh* and onward cardinals such as- *pā̃čümarü, śě marü, dəh marü* etc.◄

सतष्ट एठागमश्च –43[42]. According to this sutra the approximation denoting form of *sath* (seven) is formed by changing the final *-t* (dental) to *ṭ* (alveolar) and augment of *eṭh* to *sat* such as *saṭeṭh* (approximately seven-eight) (सत् शब्दस्यान्त्याक्षरस्य टकारो भवति एठ आगमश्च → सटेठ[43])

►Īśvar Kaul's sutra as well as the quoted example is not only incorrect but also unintelligible to the extent that it compels the reader to feel sure that the author could not have been a Kashmiri speaker of the Kashmir valley and may have belonged to some dialectal region of Kashmiri like Kishtawar etc. The word used for cardinal seven is *sath* and not *sat* as given by the author. Similarly, the word used for 'eight' is *āṭh*. The word *eṭh* is wrongly conceived. The form *saṭeṭh* does not exist at all. The correct form is *sath-āṭh* (seven to eight) or *satümarü* (approximately seven).◄

ऐठादिभ्योऽमरागमश्च –44[44]. *-amar* is affixed to cardinal numbers *eṭh* and above such as *eṭhamar, navamar, dahamar* (approximately eight, nine, ten).

►As stated under 2/3/42, *-marü* is employed to denote approximation and not *-amar* as assumed by the author. Besides, *-ü* is usually augmented before *-mar* with cardinals from *pā̃čh* (five) to *nav* (nine) such as: *pā̃čümarü, āṭhümarü, navümarü,* etc.◄

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[42] *satașța eṭhāgamaśca* : -------- ibid -------- 2/3/43 p. 69

[43] ---------- ibid --------- p. 69

[44] *eṭhādibhyo marāgamaśca* : ---------- ibid ------ 2/3/44 p. 69

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एकत्वनिर्दिष्टपरिमाणादिशब्दात्खण्डा च –45[45]. *khaṇḍā* is used with the measuring names in the singular form to express 'approximately' or 'tentatively'. According to author's explanation of the sutra *ca* denotes that *āh* is augmented before *khaṇḍ* as well, such as: *akhā khaṇḍā, čākhā khaṇḍā, dahāh khaṇḍā, hathāh khaṇḍā, ṟathāh khaṇḍā, dɔhāh khaṇḍā* etc.

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions are flawed in the sense that the post positional word *khaṇḍ* is used after the measuring names and not *khaṇḍā* as assumed by the author. Besides, augment of *āh* is also incorrect and accordingly the illustrations cited in support of the sutra are also redundant. The correct forms, as used by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley, are: *čākh kaṇḍ* (approximately four), *hath khaṇḍ* (approximately one hundred), *ṟath khaṇḍ* (tentatively one month), *dɔh khaṇḍ* (tentatively a day).

It is noteworthy that *-khaṇḍ* is most commonly used after the weighing and measuring adjectives such as- *tolü khaṇḍ* (approximately 10gm), *pāv khaṇḍ* (approximately 250gm), *manuṭ khaṇḍ* (approximately 5kg), *kilo khaṇḍ* (approximately 1kg), *khār khaṇḍ* (approximately 80kg), *mīṭar khaṇḍ* (approximately 1mtr.), *gaz khaṇḍ* (approximately 96cm) etc. *-khaṇḍ* is also used to denote tentative length of time, such as- *dɔh khaṇḍ* (approximately a day), *vəriyi khaṇḍ* (approximately a year). But, *-khaṇḍ* is very rarely used with the cardinal numbers. These numbers are usually followed by the postpositional word *marü* to denote 'tentativeness' or 'approximation', such as- *dəh marü* (approximately ten). Both of these postpositions i.e; *marü* and *khaṇḍ* do not occur with cardinal *akh*. The termination *-ah/-āh* is suffixed to *akh* in the sense 'approximately', such as- *akhāh* (approximately one).◀

सर्वेभ्यो बहुवचनान्तेभ्यो ज़ –46[46]. According to this sutra *-z* is employed with the names of all objects to denote their plural, e.g. *kaṭüz* (sheep plu.), *guriz* (horses), *kañiz* (stones), *rupyiz* (rupees).

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45 *ekatvanirdiṣṭaparimāṇādiśabdātkhaṇḍā ca* : -------- ibid --------- p. 69

46 *sarvebhyo bahuvacanāntebhyo zū* : ------- ibid ------- 2/3/46 p. 70

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►The illustrations quoted in support of this sutra are actually nouns and, therefore, do not fit in this chapter.◄

►This is the last sutra of the chapter titled सर्वनामपादः meaning the chapter on pronouns. The study of this chapter shows that it is not confined to the description of just the pronouns. The author has also included in this chapter the declension of nouns as well as the description of formation of numeral adjectives though very briefly. This digression could have been avoided and the formation of numeral and other adjectives could have been discussed at an appropriate place in the chapter on the secondary derivatives. Even a separate chapter on the types and occurrence of the attributive words in Kashmiri could have been added in this work. The adjectival use of pronouns in Kashmiri has not been described.◄

The author at the end of the chapter says (इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते लिंगप्रकरणे सर्वनामपादस्तृतीयः) 'here ends the chapter on declension of pronouns, the third part of the chapter on noun morphology in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of *śrī śāradā* region'.

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Chapter 3

Formation of Compounds

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3
Formation of Compounds[1]

►Morphologically, the word stock of Kashmiri can be classified into three classes viz., i) simple words which are free forms and indivisible into fragments, such as- *śur* (child), *čər* (sparrow), *kul* (tree) etc., ii) compound words which are formed by combination of two or more free forms, such as *razü-pŏthur* (king's son), *gūr̃-kūr* (milkman's daughter), *rāth-dŏh* (day and night) etc., and, iii) complex words which are derived from nouns, adjectives or verbs by the addition of various affixes, e.g., *vɔzüjār* (redness), *čalüvun* (fleeing) etc. In traditional grammars *'vRtti'* is the general term for any complex formation requiring resolution or explanation. These *vRttis* are five in number, viz. *kRdvRtti* or the formation of words from verbal roots by employing primary affixes; *taddhitavRtti* or the bases derived from nouns by appending secondary affixes; *dhātuvRtti* or the formation of derivative verbs from primitive roots; *samās*avRtti or the formation of a word by the composition of two or several words; and, *ekaśeṣavRtti* or the formation of words in which one of several nouns, generally alike in form, is retained. Some grammarians regard *ekaśeṣa* as a sub-division of the copulative compound. In this regard Bhattoji Dikshit states "अनेकसुबन्ताभावाद्वन्द्व न" that it cannot be classed as a copulative compound as it does not contain more than one subanta[2].

In Kashmiri, simple words, whether substantives, adjectives, or indeclinable participles, have the power of entering into combination with one another and forming what are called *samāsa* or compounds. In a compound, as a general rule, words are simply joined together without any relation between the component parts being actually

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1 *Atha Samāsaprakriyā* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 71

2 Technical expression for an Inflected noun capable of being used in speech or writing

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expressed and the whole compound word conveys the relations that exist between several parts. The last word only takes the case terminations required by its grammatical position in a sentence, such as in *gūr̃ sünz kūr* (daughter of milkman) → *gūr̃ kūr* (dairy girl) → *gūr̃ kori k̃ut* (for milkman's daughter) *gūr̃ kori* ***hund/koṛond*** *śur* (milkman's daughter's child) etc.◀

Īśvar Kaul, while introducing compound words of Kashmiri, says- शब्दाः संज्ञा विभक्त्यव्ययधातुभेदाच्चतुर्धा भवन्ति। तत्र विभक्तिः केवलं स्वयमर्थदानाभावात्संज्ञया संगत्य कारकार्थं जनयति। धातुना च संगत्यातीतादिकालबोधिनी क्रिया भवतीति। अव्यया हि स्वार्थदाने विभक्तिनिरपेक्षा इति। विभक्तियोगात्संपन्नयोः क्रियायोर्वक्ष्यमाण समासरीति वत्संयोगोऽसंभाव्योऽस्ति किंत्वव्ययभूतैः कृत्प्रत्ययैरेवेति। संज्ञा तु विशेष्यपदविशेषणपदभेदाद्द्विविधा। तत्र द्वयोः विशेष्यपद विशेषणपदयोः परस्परसंयोगो युक्तः विशेष्याद्विशेषणस्यबहिरनवस्था-नादिति। विशेष्ययोस्तु पदयोः संयोगः कदाचित् संभाव्यः स्यात्। संयोगसंभवे तु पदे विशेष्ये वा भवतां। विशेष्यविशेषणे वा भवतामिति तुल्यमस्ति। कदाचित्त्वसंभाव्यः। इति द्वे स्वरूपे। तयोस्तु तुल्यातुल्य विभक्तिसंयोजनयाचत्वारि स्वरूपाणि भवन्तीत्यतः समासाश्चत्वार एव भवितुं अर्हन्त्येतदर्थं युक्तायुक्तेति समासलक्षणं सूत्रयति।[3] "words are of four types viz. nouns, inflectional affixes, indeclinable entities and verbal roots. Of these, the inflectional affixes bring to light their hidden senses of various case relations and different tenses only after being appended to the nouns and verbs respectively. The indeclinable words do not require the aid of inflectional affixes to denote their senses. Conjugated forms of verbs do not have the power to enter into combination with each other to form a compound word. But, participles, being indeclinable in nature, are joined together to form compounds. Nouns are of two types, viz. the appellatives which are qualified and the attributives which describe the qualities of the appellatives. Combination of the two, i.e., appellatives and attributives, is appropriate as these two i.e.; the qualified and the qualifier are not separate from each other. Combination of appellatives is also possible and the resultant compound word can be an appellative. Combination of an appellative and an attributive is congruous. In certain cases this combination is impossible.

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[3] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : p. 71

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Combination is, therefore, of two types. Each type can further be categorized, according to use of similar and dissimilar case endings, into four classes. The words *yukta* and *ayukta* included in the following sutra refer to these distinctive features of compounds".

युक्तायुक्तपदविभक्तीनां संगतिकृत्समासः –1[4]. According to author's explanation of this sutra a compound is the combination of congruous (*yukta*) and incongruous (*ayukta*) words joined by the inflectional terminations. Incongruous components connected by the similar inflectional terminations form the 'copulative compounds' (द्वन्द्व) while as congruous components joined by similar terminations make the 'appositional compounds' (कर्मधारय). Congruous components connected by dissimilar case endings are called the 'determinative compounds' (तत्पुरुष) while as incongruous components having dissimilar terminations form the 'attributive compounds' (बहुव्रीहि). Relative noun has a significant place in compounds. Relative noun is of two types, viz., i) general relative noun, and, ii) particular relative noun. The pronominal words 'he, that' etc. may be categorized as general relative nouns as the same person in the capacity of a speaker calls himself 'I' (अहम्) while as in the capacity of a listener he is addressed by the pronoun 'you' (त्वम्). 'I' and 'you' are indicated by the pronominal words 'this' (अयम्) or 'that' (स) when pointed out as proximate or remote references of speech respectively. Likewise, (क) 'who/which/whoever' and (य) 'this' are also nouns. All these pronominal words are general relative nouns and cannot be compounded except as 'genitive determinative' compounds. Particular relative nouns are further grouped into i) unrestricted, and, ii) restricted. The first refers to all such nominal words which include the sense of both i.e., the profession as well the person directly associated with it, such as *cook* (action of cooking) → *cook* (the person who has permanent association with cooking or whose profession is cooking) तत्राद्याशिल्पवशात्सूपादिसंज्ञा तस्मिन्सूपत्वशिलपस्य समवायिसंबन्धान्न हि तदादि शब्दवदेकेन सूप इत्युच्यते while as 'goldsmith' (स्वर्णकार) falls in the second category

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[4] *yuktāyuktapadavibhaktīnām samgatikRtsamāsah* : ------- ibid ------- 5/1 p. 72

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i.e., restricted relative nouns. The term father can be used only by a son and not by others. Similarly, brother (भ्रातृ) is used for a person 'born of the same mother' (सहोदर), and these are restricted relative nouns.

The author further says that components of *tāphü gaṭü* (hazy sunshine) lack congruity but contain the same case terminations and, thus, form the example of a 'copulative compound'. In *mɔṭi guri sũtin gav* (went on stocky horse) the entity horse (*gur*) and its attribute stocky body (*mɔṭ*) cannot be separated from each other. In addition, these components have the same case endings and, thus, constitute the 'appositional compound'. In *rāzü ñĕcuv* both the components are congruous but have different case terminations and accordingly can be grouped as a 'determinative compound'. *hūñ buth* (dog's face) is the example of the 'attributive compound' as the two components *hũn* (dog) and *buth* (face) are incongruous and possess distinct terminations.

►In his explanation of the above sutra the author has given a brief description of the formation and classification of the compound words in Kashmiri. It is worthwhile to mention that according to traditional grammarians, compounds are categorized according to semantic predominance of components coming in close contact with each other. In other words, in a compound word like (day-night), neither of the components is semantically predominant whereas in *saphed gur* (white horse) the second component (*gur*) shows semantic predominance. Īśvar Kaul's classification of compounds is based primarily on the congruousness and incongruousness of the components. Besides, the predominance of words coming in close contact with each other as well as the case terminations attached to these components when dissolved, has also been considered. The author has included pronouns in the periphery of nouns and classed them as general and particular. The author has put *goldsmith* (स्वर्णकार) in the category of restricted relative names which is in contradiction with his own statement of putting 'the cook' in the category of unrestricted names. The fact is that both, the cook and the goldsmith, derive their names from their respective professions.

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Thus, in accordance with his own framework compound words of Kashmiri are classified by the author as- i) copulative compounds, ii) appositional compounds, iii) determinative compounds, and, iv) attributive compounds. According to author, components of *tāphü gaṭü* (hazy sunshine) lack congruity but contain the same case terminations and, thus, form the example of the 'copulative compound'. In *mɔṭi guri sūtin gav* (went on stocky horse) the entity horse (*gur*) and its attribute stocky body (*mɔṭ*) cannot be separated from each other. In addition, these components have the same case endings and, thus, constitute the 'appositional compound'. In *rāzü ñĕcuv* both the components are congruous but have different case terminations and accordingly can be grouped as a 'determinative compound'. *hūñ buth* (dog's face) is the example of the 'attributive compound' as the two components, *hūn* (dog) and *buth* (face) are incongruous and possess distinct terminations. The author is silent about the prepositional and negative compounds.

In fact, the compounds in Kashmiri can broadly be grouped as- i) prepositional compounds, ii) copulative compounds, ii) determinative compounds, and, iii) attributive compounds. The determinative compounds may further be grouped into three sub-types, viz., i) determinative proper compound, ii) appositional determinative compound, iii) negative determinative compound, and, iv) numerical determinative compound.

The prepositional compounds in Kashmiri do not alternate with the sequences of components posited to form compounds. These are rather formed by combining a nominal component with indeclinable *prath* or *har* meaning 'every'. In other words *prath dŏh* or *har dŏh* meaning 'every now and then' do not alternate with *prath* and *dŏh* or *har* and *dŏh*. So is true of *prath kã̆h*, *prath akh*, *prath vizi* and *prath sātü* etc. These are equivalent to *dohay dohay* → *prath dŏh*, *akh akh* → *prath akh/kã̆h*, *vizi vizi* → *prath vizi*, *sātü sātü* → *prath sātü* etc. *prath* is replaced by *har* without causing any change in meaning, such as- *har dŏh*, *har akh/kã̆h*, *har vizi* and *har sātü*. The author has mistakenly included these words in the category of the secondary derivatives (see 4/146/47/48).◄

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समासमध्ये विभक्तिलोपो व्यंजनाद्यवयवस्य –2[5]. In formation of compounds, the initial consonant part of the affix in between the two components is dropped and according to एको हि अवयवो यस्य कोऽसाववयवी भवेत् the deletion of one part causes deletion of the whole suffix. For example in a sentence like *chĕtyav guṟav sūtin āv*, (came on white horses) *sūtin* is dropped while as in *nīlis guris* affix –s being a single letter is not dropped. The author quotes Pāṇini's sutra प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् in support of his assertions.

▶These assertions are not justifiable. The reason is that the compounds in Kashmiri are formed, as stated above, by combining two or more nominal words, nouns, adjectives or participles, rather than by joining various constituents of a longer construction such as a sentence like *chĕtyav guṟav sūtin āv*. The author refers to Pāṇini's sutra प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्[6]. According to this sutra when the whole affix is replaced by θ (zero) the operation conditioned by it still prevails as if the affix were still present. But, this does not apply to *chĕtyav guṟav sūtin āv* for two reasons. One, this sentence does not fit into the sentence structure of Kashmiri. The actual sentence should be ***chĕtyan guṟan pāṭh*** *āv*. Two, words are compounded only when they are semantically and syntactically connected[7]. In other word *bihiñ jāy* alternates with ***bihiñ kič*** *jāy* (house to live in) and both derive from the underlying deep structure *√bĕh+un~iñ+kič-jāy+nom.sg.* (*-θ*) affix. In *bihiñ jāy* the dative affix *–kič* is replaced by *–θ-* but the operation conditioned by it (dative sense) is still obvious. This does not apply to *chĕtyav guṟav* ***sūtin*** *āv* or ***chĕtyan guṟan pāṭh*** *āv*.◀

सजातीयविभक्तिकानां विजातीयपदानामन्त्यपदविभक्त्या कथनं द्वन्द्वः –3[8]. According to author's explanation of the sutra combination of (semantically) dissimilar words ending in similar case endings forms the copulative compounds. In this process case ending of the first component is dropped while as the termination of the last component

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5 *samāsamadhye vibhaktilopo vyañjanādyavayavasya:* ----- ibid ----- 3/2 p. 74

6 Pāṇini : 1.1.62

7 *samarthah padavidhih* : ----- ibid ------- 2.1.1

8 *sajātīyavibhaktikānām vijātīyapadānāmantyapadavibhadtyā kathanam:* KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 3/3 p. 71

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is retained. For example in *nabha nakh phal* (sky nail fruit) the three components, sky, nail and fruit are by no means related to each other while as according to this rule these can form a compound word. Similarly, in '*vāri kuli phalü zalü pučhya āv*' *pučhya* is dropped (according to 3/2), according to 2/1/30 *–u* and *–o* at the end of the noun changes into *–i* and according to 2/1/6 suffix *–i* is dropped. In view of 2/1/4 *–i* after the consonant ending nouns converts into *–a* such as- *mājya korya* (mother daughter), *māli puthür* (father son), *haś nɔś* (mother in law daughter in law), *zom kākañ* (husband's sister brother's wife), *paci kūci* (planks and blocks) etc..

▶A copulative compound consists of two or more components, whether appellatives, attributives or participles, different or equivalent in meaning, ending in similar case termination which, if not compounded, are connected by the copulative particle *'tü'* meaning 'and'. Below are given few examples to make the statement more lucid:

i) *Two components different in meaning*:

Nouns:

Compound	*Dissolution into constituent parts*
dɔh-rāth	dɔh **tü** rāth (day and night/round the clock)
mol-māj	mol **tü** māj (mother and father/parents)
zūn-tārakh	zūn **tü** tārakh (the moon and the stars)
māji-kori	māj **tü** kūr (mother and daughter)
zām-kāküñi	zām **tü** bəykākañ (husband's sister and brother's wife)

Adjectives:

lŏt-gŏb	lŏt **tü** gŏb (light and heavy)
bŏḍ-lɔkuṭ	bŏḍ **tü** lɔkuṭ (big and mall/elder and younger)
tŏt-turun	tŏt **tü** turun (hot and cold)

Participles:

asun-gindun	asun **tü** gindun (laughing and playing)
yun-gačhun	yun **tü** gačhun (coming and going)

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ii) *Two components equivalent in meaning*:

zuv-jān	zuv **tü** jān (the soul and the body)
dɔkh-dod	dɔkh **tü** dod (suffering and ailment)

Copulative compounds are also formed by composition of two components of which one component is meaningless and is used merely to jingle with the other, such as- *āśināv-rüśināv* (relatives).

In addition, some copulative compounds are formed by replacing the copulative particle *–tü-* by *–ü-* as in *sarüd tü garüm* (cold and hot) → *sardügarüm* (mild). The word *tāphü gaṭü* quoted by the author as illustration of the copulative compound is not in use. Rather, the word *añigatü* is most commonly used in the sense 'darkness'. The word *añigatü* seems a combination of *ŏn~əñ* (blind) and *gaṭü* (darkness) but the fact is that *añigatü* is an independent word indivisible into fragments like *ŏn~əñ* and *gaṭü*. Similarly, '*nabha nakh phal*' or '*vār kul phal zal*' are not employed as compounds. The assertion regarding conversion or deletion of affixes is uncalled for.◀

विशेषणविशेष्ययोः पूर्वोत्तरपदस्थयोरेकपदेनाभिधानं कर्मधारयः –4[9]. A compound whose first component is an attributive and the second is an appellative and are co-referential it is called *karmadhāraya* (appositional). In his explanation of the sutra the author says that a compound word in which the two components, the first the signifier and the second the signified, are congruous, grammatically parallel and unable to be treated separately, is known as *karmadhāraya samāsa* (विशेष्यविशेषणयोर्योग्यसंबन्धत्वाद्युक्तपदत्वं विशेष्याद्धहि र्विशेषणस्यानवस्थानात तयोः समविभक्तित्वमपिनित्यमेव स्यात्मयो-र्विशेषणे पूर्वपदस्थे विशेष्ये उत्तरपदस्थे सति एकविभक्त्या यत् कथनं स कर्मधारयसमासो विज्ञेयः[10]). The examples are- *baḍyan dyāran chu zenān* (earns huge amount), *mvaci čvaci sūtin* (with thick bread), *trichi kori pučhi* (for the efficient girl), *baji lari pyaṭhü* (from the big house), *baji granz hund* (of the big numerical), *bəḍis guris pyaṭh* (on

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9 *viśeṣaṇviśeṣyayoh pūrvottarapadasthayorekapadenābhidhānam karma-dhārayah*: ——— ibid ——— 3/4 p. 76

10 ——— ibid ——— p. 76

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the big horse). Further, the author repeats the same application of addition, deletion and replacement of *–u*, *-i* and *–c* etc..

▶The appositional compound is considered as a sub type of the determinative compound and, therefore, should have been discussed after the determinative proper. It is defined as *samānādhikaraṇa tatpuruṣ* i.e., a compound both the members of which are co-referential and in the same case when dissolved (तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः)[11]. In other words the difference between the determinative proper and the appositional is that in case of the former the attributive member is in one of the oblique cases followed by case relation denoting postpositional word when dissolved while as in the case of the later it is in apposition to the other member and has the same referent. It may, thus, be a noun or an adjective qualifying the other member, such as- *nəvis śīnas → nav śīnas p̃aṭh* (on eve of first snowfall of the year), *navi bahārüch → nav bahārüch phulay* (the blossom of early spring), *rəñidār dāmānuk → rəñi dāmānuk śrəñ śrəñ* (the jingling of trinket-hemmed skirt) etc.. In addition, the verb of the appositional compound holds both the members i.e., the qualifier as well as the qualified. This does not apply to the determinative proper. For example in *kruhun gur chu davān* when the horse gallops, its black color is not separated from it while as in *rāzü pŏthur* or *shahzādü chu davān* the doer of running is only king's son rather than the both. Similarly, in *sənü thālas manz rəpü camüci süt̃* (in golden platter with silver spoon) 'gold' and 'silver' are inseparable from the platter and the spoon respectively. Some grammarians hold that in an appositional compound both the components are usually in the first case[12], as in *kruhun palav* (black dress), *bŏḍ śur* (elder child) etc., but the word *samānādhikaraṇa* indicates that in this variety of compounds both the components are in the same case relation rather than in a particular case.

It is noteworthy that the illustration *baḍyan dyāran chu zenān* quoted by the author in support of the sutra is a sentences containing inflected units unable to be compounded. In addition, the construction

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11 Pāṇini 1/2/42

12 Shastri, Chakradhara Nautiyal – Brihat Anuvada Chandrika p. 201

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baḍyan dyāran chu zenān lacks structural as well as semantic compatibility.◄

अप्रथमान्ते पूर्वपदे विभिन्नविभक्तिकयोः पदयोर्युगपत्कथनं तत्पुरुषः –5[13]. If the first component in any of the cases other than the first case simultaneously enters in combination with a second component which is in a dissimilar case, it is called (तत्पुरुष) the 'determinative compound', e.g., *śrāki khaś* (cut with knife), *ṭopi phŏl*[14] (possibly cockade of cap), *sarpü bayi sūtin* (because of fear of snake), *rāzü necivi pučhy* (for king's son), *baṭü kori hund* (belonging to Kashmiri Hindu girl), *sɔnü ḍabü an* (bring the golden box), *měči phŏt thav* (put down the basket full of dry clay).

►The word *ṭopi phŏl* is not used in speech. In a determinative compound the first of the two components determines the sense of the other. As stated earlier, according to the grammatical nature of the first component, the determinative compounds of Kashmiri may further be grouped into four sub-classes, viz., i) determinative proper or Inflectional determinative compound, ii) appositional determinative compound, iii) negative determinative compound, and, iv) numerical determinative compound.

In Kashmiri, determinative proper, also called as inflectional determinative compounds, when dissolved, the relationship between the two components is expressed by the dative or genitive case postpositional particles. Kashmiri is rich in such compounds. Given below are a few examples:

Dative Determinatives:

Compound	*Dissolution into constituent parts*
k̃hŏn batü	k̃hŏn **k̃ut** batü (food to eat)
čhünüñ palav	čhünüñ **kiṯ̃** palav (clothes to wear on)
khasun gur	khasun **k̃ut** gur (horse for ridding)

Genitive Determinatives:

rāzü pŏthur	rāzü **sund** pŏthur (son of king or a

[13] *aprathamānte pūrvapade vibhinnavibhaktikayoh padayoryugapatkathanam tatpuruṣah*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 3/5 p. 76

[14] This word is not in use.

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wealthy person)

vāzü kŏt	vāzü **sund** kŏt (son of a cook)
gūr̃ kūr	gūr̃ **sünz** kūr (daughter of a milkman)

etc.◄

उत्तरपदस्थस्य पोञ शब्दस्य यो वः –6[15]. According to this sutra, in compound formation if the second component is *poñ* (water), its initial *p-* is replaced by *v-*, e.g.,

gangü voñ	gangāyi hund **poñ** (water of the ganges)
vĕthi voñ	vĕthi hund **poñ** (water of the vitastā)
śīnü voñ	śīn-uk- **poñ** (water of snow)
mār voñ	mār hund **poñ** (water of waterways)
rūdü voñ	rūdü-uk- **poñ** (rain water)
nāgü voñ	nāg-uk- **poñ** (water of spring)
krīr̃ voñ	krīr̃-uk- **poñ** (water of the well)
vugü voñ	temporarily flowing water[16]

पूर्वपदस्थे ञस्यानुस्वारः –7[17]. The author says if *poñ* (water) is the first member of the compound, the palatal nasal *–ñ* at its end converts into nasalization of the vowel preceding it, such as-

pā̃ nŏṭ	pāñ-uk- nŏṭ (water pitcher)
pā̃ trakh	pāñ-uk- thakh (approximately six seers if water).

►It important to mention that the compound words cited above by the author are actually numerical determinative compounds in which, when dissolved, the place of the first member is taken by a numeral, such as- *pā̃ nŏṭ → akh nŏṭ poñ* (one pitcher of water), *pā̃ trakh → akh trakh poñ* (approximately six seers if water). Similarly, *dā̃ khār → akh khar dāñi* (one kharwar of paddy), *dā̃ phŏt → akh phŏt dāñi* (one basket full of paddy) etc..◄

दाञशब्दस्यापि –8[18]. This applies to word *dāñi* also. If *dāñi* is first

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15 *uttarpadasthasya poñu śabdasya yo vah* : ---------- ibid -------- 3/6 p. 77

16 -------- ibid -------- p. 77

17 *pūrvapadasthe ñasyānusvārah* : ---------- ibid ------- 3/7 p. 78

18 *dāñśabdasyāpi* : ---------- ibid -------- 3/8 p. 78

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member of a compound, its final *–ñ* converts into nasalization of its preceding vowel, such as-

dã̃ khār	one kharwar of paddy
dã̃ phŏt	one basket-full of paddy
vã̃ kūr	daughter of a grocer
vã̃ ḏŏl	grocer's aquatic weed-strap for strapping the bundle

►The words *vã̃ kūr* (*vāñ sünz kūr*) and *vã̃ ḏŏl* (*vāñ sund ḏŏl*) are inflectional determinative compounds while as *dã̃ khār* (*akh khar dāñi*) and *dã̃ phŏt* (*akh phŏt dāñi*) are, as explained above, numerical determinative compounds. Further, words *vã̃ kūr* and *vã̃ ḏŏl* cited above by the author indicate that the tendency of nasalizing the vowel before *–ñ* applies not only to the terms *poñ* and *dāñi* as stated in the sutras but also extends to other compounds whose first component has *–ñ* at the end.◄

पंथ्रशब्दस्य पुलिंगे च –९[19]. *pəthür* (leaf) is a masculine word and the compound formed with the help of *pəthür* also refer to the masculine objects. In addition, *-p* of *pəthür* changes into *–v*, e.g., *boñi vəthür* (leaf of the chinar tree), *pośi vəthür* (petal of a flower), *ḵhal vəthür* (leaf of the lotus plant), *hākü vəthür* (leaf of hākh-a local leafy vegetable).

►The word *pəthür* is incorrectly spelled as the word is actually pronounced as *pətür*. The term in actual sense refers to feminine plural green leaves particularly of a vegetable, such as *muji pətür* → *mujenz pətür* (green leaves of reddish), *gɔgüji pətür* → *gɔgüjenz pətür* (green leaves of turnip) etc. The word *vəthür* is also used in the sense of leaf. It usually occurs combined with a personal noun as its second component to denote 'mas. sg. green leaf of a tree or a vegetable'. The examples are:

boñi vəthür	(leaf of the chinar tree)	boñi **hund** vəthür
pośi vəthür	(petal of a plower)	poś **uk** vəthür
hākü vəthür	(leaf of *hākh*)	hāk **uk** vəthür
pālüki vəthür	(leaf of spinach)	pālüki hund vəthür

[19] *pəthürśabdasya pumliṅge ca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 3/9 p. 78

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The forms *panü vəthür* (leaf of a tree) and *k̃hal vəthür* (leaf of the lotus plant) are also compound words consisting of two components each, yet semantically indissoluble into components. The terms *pan* and *vəthur* are synonymous and the main difference between the two is that *pan* is plural while as *vəthür* is singular and the combination of the two also refer to a single leaf, e.g., *kuĺuk pan* (leaves of a tree) and *kuĺuk vəthür* (leaf of a tree). The illustrated words also show that *pan* is used only for the leaves of a tree whereas *vəthür* is descriptive of leaf of a tree as well as that of a plant, a flower or a vegetable. In addition, the word *bərg* is also employed in the sense of a leaf, usually leaf of a cooked vegetable.◀

पंचाहः समासे; शैठः शस्य हः −10/11[20]. Initial *p-* of cardinal number *pančah* (fifty) is replaced by *v-* and *ś-* of *śeṭh* (sixty) converts into *h-* when compounded with the names of other cardinal numbers (between nine and eight), such aṣ- *akävanzah*, *duvanzah*, *kunävanzah*, *kunühāṭh*, *akühāṭh*, *duhāṭh*.

▶The examples quoted by the author fall in the category of the copulative compounds for two reasons. One, both the components are different in meaning and have the same case termination. Two, the compounds if not compounded, are joined by the copulative particle –*tü-* (and) or –*kam-* (less). The examples are as given below:

kunüvanzah	aki **kam** pančah (fifty less by one)
aküvanzah	akh **tü** pančah (one plus fifty)
duvanzah	zü **tü** pančah (two plus fifty)
truvanzah	trě **tü** pančah (three plus fifty)
čuvanzah	čor **tü** pančah (four plus fifty)
kunü**hāṭh**	aki **kam** śeṭh (sixty less by one)
aküh**āṭh**	akh **tü** śeṭh (one plus sixty)
duh**āṭh**	zü **tü** śeṭh (two plus sixty)
truh**āṭh**	trě **tü** śeṭh (three plus sixty)
čuh**āṭh**	čor **tü** śeṭh (four plus sixty) and so forth.

20 *pančāh samāse , śaiṭhah śasya hah* : ---------- ibid -------- 3/-10/11 p. 79

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It is in place to mention that the initial *č-* of *čatüjī* is dropped and *–ü-* is replaced by *-ə-* when compounded with the name of other cardinal numbers, e.g.,

kunütəjī	aki **kam** *čatüjī* (forty less by one)
akütəjī	akh **tü** *čatüjī* (one plus forty)
dɔyitəjī	zü **tü** *čatüjī* (two plus forty) etc.◀

च्वदूशब्दस्यम्वंडू आदेशः सस्यव्यतिरिक्ते –12[21]. Bread made of the flour of cereals is called *čŏṭ* whereas muffin made of anything other than flour is called *mŏnḍ* such as- *tŏmlü čŏṭ* (rice flour bread), *künükü čŏṭ* (wheat flour bread), *vuśükü čŏṭ* (barley flour bread), *ṭhūlü mŏnḍ* (omelet), *nadür̃ mŏnḍ* (muffin made of lotus stalk), *čāmüñi mŏnḍ* (muffin made of cheese). The author further says that *mŏnḍ* is used in the masculine sense such as- *tŏmlü mŏnḍ* (rice bun).

▶Use of *mŏnḍ* in place of *čŏṭ* is not correct. The reason is that these two items are dissimilar not only in the ingredients they contain but also in the methods of preparation, size and use. In other words *čŏṭ* is a meal, bigger in size as compared to muffin or bun and is prepared without frying in oil. *mŏnḍ* on the other hand is a snack, smaller in size and cannot be prepared without deep frying in the oil. The only similarity between the two is that both are round in shape.◀

▶Further, Kashmiri is also rich in the negative determinative compounds (नञ् तत्पुरुष). These are formed by changing the negative particle *na*, *nay* or *nü* into *a-* and compounding it with the noun or the participle, e.g.

apuz	pŏz **nü** āsun (that which is not true)
akor	kārü-**nay** āsun (that which is not boiled)
akŏt	katü-**nay** āsun (that which is not spun)

The author is silent about this type of compounds. There is also no description of the numerical determinative compound in the Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam. Numerical determinative compound (द्विगु) is formed when the first member of appositional determinative compound is replaced by a numeral. The examples are: *panj mãvü* (a

[21] *čŏṭśabdasya mŏnḍādeśah sasyavyatirikte* : ---------- ibid -------- 3/12 p. 79

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mixture of five varieties of dry fruits), *satüsos* (a mixture of seven varieties of pulses) etc. (see 3/7-8).◀

पूर्वोत्तरपदस्थभेद्यभेदकोभयविशिष्टान्यपदबोधकोबहुव्रीहि –13[22]. If the appellative qualified is the first component, the attributive is the second component and the resultant compound signifies something distinct from what the constituent parts signify, it is called the attributive (बहुव्रीहि) compound, such as- *dāri zyūṭh* (the person having long beard), *kanü čŏṭ* (the person having cut ear), *du vəriś* (fem. two years old), *satübāč* (family consisting of seven members), *panč pŏtur* (parent of five sons), *hūni buth* (possessing dog like face).

▶Attributive compound is the compound which as a whole is generally an adjective denoting a quality belonging to some person or object. The author has included words like *duvuhur* and *du vəriś* (two years old mas./fem.) in attributive compounds while as these should have been discussed under the numerical determinative compounds. The other words cited by the author also do not support what the sutra actually conveys. The fact is that there is hardly any such compound in Kashmiri which in actual sense of the term could be classed as attributive compound. However, the compound word such as- *vuḍüvun jānāvar* literally meaning 'flying bird', also refers to a person who is a happy go lucky by nature. Similarly, the word *ḍakhü lūr* literally meaning 'supportive stick' signifies the 'son'.◀

द्विरुक्तेन च –14[23]. The attributive compound is also formed by the reduplication of nouns, such as- *ṭhɔlü- ṭhɔlü*, *ṭap- ṭaph* etc.

▶These assertions are not correct and the illustrations cited by the author cannot be listed as attributive compounds. The reason is that an attributive compound is, as the name itself indicates, an attributive signifying a person or object indirectly (अन्यपदबोधकः). The words *ṭhɔlü- ṭhɔlü* and *ṭap- ṭaph* quoted by the author actually belong to the category of copulative compounds which consist of two

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22 *pūrvottarapadasthbhedyabhedakobhayaviśiṣṭānyapadabodhakobahuvrīhi* : ---- ------ ibid -------- 3/13 p. 79

23 *dviruktena ca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 3/14 p. 80

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components of which either one component is meaningless or both the components are meaningful (see 3/3).◄

►This is the last sutra of the chapter on formation of compound words in Kashmiri. In the beginning of the chapter the author has given a brief description of the formation and classification of compounds in Kashmiri. His classification of compounds is based on congruity and incongruity of words coming in close contact with each other. According to this classification compounds are of four types, viz., copulative, appositional, determinative, and, attributive. The author is silent about the formation of numerical and prepositional or adverbial compounds though they are very few in number. The illustrations of numerical compounds have wrongly been illustrated under the inflectional determinative and attributive compounds. The logical order of compounds has also not been followed. In other words, the appositional compound is considered as a sub-type of the determinative compound and, thus, should have been discussed after the determinative proper while as it is discussed prior to the determinative compound.◄

The chapter is concluded with these words- (इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते समासप्रक्रिया समाप्ता) 'here ends the chapter on formation of compounds in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'.

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Chapter 4

Secondary Stem Formation

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4
Secondary Stem Formation[1]

▶As stated in the previous chapter, the word stock of Kashmiri consists of three types of words, viz., i) simple words, ii) compound words, and, iii) complex words. Simple words are free morphemes and cannot be divided into fragments. All common nouns and material nouns in Kashmiri are simple words. The examples are: *kūr* (girl), *śur* (child), *kul* (tree), *yār* (friend), *gur* (horse), *khār* (blacksmith), *kāv* (crow), *kaṭh* (sheep), *tīl* (oil), *sɔn* (gold) etc. Collective nouns carrying the meaning of a collection of persons or objects taken together as one whole, e.g., *lūkh* (people), *māl* (garland) etc., are also simple words. Compound words are formed by combining two or more free forms such as- *dɔh-rāth* (day and night, round the clock), *běñi-boy* (sister and brother), *dɔkh-dod* (suffering and ailment), *lot-gŏb* (light and heavy), *rūdü-voñ* (rain water), *kaṭü-ƙhŏl* (herd of sheep) etc. Complex words are stems derived by appending the derivational affixes to nominal or verbal bases. Accordingly, these stems are further classified into two groups, viz;

i) Primary derivatives or the stems formed by adding primary affixes to verbal bases such as- √*par* (to read)+ *un* – *parun* (reading), √*naṭ* (to tremble) + *iñ* - *nəṭiñ* (tremor), √*čal* (to flee,) + *vun* – *čalvun* (fleeing) etc.

ii) Secondary derivatives or the stems formed by adding secondary suffixes to nominal bases such as- *māṣ* (mother's sister) + *tur* – *mastur* (related to mother's sister), *mənz̃um* (middle) + *yor* (middleman), *nŏv* (new) + *ar* – *naṽar* (novelty) etc.

In the present chapter of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam the author describes the terminations and postpositional words which are

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[1] a) *atha Taddhita Prakriyā* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 81
b) The derivational system

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employed to form the secondary stems in Kashmiri. The author begins the chapter with the following sutra:◀

जातेरपत्यार्थे पूत –1[2]. According to author *-pūt* is suffixed to surname or the name of family or dynasty in the sense of 'descendent of' such as– *dar - pūt* (descendent of Dhar family), *kol - pūt* (descendent of Kaul family). *-pūt* is also used after the names of the birds in the sense of 'chick of' the bird such as *kāv pūt*, *kɔkar pūt*, *pəchin pūt*. In addition, *-pūt* is used with the names of animals to denote 'offspring' of the animals such as *kaṭ pūt* (lamb), *myān pūt* (lambkin).

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions are not correct. The postpositional word *pūt* is not used after the surnames or names of families or dynasties. The forms *dar pūt, kol pūt*, as quoted by the author, are incorrect and unintelligible. *-pūt* is most commonly used after the names of the birds like *kāv, kɔkur, batukh,* and *pəchin* etc. in the sense of 'chick of the bird' such as *kāv pūt* (chick of crow), *kɔkarpūt* (chick of cock), *pəchinü pūt* (chick of fowl), *batakh pūt* (chick of duck) etc. *-pūt* is not used with the names of birds which are smaller in size like *čar* (sparrow), *hār* (myna), *bulbul* (nightingale) etc. or even bigger in size like *gãṭh ~ gãṭh* (kite) *grad* (vulture) etc.. To denote the chicks of these birds the word *baci* (baby) is used after the names of these and similar birds and the forms thus constituted are compound words. The examples are: *čari baci* (chick of sparrow), *hāri baci* (chick of myna), *bulbul baci* (chick of nightingale), *gãṭi ~ gãṭi baci* (chick of kite) etc. Similarly, *-pūt* is not used with the name of animals to denote its offspring. However, *-pūt* is used with the bleating (sound) of sheep or goat in the sense of 'offspring of' sheep or goat such as *mã pūt* (lamb). Otherwise the term *mɔ̃gur* is most commonly used after *kaṭh* (sheep) *or čhāvul* (goat) to denote its offspring. The examples are- *kaṭü mɔ̃gur* (lambkin) *čhāvül̃ mɔ̃gur* (offspring of goat). The term *kaṭüpūt*, as cited by the author, is incorrect. Simultaneously, it is noteworthy that *-pūt* is used in the sense of 'baby' by the Kashmiri speakers of the Kamraz region or the north Kashmir. Thus, in the

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[2] *jāterapatyārthe pūt* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 4/1 p. 81

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light of the above cited illustrations it is clear that addition of *-pūt* does not constitute a complex word or a secondary derivative as assumed by the author. The reason is that a complex word or a secondary derivative is a combination of two or more morphemes, especially nouns, out of which only one morpheme is a free form while as the rest are bound forms with hidden senses. These forms bring to light their hidden senses only when they are combined with the free forms. The examples are: *yer* (wool) + *-uv* = *yeruv* (woolen), *həṭ* (wood) + *-uv* = *hacuv* (wooden) etc.. The term *pūt,* meaning chick, is a free form. The words constituted by addition of *-pūt* are, therefore, compound words and not secondary derivatives. The forms like *kāvpūt, kɔkarpūt* fall in the category of inflectional determinative compounds in which, when dissolved, the relationship between the two components is expressed by the dative or genitive particles such as – *k̃hon batü* → *k̃hon k̃ut batü* (food to eat), *rāzü pŏthur* → *rāzü sund pŏthur* (son of king / wealthy person). Similarly, *kāv pūt* → *kāvü sund pūt* (chick of the crow), *kɔkar pūt* → *kɔkürü sund pūt* (chick of the cock) so on and so forth.◀

न संज्ञायाः; चूरशब्दात्बालकीडायां च; मित्रशब्दात्स्वार्थे –2/3/4[3]. It means that *-pūt* does not occur with the personal names of humans. *pūt* combined with *čūr* is used for an infant in infantile fun (frolics) such as- *čūrü pūt*. *-pūt* is also added to *miñ* (kiss) such as *miñ pūt.* the author further says that *miñ* is also used as *mvñ*[4] (मित्र इत्यस्य म्वत्र च कथ्यते)[5].

▶The secondary terminations are basically employed to derive the nominal or verbal stems from the existing nouns and adjectives. The addition of secondary terminations considerably change the meaning of the bases to which these terminations are added. The examples are: *boy* (brother) *-ton* → *bāyton* (brotherhood), *māṣ* (mother's sister) *-tur* → *māstur* (related to mother's sister), *nov* (new) *-ar* → *naṽar* (novelty), *ŏdur* (wet) *-āv* → *ədürāv* (to make wet) etc.

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3 *na samjñāyāh; čūraśabdātbālakrīḍāyām ca; miñaśabdātsvārthe* ------ ibid ---- 4/ - 2/ 3 /4 p.81 - 82

4 The term is actually pronounced as *mɔñ*

5 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 82

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But, Īśvar Kaul's above quoted examples especially *miñ / mɔñ pūt* in no way prove that it is a secondary derivation as there is no semantic variation between the two terms i.e; *mɔñ* and *mɔñ pūt*. In addition, the literal meaning of *čṝrü pūt → čūrü sund pūt* (descendant of a thief) makes this term into a compound word rather than a secondary stem. Further, the terms *miñ/mvñ pūt* and *čūrü pūt* are not found in use at least in the present day Kashmiri and thus, could be treated as obsolete forms. However, the terms like *mɔñ* and *māh pūt* (peck on the cheek) are prevalent among the speakers but these cannot be considered as secondary stems for the reasons stated above.◀

अनादरापत्यार्थेऽधमशब्देभ्यः कठ −5[6]. The author says *-kaṭh* is used in the sense of 'disdain' and 'descendent of a low social stock'. The examples are: *pogükaṭh* (one who bodes ill), *gānükaṭh* (descendent of a procurer), *rasükaṭh* (descendent of a dancer), *vazükaṭh* (descendent of a cook), *čūrükaṭh* (son of a thief[7]) *kɔkaṭh* (unworthy fellow) etc.

▶The use of word अपत्यार्थे meaning 'descendent of' in the sutra is not apt. *-kaṭh* is basically suffixed to the name of a lowly profession to derive a pejorative term employed to signify a person of low social strata, such as- *gānükaṭh* (debauch), *rāsükaṭh* (moron), *čūrükaṭh* (thievish person) etc. Besides, *-kaṭh* is employed to denote harbinger of bad tidings, such as - *pogükaṭh* (a person who is believed to cause ill luck or damage). Further, Īśvar Kaul's sutra is silent about the phonemic change, e.g., augment of *–ü-* which is caused by the addition of *-kaṭh* such as – *pog* (damage/ill) *–ü- kaṭh*, *gān* (debauch) *–ü- kaṭh*, *ras* (a type of dance) *–ü- kaṭh*, *čūr* (thief) *–ü- kaṭh* etc.◀

स्वस्वकार्योद्यमेनाभिधेये कटु[8] −6[9]. *-kŏṭ* is added to names of crafts or trades to denote 'son or descendent of' a craftsman or a trader, such as: *chānkŏṭ* (son or descendent of carpenter) *sɔnarkŏṭ* (son or descendent of a goldsmith).

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6 *anādarāpatyārtheadhamaśabdebhyah kaṭh* : ------- ibid --------- 4/5 p. 82

7 *caurputrah* : ---------- ibid ---------- p. 82

8 The correct form is *kŏṭ* and not *kaṭu* as mentioned in the sutra

9 *svasvakāryodyamenābhidheye kaṭu* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 4/6 p. 82

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►The author has also quoted illustrations like *darkŏṭ*, *kolükŏṭ* and *baṭükŏṭ*. These illustrations indicate that *kŏṭ* is added not only to the names of crafts or trades but it is also added to the surnames or names of the families, dynasties and social castes in the sense of 'descendent of' or 'belonging to', such as - *darükŏṭ* (descendent of the Dhar family), *kolükŏṭ* (descendent of the Kaul family), *baṭükŏṭ* (descendent of the Kashmiri Pandit family), *musalmānkŏṭ* (descendent of the Muslim family), *sikhükŏṭ* (descendent of the Sikh family).

The addition of *-kŏṭ* also causes augment of *–ü-* before *kŏṭ* such as *chān* (carpenter) → *chānükŏṭ* (descendent of carpenter). It does not apply to bases whose final consonant is preceded by a long vowel as in *musalmān kŏṭ*, *shīh koṭ* (descendent of a Shiya) etc.. But, if the final consonant of the base is preceded by a back vowel, it causes palatalization of the final consonant of the base such as - *gūr* (milkman) → *gūřkŏṭ* (descendent of milkmaid), *dŏb* (washer-man) → *dŏb̃kŏṭ* (descendent of washer man), *dāndur* (greengrocer) → *dāndūřkŏṭ* (descendent of greengrocer) etc..

It needs to be noted that the author has incorrectly presented the termination *kŏṭ* as *kaṭu*. The incorrectly presented words have not been followed in this work except where ever needed for the purposes of explanation.◄

मूँष शब्दाच्च –7[10]. *kŏṭ* is also used with *mũṣ* (buffalo) to denote its male offspring, such as- *mẽṣi kŏṭ*. In his explanation of the sutra the author further says, "since *mũṣ* is a consonant ending word hence, according to 2/1/36 *ā* is augmented at the end and according to 2/3/28 *ū* is replaced by *e*".

►Īśvar Kaul's assumptions as well as explanation of the sutra are devoid of worth and merits for the reasons that the word for buffalo, as used by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley, is *māś* and not *mũṣ* as assumed by the author. In fact the word *mũś* is in use among the Kashmiri speakers of Kishtawar and Poonch regions. The actual word *māś* does not contain *ū* and accordingly the replacement of *ū* by *e* proves to be baseless. Similarly, augment of *a* after the final

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10 *mūṣa śabdācca* : --------- ibid --------- 4/7 p. 83

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consonant of the base is, as explained earlier, not correct (see 2/1/36 & 2/3/28). Use of *ṣ* in *mũṣ* is also incorrect as alveolar –*ṣ* does not exist in Kashmiri. The words *mũṣ* and *meṣkŏṭ*, as used by the author, again compel the reader to question whether the author was an original Kashmiri speaker of the valley at all. ◄

पित्रोः सहजापत्यीयसंबन्धे पुंसि तुरु; स्त्रियां त्र् –8; 9[11]. The termination *-turu* is employed to denote the 'male descendent or son of parent's' brother or sister while as *-trü* (त्र) is used to denote its feminine form, such as- *pɔph-turu boy* प्वफतुरु बोय[12] (son of father's sister), *māṣ-turu boy* (son of mother's sister), *mām-turu boy* (son of mother's brother) and *pɔph-trü běñi* (प्वफत्र् ब्यञ[13](daughter of father's sister), *māṣ-trü běñi* (daughter of mother's sister), *mām-trü běñi* (daughter of mother's brother).

►The above quoted examples indicate that the pronunciation of these words is misconceived by the author. These words are actually pronounced as:- *pɔph-tur boy* (son of father's sister), *māṣ-tur boy* (son of mother's sister), *mām-tur boy* (son of mother's brother) and *pɔph-tür běñi* (daughter of father's sister), *māṣ-tür běñi* (daughter of mother's sister), *mām-tür běñi* (daughter of mother's brother) etc. It indicates that the masculine and feminine terminations used to denote the male or female descendent of parents' brother or sister are *-tur* and *-tür* respectively rather than *-turu* and *-trü* as assumed and illustrated by the author. ◄

पित्र शब्दात्त्र लोपः –10[14]. The meaning of this sutra is that *tr* of *pitr* is deleted.

►The Kashmiri word *p̃ətür* (not *pitr* as understood by the author) is used for father's brother/s, elder as well as younger. According to above sutra the secondary terminations *tur* or *tür* causes deletion of the final *-tr* of the base to avoid repetition. The fact is that the stems expressive of son or daughter of *p̃ətür* are derived by making some

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11 *pitroh sahajāpatyīyasambandhe tur; striyām tür;* : ----- ibid ---- 4/- 8 / 9 p. 83

12 -------- ibid --------- (manuscript) p. 87

13 -------- ibid --------- (manuscript) p. 87

14 *pitürśabdāt tür lopah* : -------- ibid ------ 4/ 10 p. 84

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changes in the internal structure of the base i.e., *p̃ətür*. These include the conversion of the palatalization of initial *p-* into *–i* and deletion of medial *-ə*, e.g., *- p̃ətür → pitur boy* (son of father's brother), *p̃ətür → pitür běñi* (daughter of father's brother). This does not apply to derivatives like *pɔph -tür → pɔph-tür bəyikākañ* (wife of son of father's sister), *mās -tür → mās-tür bəyikākañ* (wife of son of mother's sister), *mām –tür → mām-tür bəyikākañ* (wife of son of mother's brother), *mās -tur → māstur boy* (son of mother's sister) etc.◀

बेञ्जिबोयशब्दाभ्यां पुंपत्ये थुरन्त्ययोर्नवौ च; स्त्र्यपत्ये ञो नबौ च –11/12[15]. *-thür* is employed with the relative nouns *běñi* (sister) and *boy* (brother) to denote their male descendent, e.g., *běñi → p̃anthür* (sister's son), *boy → bābthür* (brother's son). In his explanation of the sutras the author further says "स्त्र्यपत्येऽभिधेये सति ञ प्रत्ययो भवति" *-z* is added to denote female descendent of sister or brother, e.g., *p̃ənz* (sister's daughter), *bāvaz* (brother's daughter). In this process the final letters of the bases are replaced by *n* and *v* respectively.

▶The termination used to denote female descendent of sister or brother is *-zü* and not only *-z* as mentioned by the author. Addition of termination *-thür* does not cause replacement of final letters of the base by *n* and *v* as assumed by the author. The illustrations cited above in support of the sutra show that the use of *-thür* changes the base to which it is added, e.g; *běñi → p̃an-thür*, (sister's son), *boy → bāb-thür /bāvüzü* (brother's son/ daughter). Addition of termination *-zü* also gives rise to some changes in the base to which it is added, such as- *běñi → p̃ənzü* (sister's daughter), *boy → bāvüzü* (brother's daughter). Change of only final letters into *-n* and *-v* respectively is, therefore, incorrect.◀

द्रुयशब्दस्य द्यारादेशश्च –13[16]. *-thür* and *-z* are used with the relative noun *druy* (husband's brother) in the sense of son and daughter of

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[15] *běñiboyaśabdābhyām pumapatye thürantyayornabau ca; stryapatye no nabau ca* : ---- ibid --- 4/-11/12 p. 84

[16] *druyaśabdasya dyārādeśah* : -------- ibid -------- 4/13 p. 85

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husband's brother. In this process *druy* is replaced by *ɖār*, such as *ɖārthr* (son of husband's brother), *ɖāraz* (daughter of husband's brother).

►It is noteworthy that although the words *ɖārthür* and *ɖāraz* are included in the Kashmiri dictionary[17] yet these words are not found in common discourse among the Kashmiri speakers of Srinagar proper and its adjacent neighborhoods. It is probable that *ɖārthür* and *ɖārüz* might have regionally developed on the synonymy of *bāb-thür* and *bāvüzü* respectively. Further, the author has spelled *ɖārthür* as *ɖārthr* which is not correct because of the fact that consonant clusters do not occur at the word final position in Kashmiri. Similarly, *ɖāraz* is actually employed as *ɖārüz*.◄

तदस्यास्तीत्यलादयः ; स्वमूर्तिवर्तमानद्रव्यगुणवत्त्वाभिधेयेऽल

–14/15[18].

'Something belongs to someone' or 'someone is the possessor of something' is expressed by using the termination *-al*. This termination is used with animate as well as inanimate nouns (प्राणिनोऽप्राणिनो वा) in the sense of 'possession of something', material, quality or feature in its physical appearance. The examples are: *dāɽ̃al* (possessing long beard), *gõčhal* (having long moustaches), *ɦaṅgal* (possessing long horns), *machiṭĕcal* (having pigmented face), *babal* (one who has heavy breasts), *čapal* (one who has propensity to bite), *gĕɲ̃al* (wrinkled body or cloth), *s̃asal* (having skin covered with warts), *pɔndal* (one who sneezes abnormally), *ganḍal* (having too many knots), *ṭhɔlal* (disposed to goring), *čūṇṭal* (one who farts continuously), *ḍakhal* (one who has side hair-locks).

►In addition to the examples cited above, the author has included in the list of illustrations the words like *ṭũkal* for 'disposed to goring' and *phaśal* for 'keeper of brothel'. The fact is that these words are not found in use at least in the present day Kashmiri spoken in the Srinagar city.◄

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[17] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 301

[18] *tadasyāstītyalādayah ; svamūrtivartamānadravyaguṇavattvābhidheye al* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/ - 14/15 p. 85

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हाचोऽभियोक्तरि ; ज़्यवः सूचके –16/17[19]. *-al* is also used with the nouns *hāč* (accusation) and *žav* (tongue) to denote accuser and bitter / sharp tongued respectively, such as– *hāčal* (habitual accuser), *žaval* (glib tongued, name dropper).

▶The actual word for 'accusation' used by the Kashmiri speakers is *hãčh* and not *hāč* as assumed by the author. Addition of *-al* leads to optional deletion of the aspiration of the final consonant of the base which is, as stated earlier, a common peculiarity of Kashmiri. The stem thus derived is - *hãčh – al* → *hãčhal* ~ *hãčal* and not *hāčal* as stated by the author.◀

बें ञिकूरशब्दाभ्यामश्लीले –18[20]. The termination *-al* if used with the relative nouns like *běñi* (sister) and *kūr* (daughter) constitutes the terms of abuse implying incest. The examples quoted by the author are: *běñal* (one who has incestuous relations with sister), *koř̃al* (one who has incestuous relations with daughter). The author further says that *-vol*[21] is employed to express a general adjectival relationship, such as- *korivol* (with daughters only), *běñivol* (with sisters only).

▶This sutra indicates that use of *–al* does not always imply "possession". It constitutes the abusive terms as well if employed with the feminine relative names.◀

दारंशब्दाद्यागमोवा –19[22]. According to this sutra *-yā* is augmented with *dār* such as - *dāriyāl* (one who has long beard)[23].

▶Addition of *-yā* is incorrect. As stated above (see 6/14-15), termination *-al* is employed with *dār* or *reś* to express the sense of 'bearded person'. This addition causes conversion of *-ā* of *dār* into *-ā* such as - *dār –al* → *dāř̃al* or *reś -al* → *reśal*. The word *dāriyāl*[24] is incorrect and unintelligible.◀

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19 *hāčoabhiyoktari ; zyavah sūcake* : -------- ibid -------- 4/ - 16/17 p. 86

20 *běñikūrśabdābhyāmaśīle* : ---------- ibid --------- 4/18 p. 86

21 --------- ibid --------- p. 86

22 *dāruśabdādyāgamo* : ---------- ibid --------- 4/19 p. 86

23 --------- ibid --------- p. 86

24 --------- ibid --------- (manuscript) p. 91

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क्वचिल्लदपि –20[25]. Sometimes *-lad* is also employed. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that *-lad* is usually used in the sense of 'demerit', or 'to attribute a fault'. The examples are: *phakü-lad* (stinking), *chɔkü-lad* (wounded), *bakü-lad* (idle talker), *dɔkhü-lad* (grief stricken), *drāgü-lad* (draught stricken), *šasü-lad* (someone having warty skin), *gĕñi-lad* (wrinkled skin or cloth etc.), *čāsi lad* (ever coughing person). The author further says that the secondary termination *-lad* does not occur with the words such as– *gõčh* (moustache), *ḍakh* (side lock) or *baci* (child) etc. The reason is that these words are used in the positive sense and, therefore, accept the termination *–al* and not *-lad*.

►The termination *–lad* is actually expressive of "having a fault" and is, therefore, fit to be used with scurrilous words only, such as- *phakü-lad*, *gĕñ-iad* etc. *–lad* is not used with the bases expressive of positive qualities of a person or object. In other words, the forms such as- *ḍārü-lad* (possessor of money) or *makānü-lad* (possessor of house/s) etc. are irrelevant.◄

फश उन्मादिनि –21[26]. According to this sutra *–lad* is employed with *phaś* in the sense of 'hysteria' e.g., *phaśilad* (hysterical). On the other hand *phaś* followed by *-al* → *phaśal* denotes 'keeper of brothel'[27].

► The word *phaś* usually occurs combined with verbs like √*di* → *phaś ḍun* (to dust of /to remove a stain/to scrub); √*yi* → *phaś yun* (to suffer a loss). In present time Kashmiri *–lad* used with *phaś* denotes 'loss' and the word *phaśilad* signifies a person who is deprived of or loses out on something. The Kashmiri Dictionary[28] gives the meaning 'hysterical' for *phaśilad*[29]. However, the fact is that this term is not found used in' Srinagar and its neighbouring areas in the sense of 'hysterical.◄

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25 *kvacilladapi* : -------- ibid -------- 4/20 p. 86
26 *phaśa unmādini* : ------- ibid -------- 4/21 p. 87
27 -------- ibid -------- p. 87
28 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 159
29 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 159

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पोंजु अपुजु शब्दाभ्यां योरु −22[30]. The termination *–yoru* is used with nouns *pŏz* (true) and *apuz* (lie, untrue) to derive the stems like *pəžyoru* (one who is disposed to truth) and *apüžoru* (a habitual liar).

▶The author, in this sutra, has incorrectly spelled the term as *–u* ending (*–yoru* योरु) while as it is pronounced as *–yor*. The termination *–yor* is employed to convert the nouns, such as- *pŏz* and *apuz*, into attributives *pəžyor* and *apüžor* respectively.◀

मन्ज़्युमशब्दाद्दूतार्थे −23[31]. *–yoru* is added to the adjective *mənžum* (middle / central) to derive the word *mənžumyoru* meaning 'messenger'.

▶It may be noted that in Kashmiri the word *mənžumyor* is used for a mediator particularly the one who mediates matrimonial alliances. It is not for a messenger in general as assumed by the author. *–u* at the end of *–yor* ◀

मूर्तिबाह्यवस्तुवत्त्वे वोलुग्राकौ −24[32]. According to this sutra the terminations *–vol* and *-grāk* are employed with nouns in the sense of 'possessor of something other than one's own physical qualities' (निजमूर्तेभिन्नैर्वस्तूभिः सहितत्वे अभिधेये ग्राकवोलप्रत्ययौ भवतः), e.g; *dyārüvol* (money holder /wealthy person), *larivol* (owner of houses), *śāyivol*[33] (possessor of dwelling), *korivol* (one who has daughters only), *nĕcivvol* (one who has sons only), *gupan vol* (possessor of cows etc.)

▶The terminations *–vol* is used with the common nouns to form the stems which stand in a general adjectival relationship to a noun. In other words these terminations are employed to form adjectives from the common nouns to express the sense of owner or possessor of something including physical qualities. But, *-grāk/h* is employed to denote 'possessor of something other than the physical qualities. For

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30 *pŏz apuz śabdābhyāmyoru* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/22 p. 87

31 *mənžumśabdāddūtārthe* : -------- ibid -------- 4/23 p. 87

32 *mūrtibāhyavastuvattve volugrākau* : -------- ibid -------- 4/24 p. 87

33 The word *śāy* is a regional variant of the word *jāy* used in the sense of accommodation. *śāy* is most commonly used by the speakers of Kamraz and Maraz regions.

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example *–hu pharan –vol- naphar* (that man wearing a *phiran*), *mohanü chu dyārü-vol- śakhüs* (Mohan is a wealthy person), *tõhy chivü zānan vãl* (you honf. are quite knowledgeable), *su reśi/dāri – vol- naphar drāv tati* (that bearded person left from there) etc. Similarly, the examples of *grāk/h* are: *gargrākañ* (woman householder who is in command), *bāčgrāk/h garü* (large household) etc. The terms such as *reśi/dāri–grāk/h dyārü grāk/h* are inappropriate. It may be noted that-*grāk/h* is sparingly used.◄

जीवादिव्यथाकारिभ्यो हंतु –25[34]. According to this sutra - *hətu* is used to indicate unpleasantness, suffering or difficult situation. The examples are: *nĕndri-hətu* (Leary-eyed), *treśi-hətu* (thirsty), *bɔchi-hətu* (starving), *gumü-hətu* (drenched in sweats), *tūri-hətu* (shivered with cold), *ārü-hətu* (countenance that gives rise to pity).

►The termination is actually pronounced as *–hŏt* (होंत) and not as *hətu* (हंतु) as spelled in the sutra. Accordingly, the illustrations given above by the author in support of the sutra are actually used as *nĕndri-hŏt*, *treśi-hŏt*, *bɔchi-hŏt*, *gumü-hŏt*, *tūri-hŏt* and *ārü-hŏt* respectively. The illustrated words indicate that *hŏt* is employed to express the suffering of a person caused by being stricken by hunger, thirst, illness or poverty. The term *krūdü-hŏt* is irrelevant and is not used.◄

मंदछमोदमानेभ्यो व्यंत –26[35]. *-vyətu* is used with words such as *mandach, mod* and *mān* to indicate 'possessed of' such as – *mandach vyətu* (modest), *mod vyatu* (blissfull), *mānvyətu* (respectable).

►The termination is actually pronounced as *-võt*[36] and not *-vyətu* as given by the author. This termination is used with common and abstract nouns to derive adjectives having the sense 'possessed of'. The correct forms of the above quoted illustrations, therefore, are *mandüchi võt*, *modü võt* and *mānüvõt* respectively. Besides, according to author, this termination occurs only with three words like *mandach*, *mod*, and, *mān*. This is not correct because *võt* occurs

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[34] *jivādivyathākāribhyo hatu* : ------ ibid ------- 4/25 p. 88

[35] *mandachmodamānebhyo vyatu* : -------- ibid ------- 4/26 p. 89

[36] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 178 - 79

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with other nouns as well such as: *māyi ṽŏt* (sticky)[37] etc. Alongside, it is also noteworthy that the use of *-ṽŏt* is hardly found among the Kashmiri speakers especially of Srinagar proper and its extended neighborhoods.◀

वर्सशब्दादाढ्यार्थे −27[38]. The termination *-ṽŏt* is used with *varsā* in the sense of 'prosperity or richness', such as - *varsāṽŏt* (rich).

▶The example quoted in support of the sutra is incomprehensible as the word *varsā* does not occur in Kashmiri. However, the word *virsü* is used by the Kashmiri speakers of the marāz region in the sense of 'inheritance'. By addition of *-ṽŏt*, the derived stem *virsüṽŏt* is used to denote 'possessor of inherited wealth'. Further, it is noteworthy that the word *virsü* or *virsüṽŏt* is not even included in the Kashmiri dictionary.◀

दन्दनस्तोरनिष्टार्थे आन ; उवा −28/29[39]. *-ān* is used with *dand* (teeth) and *nas* (nose) in the sense of deformity of teeth or nose, such as – *dand-ān* (one who has projected teeth), *nast-ān* (one who has ugly nose). According to उवा *-ān* is optionally replaced by *–u,* e.g; *nastu, dandu*. But, the most commonly used forms are *nastūru* and *danduru*.

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions are partially true. In other words *-ān* is used with the nouns such as *dand* and *nas* to form adjectives *dandān*[40] (having abnormally placed teeth) and *nastānü*[41] (having grotesque looking nose) respectively. The terms *nastu*, *dandu* and *nastūru*, *dandūru*[42] quoted by the author are incorrect and unintelligible. The sutra उवा is therefore, uncalled for. However, the word *nəstūr ~ nŏstūr* is prevalent in the sense of 'a person having long and deformed nose'.◀

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37 ------ ibid -------- p. 179

38 *varsāśabdādāḍyarthe* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/27 p. 89

39 *dandnastorniṣṭārthe ān ; u vā* ------- ibid -------- 4 /- 28 /29 p. 89

40 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 228

41 -------- ibid -------- vol. vi, p. 284

42 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 89

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यडशब्दाद्वृद्धावल; जिघत्सावलोपश्च –30/31[43]. According to sutra 30, *–al* employed with *yaḍ* (belly) → *yaḍ-al* denotes 'potbellied' and according to sutra 31, *-a-* of *–al* is dropped if it is used in the sense of 'glutton', e.g; *yəḍl*.

▶The second assumption of the author is not correct. The reason is that *–a* of *–al* is not dropped but rather the whole suffix is replaced by *–ül* to denote the sense of 'glutton' and not *–al* as cited by the author. The change in the stem caused by addition of *–ül* is that the medial *-a* of *yaḍ* is replaced by *-ə*, e.g; *yaḍ - ül → yəḍül*.◀

हरशब्दात्ताच्छील्ये; जतशब्दात्तद्धति –32/33[44]. *–al* is used with the noun *har* (a quarrel) to derive the adjective *haral* to denote the quarrelsome behavior of a person. Likewise, *-al* is used with the noun *jat*[45] to form the adjective *jəčal* to indicate 'containing short hair other than the hair of head or beard'.

▶The word *jat* cited by the author is incorrectly perceived. The actual word, as pronounced by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley, is *jath* (short hair on the body of humans, animals or any object such as fur cap etc.). The addition of *–al* causes certain changes in the base, i.e; the aspiration of the final consonant is dropped, the dental stop *-t* is replaced by the dental affricate *-č* and *-a* following the initial consonant changes to *ə*, e.g; *jath –al → jəčal. jačal*, as quoted by the author, is inapt.◀

वैंसो जैवातृकेऽट; ऋष[46]स्ताच्छीले –34/35[47]. *-aṭ* is added to nouns like *vaĩs* and *rṣ* to constitute adjectives *vaĩsaṭ* and *rṣaṭ* to denote 'long lived' and 'envious' respectively.

▶The sutra indicates that the author has misunderstood the pronunciation of the given nouns possibly because he might not have

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[43] *yaḍśabdādvRddhāval ; jighatsāvalopaśca* : -------- ibid -------- 4/-30/31 p. 89

[44] *harśabdāttācchīlye ; jatśabdāttadvati* : ---------- ibid ------- 4/-32/33 p. 89-90

[45] --------- ibid -------- p. 90

[46] The author has frequently used alveolar fricative sound *ṣ* in his work while as Kashmiri records, as stated earlier under inventory of phonemes, presence of palatal *ś* only.

[47] *vãsojaivātRkeaṭ ; rüśastācchīle* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/-34/35 p. 90

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been a Kashmiri speaker of the valley. The Kashmiri speakers of the Kashmir province pronounce these nouns as *vɔ̃s* (age, span of life) and *rüś* (envy) and not as *vaīs* and *rṣ* as lettered in the manuscript. Accordingly, the derived forms could be *vɔ̃saṭh* and *rüśaṭh*. These derived forms also indicate that the termination *-aṭh* is employed and not *-aṭ* as mentioned in the above sutras.◀

अच्छिशब्दाद्दुर्दृष्टाविट −३६[48]. Īśvar Kaul says: *-iṭ* is added to *əchi* (eye) and the derived stem *əchīṭ* denotes 'a person having evil eye'.

▶The adjective denoting 'an evil eyed person' is pronounced as *əchīṭ*. The base to which *-iṭ* is added, sounds as consonant ending, i.e; *əch* and not vowel ending (*achi*) as spelled by the author. Thus, if *-iṭ* is added to *ach*[49] the resulting stem would be *achiṭ* which is incorrect. It indicates that *əchīṭ* is derived by suffixing *-īṭ* to the common noun *əch* and not *-iṭ* to *achi* as spelled by the author.◀

रूपलूबाभ्यामतिशये; ज़्यवश्च; ल्यकलशब्दादूठ −३७/३८/३९[50]. The meaning of these sutras is, "*-iṭ* is added to *rūp* (countenance) and *lūb* (greed) to form *rūpiṭ* meaning 'pleasing looking' and *lūbiṭ* denoting "greedy"; *-iṭ* is added to *z̃av* (tongue) to derive *z̃aviṭ* meaning 'loose tongued'; *-ūṭh* is added to *l̃akh* (foul language) to constitute *l̃akülūṭh*[51] meaning 'dirty tongued'.

▶The words *rüpiṭ/h*, *lūbiṭ/h* and *z̃aviṭ/h* does not exist in the modern Kashmiri. It is possible that these terms must have been prevalent in the 19th - 20th century Kashmiri that is the time when Īśvar Kaul has written this treatise. But, these words have altogether disappeared in the latter day Kashmiri. . However, the compound word *z̃avüz̃ūṭh* is used in the sense of 'loose tongued'◀

भावे −४०[52]. In his explanation of this sutra Īśvar Kaul says that the secondary affixes discussed here onwards are used with the adjectives to constitute abstract nouns (इत उत्तरं ये प्रत्ययास्ते भावे विज्ञेयाः).

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48 *achiśabdāddurdRṣṭāviṭ* : ------- ibid ------- 4/36 p. 90

49 --------- ibid --------- (manuscript) p. 95-96

50 *rūpalūbābhyāmatiśaye; zyavaśca; lyakalaśabdādūṭh*: — ibid — 4/-37/38/39 p. 90

51 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 97

52 *bhāve* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/40 p. 91

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He further says that the abstract nouns are derived from the verbal roots as well and those would be described under the primary stem formation.

विशेष्यायत्तानामर; त्र्यक्षराधिकानामार; क्वचित्पूर्व एव

–41/42/43[53].

–ar is affixed to words denoting quality of a person or object, such as *rut* (good) → *rüčar* (welfare). *-ār* is appended to tri-syllabic words. The expression क्वचित्पूर्व एव denotes that sometimes *–ar* is also used even with the words consisting of three or more syllables. The examples are: *apuz* (untrue), → *apazar* (falsehood), *vɔzul* (red) → *vɔzüjār* (redness), *mɔkul* (free) → *mɔküjār* (liberation), *kruhun* (black) → *krehñar* (blackness), *ñūl* (raw, unripe, blue) → *nījar* (rawness, bluish), *kāčur* (light brown) → *kāčryar* (brownish), *kāyur* (lazy) → *kāyryar* (laziness) etc.

▶As stated in the previous sutra, the affixes discussed here and onwards are employed to derive the abstract noun from adjectives. *-ar* and *-ār* are grouped in this category of secondary affixes. These two affixes are distinguished not according to disyllabic and tri-syllabic structure of adjectives as assumed by the author. In fact, the distinguishing factor between the two is the last letter or syllable of the base which is to be converted. In other words *-ār* is most commonly added to the qualitative adjectives which contain *–ul* at the final position while as *–ar* is added to the qualitative adjectives which end in a consonant other than *–l* and preceded by *–ŏ-* , *-u-* or *-ɔ-*. *–ar* is also added to the qualitative adjectives which end in *-ūl*. The examples are:-

Use of ***-ār***:-

piśul (greasy, slippery) → ***piśüjār*** (greasiness), ***vɔzul*** (red) → ***vɔzüjār*** (redness), ***mɔkul*** (free) → ***mɔküjār*** (liberation), ***śihul*** (shade) → ***śehjār*** (coolness).

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[53] *viśeşyāyattāmar; tryakşarādhikānāmār ; kvacitpūrva eva :*
------- ibid ------- 4/-41/42/43 p. 91

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Use of ***ar***:-

pŏz (true) → ***pazar*** (truth), ***nŏn*** (nude/apparent) ***nañar*** (nudeness/visibility), ***mŏt*** (insane) → ***mačar*** (insanity), ***gŏb*** (heavy) → ***gɔb̃ar*** (heaviness), *dŏr* (solid) → ***dar̃ar*** (solidity), ***śŏd/śɔd*** (pure) → ***śɔzar*** (purity), ***apuz*** (untrue) → ***apazar***[54](untruth), ***kruhun*** (black) → ***krehñar*** (blackness), ***pŏp*** (ripe) → ***pap̃ar*** (ripeness), ***ñūl*** (raw, blue) ***nījar*** (rawness, bluish),

The above shown illustrations reflect certain changes in the base itself which are caused by the addition of *-ār* and *–ar*. These changes are- *l* at the final position of the word changes to *–j*. The dental stops *t, th* and *d* at the end of the base are replaced by the dental affricates *č, čh* and *z* respectively[55]. The labial stops *p, ph, b,* nasals *m, n,* and *r, v* at the final position of the word become palatalized. *-r* at the end of the word exceptionally converts into *–j*[56]. *-ŏ* preceding the final letter of the word is usually replaced by *a-*.

Further, the abstract nouns like ***kāčürer***[57](light brownish), ***kavürer***[58] (curvedness) and ***mŏdürer*** (sweetness) derived from the qualitative adjectives ***kāčur*** (light brown), ***kāvur*** (curved) and ***mŏdur*** (sweet) respectively indicate that if *-r* at the final position of the word is preceded by *u,* in that case suffix *–er* is employed and not *-ar* as assumed (*kāčür̃ar, kāvür̃ar* etc.) by the author.◀

टोठोर्वाऽनागमोऽन्त्यस्वरलोपश्च –44[59]. *-ār* is optionally added to *ṭoṭhu* (dear) which causes augment of *–an* and deletion of final *–u* (अन्त्यस्योकारस्य च लोपः स्यात्), e.g., *ṭoṭhu* → *ṭāṭhiñār* (lovability).

▶Why and how the author has conceived most words of the Kashmiri vocabulary as ending in *–u* is beyond one's ken. The actual word for 'dear' in Kashmiri is *ṭoṭh* instead of *ṭoṭhu* as given by the

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54 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 5

55 See Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 4/50 p. 94

56 *trakur śabdasya ca.* See KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/53 p. 95

57 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 124

58 ------ ibid ------- p. 137

59 *ṭoṭhorvāanāgamoantyasvarasyalopaśca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/44 p. 92

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author. Deletion of final *–u* (अन्त्यस्य उकारस्य लोपः स्यात्)[60] is, therefore, irrelevant. Augment of *–an* also is not clear. The illustration quoted in support of the sutra indicates that the suffix employed to derive *ṭāṭhiñār ~ ṭāchiñār* from *ṭoṭh* is simply *-ār* with augment *-ñ* before *-ār*. Addition of *-ān* + *-ār* and conversion of dental *–n* of *-ān* into dental nasal affricate (*aprasiddha*), which in reality does not exist in Kashmiri, do not seem appropriate. The fact is that the author has actually tried to describe the derivational morphology of Kashmiri in the light of the lengthy and intricate derivational techniques of Pāṇini. This attempt of author has converted the otherwise simple and precise descriptions into complicated statements.

हशोऽश्लीले; कोंबगोंशभ्यां वा लोपः –45/46[61]. *–ar* used with *haś* (mother-in-law) constitutes an abusive term *haśar*. *–ar* is optionally dropped with *kŏb* (hunch,) and *gŏś* (sluggish)

The statement that *-ar* is optionally dropped with *kŏb* and *gŏś* (वा लोपः) is not correct because *–ar* is basically employed to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. *kŏb* and *gŏś* are qualitative adjectives. *kŏb* is used to qualify a noun both attributively as well as predicatively such as: *hɔ kŏb zanānü* (that hunch-backed lady) and *hɔ zanānu chi kŏb* (that lady is hunch backed). *gŏś* qualifies a noun predicatively only, such as: *hɔ zanānu chi gŏś* (that lady is lazy / sluggish). Addition of *–ar* coverts these adjectives into abstract nouns, such as: *kŏb → kŏb̃ar* (curvedness), *gŏś → gaśar* (sluggishness). Deletion of *–ar* means to revert these abstract nouns back to their earlier forms.◀

कवर्गान्तानांचवगदिशः क्रमात्; न चोकखूंखशब्दयोः; टवर्गान्तानां च –47/48/49[62].

In the process of the formation of abstract nouns from adjectives, the velar stops *k,kh,g* associated with *u* at the final position of the disyllabic or tri-syllabic words are replaced by the palatal stops *c, ch,*

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60 -------- ibid -------- p. 92

61 *haśoaślīle; kŏbgŏśbhyām vā lopah* : -------- ibid -------- 4/- 45/46 p. 92

62 *kavargāntānām cavargādeśah kramāt; na čŏk khũkh śabdayoh; ṭavargāntānām ca* : --- ibid --- 4/-47/48/49 p. 93

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j respectively (द्वयक्षराणां त्र्यक्षराणां च अन्त्यस्य उकार विशिष्टस्य कवर्गीयाक्षरस्य क्रमेण चवर्गीयाक्षरादेशो भवति)[63]. The examples are: *niku* (lean/thin) → *nicar* (thinness), *hɔkhu* (dry) → *hɔchar* (dryness), *drŏgu* (expensive) → *drɔjar* (expensiveness), *srŏgu* (cheap / inexpensive) → *srɔjar* (inexpensiveness). This does not apply to words like *čŏku* (sour) and *khũkhu* (one who speaks through nose), e.g; *čŏku* → *čɔk̃ar* (sourness), *khũkhu* → *khũk̃har* (condition of speaking through nose). The alveolar stops *ṭ, ṭh* and *ḍ* at the end of the word are also replaced by *c, ch* and *j* respectively. The examples are - *mŏṭu* (thick) → *mɔcar* (thickness), *droṇṭhu* (hard) → *drenchar* (hardness), *mŏnḍu* (blunt, dull-minded) → *mɔnjar* (bluntness, dullness).

►Īśvar Kaul's statement 'velar and alveolar stops associated with *–u* at the final position of the word' as well as the illustrations quoted in support of the sutra pushes the reader into a difficult situation. The reason is that in Kashmiri *–u* occurs but very rarely at the final position of the word. The words quoted above as illustrations are lettered with *–u* at the final position (*niku, hakhu, drŏgu, srŏgu, čaku mŏṭu, droṇṭhu, mŏnḍu* etc.)[64]which has rendered these words unintelligible and into incorrect forms. Their actual forms are, as commonly used by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley, *ñuk, hokh, drŏg, srŏg ~ śrŏg, čŏk, mŏṭ, droṇṭh*, and *mŏnḍ* respectively. These illustrations indicate that if a velar or alveolar stop at the end of the base is preceded by a back- high or mid vowel (*u, ū or ŏ*), it changes into the corresponding palatal stop.

Further, according to author the words like *čŏk* and *khũkh* are exceptions and their final *k* and *kh* do not change to *c* and *ch* respectively. Of course, the final *k* and *kh* of these words do not convert into to *c* and *ch* but the fact is that these two i.e., *k* and *kh* transmute into palatalized forms, such as- *čŏk* → *čɔk̃ar*, *khũkhu* → *khũk̃har*. Īśvar Kaul is silent about this change.◄

63
64 -------- ibid -------- p. 93
-------- ibid -------- (manuscript) p. 98

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तवर्गान्तानामप्रसिद्धः; अप्रसिद्धादिलोपः –50/51[65]. The addition of –*ar* to adjectives ending in the dental stops *t, th, d* causes conversion of these sounds to the dental affricates *č, čh* and *z* (called as *aprasiddha varṇa* by the author) respectively, e.g; *tətu* (hot) → *tačar* (heat), *vəthu* (open) → *vačhar* (openness), *thədu* (high, elevated, lofty) → *thazar* (height, elevation, loftiness) etc.

►The words cited above are depicted not only as –*u* ending but are also wrongly conceived and thus, incorrectly spelled by the author. These words are actually pronounced in order as *tŏt*, *vŏth*, and *thŏdu*. Further, the author has included in this category, the words which end in the dental –*n*. This assertion is not justified for the reason that there is no corresponding nasal affricate sound in Kashmiri into which the dental –*n* may be perceived to be converted. In actual sense the addition of –*ar/ār* to –*n* ending adjectival bases causes palatalization of the final –*n* of the base, such as – *tŏn* (thin) → *tañar* (thinness), *panun* (one's own) → *pāñār* (cordiality), *kruhun* (black) → *krehñar* (blackness), *turun* (frigid) → *türüñār* (frigidity) etc.

Conversion of dental stops into dental affricates अप्रसिद्धादिलोपः causes deletion of –*i* is imaginary because the illustrations cited to justify the sutra neither indicate presence of –*i* at any stage (initial, medial or final) of the basic word nor prove the given –*i* missing in the derived stem. The illustrated words are: *čhŏč* (hollow) → *čhɔčar* (hollowness), *ŏčh* (delicate) → *ačhar* (delicacy), *pŏz* (truth) → *pazar* (truthfulness), *vŏth* (open) → *vačhar* (openness) etc.◄

लान्तानां जः; त्रकुरुशब्दस्य[66]च; हान्तानां शः –52/53/54[67]. According to these sutras final –*l* of the base converts to –*j*; final –*r* of *trakur* (hard) also changes to –*j*; final –*h* of the base becomes –*ś*.

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[65] *tavargāntānāmaprasiddhah* ; *aprasiddhādilopah* : ---------- ibid ---------- 4/-50/51 p. 94

[66] The word=dq# (*trakuru*) is misconceived and thus, incorrectly lettered. This word is actually pronounced as =dqj (*trakur*)

[67] *lāntānām jah; trakuruśabdasya ca; hāntānām śah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/-52/53/ 54 p. 95

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▶As stated earlier, addition of *-ār* to the qualitative adjectives causes certain changes in the base. These changes, as stated in the above given sutras, are such as- *– l* at the final position of the word changes to *–j* as in *piśul → piśüjār*, *vɔzul → vɔzüjār*, *mɔkul → mɔküjār* etc., dental stops at the end of the word are replaced by the dental affricates such as *tŏt → tačar*, *thŏd → thazar* etc., labial stops *p, ph, b,* at the final position of the word become palatalized such as *pŏp → papar* etc.[68] However, according to त्रकुरशब्दस्य च, in exceptional cases *-r* at the end of the word converts into *–j* as in *trakur* (hard) → *trakuüjār* (hardness) while as contrarily *–r* followed by suffix *-ār* becomes palatalized[69]. Similarly, *-h* at the end of the word becomes *–ś* such a *h̃uh* (similar) → *hiśar* (similarity).◀

सान्तानां वा छः −55[70]. *–s* at the end of the base is optionally replaced by *–čh* such as *kũs* (youngster) → *kaĩsar* or *kaĩčhar* (being younger).

▶These assertions are not justified because the word *kũs* is also pronounced as *kũčh* which indicates that *čh* is a diaphone which is substituted, by some speakers, for *s*. But, this substitution is specific to *kũs*. The words *kaĩsar* and *kaĩčhar* used by the author are incorrectly conceived. These can be regional variants of *kũs/kũčh*.◀

बडुशब्दादीमी वा −56[71]. *-īmī* is optionally employed with the adjective *baḍu* to denote greatness. The example is - *baḍu* (great) → *bəḍīmī*. or *bajar* (greatness, generosity).

▶The given word is actually pronounced as *bŏḍ* (*bŏḍ - īmī → bəḍīmī*) and not as *baḍu* as assumed by the author. Besides, it is noteworthy that according to टवर्गान्तानां च[72] *–ar* is also added to *bŏḍ* to convert it into an abstract noun, such as *bŏḍ - ar → bajar* (see 6/47-49).◀

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68 See 4/41 - 43

69 See 4/41 - 43

70 *sāntānām vā chah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/55 p. 96

71 *baḍuśabdādīmī* : --------- ibid --------- 4/56 p. 96

72 *ṭavargāntānām ca:* ------- ibid ---- 4/49 p. 93

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श्रूचुछ्यटुशब्दाभ्यां यारू च – 57[73]. *-yārū* is optionally employed with *śrūču* (pure) and *čhyaṭu* (impure) to express purity and impurity respectively. For example: *śrūčiyārū, čhyaṭiyārū.*

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions are commented on as given below:

As stated earlier also, in Kashmiri *–u/ū* does not occur at final position of the word. Only in exceptional cases such as *hu* (that by near person or object), and *su* (that far away person or object) *–u* is found at the final position of the word in Kashmiri. The words cited above by the author are actually pronounced as *śrūč* and *čhǒṭ* respectively. The adjectives *śrūču* and *čhyaṭu* are, thus, wrongly conceived by the author. *-ar* is employed to convert the adjectives *śrūč* and *čhǒṭ* into abstract nouns such as - *śrūč* → *śročar* (purity), *čhǒṭ* → *čhěcar* (impurity). *-yār* is not found in use. Likewise, the forms derived with the help of *-yār* such as- *śrūčiyār*, *čhěṭiyār* are incorrect and do not exist in Kashmiri.◄

योरुशब्दान्ताज्ज़ –58[74]. *-z* is added to words ending in *–yoru* to form abstract nouns, such as- *mənzumyoru* (middleman) → *mənzimyarəz* (mediation).

►The termination employed to derive the abstract nouns like *yārəz / yārüz* (friendship), *mənzimyarəz / mənzimyarüz* (mediation) is actually *-üz* or *-əz* and not only *–z* as assumed by the author, such as- *yār* (friend) → *yārəz / yārüz* (friendship), *mənzumyor* → *mənzimyarəz / mənzimyarüz* (mediation). The terms like *apəzyārüz* (deception / dupery), *pəzyārüz* (truthfulness), *śrūčyārüz* (purity), *čhěṭyārüz* (impurity) are not used. Actually, the terms used are *apüzyār* (deception/dupery), *pazar* (truthfulness), *śročar* (purity) and *čhěcar* (impurity).◄

विशेष्यानायत्तानामिलआंज़ प्रत्ययौ –59[75]. According to this sutra *-il* and *-āz* are suffixed to names (विशेष्यान्) qualified by professional names to convert these into abstract nouns, such as- *pənḍith* (Brahman) → *pənḍitil* ~ *pənditāz* (priesthood); *chān* (carpenter) →

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[73] *śrūčučhyaṭuśabdābhyām yārū ca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/57 p. 96

[74] *yorśabdāntāt z* : ------- ibid ------- 4/58 p. 96

[75] *viśeṣyānāyattāuāmil-āz pratyayau* : ------- ibid -------- 4/59 p. 97

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chānil ~ chānāz (carpentry); *gor* (priest) → *gūril ~ gorāz* (priesthood) etc.

►It is noteworthy that the words like *pənḍith* (Brahman), *chān* (carpenter) and *gor* (priest) are actually professional names used, without exception, for every person of his respective class or profession. The author's contention about the use of विशेष्यान् is that the professional name is the qualifying attributive (विशेषण) of a person (विशेष्य). According to above sutra, *–il* and *-āz* are suffixed to attributive names, such as- *pənḍith*, *chān* and *gor* to convert these into abstract nouns. Īśvar Kaul's assertions do not apply to all professional names even not to names cited above by the author in support of his sutra. In other words, *–il* and *-āz̃ ~ āzī* are not employed with all professional names to the same extent but are morphologically conditioned. For example *–il* is used with *pənḍith* (*pənḍitil*) and *chān* (*chānil*) but does not occur with *gor* (priest), *dəsil* (mason), *sɔnur* (goldsmith), *brehmun* (priest) etc. Likewise, *-āz̃ ~ āzī* is used with words like *pənḍith* (*pənditāz̃ ~ pənditāzī*), *brehmun* (*brehmünāz̃ ~ brehmünāzī*), *dəsil* (*dəsilāz̃ ~ dəsilāzī*) but does not occur with *chān* and *gor* as assumed by the author. Another variant of *–il / - āz̃* is *-gī* and it is employed with words like *gor* (*gorügī*), *chān* (*chānügī*), *dəsil* (*dəsilgī*) etc. The termination *-āz* is wrongly conceived by the author and it is actually pronounced as *-āz̃* or *-āzī* such as - *pənḍith* → *pənḍitāz̃ ~ pənditāzī.*◄

क्वचिदेकतरः; क्वचिद्युगपच्च –60/61[76]. In certain cases only one single variant of the previously cited terminations (*-il, āz̃* etc.) is employed while as in other cases these variants are employed optionally although with a slight semantic variations. For example - *dəsil* demands the termination *-āz̃* (*dəsilāz̃*) only while as *mŏt* (insane) accepts any of the two variants, such as- *mŏt* → *mətil ~ mətilāz̃ / mətilāzī*. But, *dəsilil* is incorrect.

►These two sutras are a continuation of the previous sutra. The author has grouped *gor* (purohit) in the category of nouns which accept any of the two variants i.e., *-il* or *-āz̃*, such as- *gor*→ *gūrilil ~*

[76] *kvacidekatarah ; kvacidyugapacca* : ------- ibid ------- 4/-60/61 p. 97

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gūrilāz which is incorrect. Both of these forms i.e; *gūrilil* or *gūrilāz* are unintelligible terms and are not used by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley in their discourse. However, as stated above, there is another variant of this allomorph and that is *-gī* and this is the only termination which is employed with *gor* (*gorügī*). *-gī* is employed with *mot* → *mə̃tgī* as well. The author is silent about this allomorph.◄

लाँछशब्दस्योपधाया ऊत्वं वा −62[77]. According to this sutra addition of *–il* to *lə̃čh* (eunuch) causes optional conversion of *-ā* before the final consonant into *-ū* such as - *lə̃čh* → *lə̃čhil* or *lũčhil*.

►Conversion of *ā* into *-ū*, as stated in the above sutra (उपधाया ऊत्वं वा), is incorrect because the Kashmiri word denoting 'eunuch' is pronounced as- *lə̃čh* and *lə̃čh* by the Pandit and Muslim Kashmiri speakers respectively. Its abstract noun is derived not only with the help of *-il* but the termination *-gī* is also employed for the purpose, such as - *lə̃čhil* (*lə̃čh* →*il*), *lə̃čhügī* (*lə̃čh* →*gī*) ~ *lə̃čhügī* (*lə̃čh* →*gī*). The term *lũčhil*, as assumed by the author, is not found in use. The author is silent about the addition of the secondary termination *-gī* to *lə̃čh* or *lə̃čh*.◄

सम्बन्धिनां तोनु −63[78]. *–tonu* is suffixed to relative names of consanguineous relations to convert them into abstract nouns while as in other cases *-tonu* is replaced by *–ponu* (कृत्रिमसंबन्धिनां भावे तु तकारस्य पकार इष्यते), e.g., *māj* (mother) → *mājitonu* (motherhood/motherliness), *boy* (brother) → *bāytonu* (brotherhood), *haś* (mother-in-law) → *haśitonu* (mother-in law's behavior), *vyas* (friend), → *vyasüponu* (friendship), *dāy* (midwife / nurse) → *dāyiponu* (midwifery / nursing).

►The actual termination is *–ton* and not *–tonu* as assumed by the author. It is noteworthy that in actual use the term *–ton* is used not only with the names of consanguineous relations but it occurs with all relative nouns. However, *-ton* is optionally replaced by *–pon* with the

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[77] *lə̃čhśabdasyopdhāyā ūtvam vā* : ------- ibid --------- 4/62 p. 97

[78] *sambandhināṁ ton* : --------- ibid --------- 4/63 p. 97

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relative nouns other than those expressive of consanguineous relations, e.g; *dāyiton ~ dāyipon* (midwifery).◀

शत्रुमित्रपितुरृषिबन्धुभ्य उत −64[79]. *–ut* is added to nouns like *śŏthür* (enemy), *mathür* (friend), *pitur* (paternal cousin), *rŏś* (saint) and *band* (relative) to form abstract nouns. The examples are - *śɔthür → śɔtürut* (enmity), *mathür → mətürut* (friendship / intimacy), *pitur → pitürut* (jealousies within extended families), *rŏś → rĕśut* (the state of a Ṛṣi), *band → bandut* (fraternity).

▶Besides *–ut, -cārī* is also employed but only with *mathür* in the sense of friendship or fraternity (*mathür → mətrācārī*)[80].◀

मैत उन −65[81]. According to this sutra *–un* is suffixed to *mait* to convert this noun into abstract noun. According to Īśvar Kaul the meaning of *mait* is corpse and *maitun* denotes deadness.

▶The fact is that the word *mait* does not exist in Kashmiri spoken in the Kashmir valley. However, the Persio-Arabic word *mayyat* is most commonly used for 'dead body' by the Muslim speakers of the valley. This term is inconvertible into *mait* or *maitun*. This and similar other statements again lead to the conclusion that in all probability the author must not have been an original speaker of Kashmiri, not at least the Kashmiri spoken in the valley of Kashmir.◀

मोन्डशब्दातुस −66[82]. *–us* is added to the common noun *mɔnḍ* (widow) to form abstract noun, e.g., *mɔnḍ → mɔnḍus* (widowhood).

दोबुशब्दात्सृगार्थे −67[83]. According to this sutra *–us* is added to *dŏb* to form *dŏbus* meaning a long handled mace shaped club. The author further says–*il* is employed to denote other meanings (अन्यत्र दोबिल), e.g., *dŏbil* (washer-man-ship).

▶These assertions are not correct as the illustrations quoted in support of the sutra do not justify the author's assertions. The reason

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79 *śatrumitrapiturRṣibandhubhya ut* : ------- ibid -------- 4/64 p. 98

80 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 269

81 *mait un* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/65 p. 98

82 *mɔnḍśabdādus* : -------- ibid -------- 4/66 p. 98

83 *dŏbuśabdāt sRgārthe* : --------- ibid -------- 4/67 p. 98

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is that *dŏbus*[84], meaning club, is a simple word and not a complex form consisting of *dŏb* (washer-man) and *–us* as assumed by the author. On the contrary, *dŏbil* is a complex word consisting of one free form *dŏb* and one bound form *-il* which converts the given common noun into abstract noun. ◄

सोनशब्दाद्बोद –६८[85]. *–bŏd* is used with *sɔn* (co-wife) → *sɔnübŏd* to express state of a co-wife or rivalry of co-wives.

►In Kashmiri the termination *–bŏd* is actually employed in various senses like:

i) *–bŏd* used with the name of a green leafy vegetable denotes bundle[86] of that leafy vegetable such as- *hākü-bŏd* (bundle of a local green leafy vegetable), *pālüki-bŏd* (bundle of spinach), *muji-bŏd* (bundle of leafy radish),

ii) *–bŏd* used with common noun *sɔn* denotes, as stated earlier, state or rivalry of co-wives,

iii) *–bŏd* used with common noun *dürkākañ* (wife of husband's brother) denotes rivalries between wives of husband's brothers such as - *dürkāküñi bŏd*[87]. However, *-bŏd* is replaced by *–ton* to denote state of relationship between sisters-in-law such as - *dürkāküñi ton*[88],

iv) *–bŏd* used with common noun *boj* (partner) denotes state of partnership or rivalry between partners such as - *bāj bŏd*[89], and,

v) *–bŏd* used with cardinal stems *hath* (hundred), *sās* (thousand), *lach* (million), and *karor* (ten million) denotes multiples of hundreds, thousands, millions and tens of millions,

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84 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 277
85 *sɔnśabdād bŏd* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/68 p. 99
86 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 317
87 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 260
88 ------- ibid ------- vol. iii, p. 260
89 ------- ibid ------ vol. i, p. 321

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vi) *–bŏd* used with names of time like *ṽath* (month), *vəriyi* (year) denotes nth length of time such as – *ṽatü-bŏd* (n number of months), *vəriyi-bŏd* (n number of years) etc.

The following sutras also corroborate different uses of *-bŏd* discussed above.◀

बोजशब्दाद् बठ च –69[90]. According to this sutra *–bŏd* is used with *boj* (partner) and *-baṭh* is optionally used with *boj* such as *-boj* → *bāj-bŏd* ~ *bāj-baṭh*[91] (state of partnership or participation / rivalry of partners).

हतादिभ्यः संख्यायाम् –70[92]. *–bŏd* is added to cardinal stems *hath* (hundred), *sās* (thousand), *lach* (lakh), and *karor* (crore) to denote indefinite number of hundreds, thousands, millions, multimillions such as – *hatü-bŏd*, *sāsübŏd*, *lachi-bŏd*, *karorü-bŏd*.

शाकादिभ्यो मुष्ट्यर्थे –71[93]. *–bŏd* is used with *hākh* etc. names of vegetables in the sense of 'fistful' such as - *hākü-bŏd* (a fistful of hākh शाकमुष्टिः[94]).

▶The word *muṣṭyarthe* seems improper as it refers to the object which can be held in one's fist or grip such as – *tŏmülü-məṭh* (fistful of rice). On the other hand the termination *–bŏd* refers to an object which is available in the shape of a bunch, pack or bundle. Therefore, the appropriate term should have been *gucchakārthe* शाकादिभ्यो गुच्छकार्थे in place of *muṣṭyarthe* as given by the author.◀

उलु –72[95]. While explaining this sutra the author says, "here onwards are listed those secondary stems which are formed by the addition of termination *–ulu*" (इत उत्तरं वक्ष्यमाणार्थेषु उलु प्रत्ययो भवति[96]).

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91 *bojaśabdād baṭh ca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/69 p. 99

92 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 321

93 *hatādibhyah saṅkhyāyām* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/70 p. 99

94 *śākādibhyo muṣṭyarthe* : --------- ibid -------- 4/71 p. 99

95 *śāka muṣṭih*: ------ ibid ------ p. 99

96 *ul* : -------- ibid --------- p. 99
ita uttaram vakṣyamāṇārtheṣu ul pratyayo bhavati : ------ ibid ------ p. 99

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▶It is in place to mention that the use of *–u* at the end of *–ulu* is incorrect. In actual use this termination is pronounced as *–ul*. Thus, while explaining sutras in this work, the correct form i.e; *-ul* is employed in place of *–ulu* as used by the author.◀

गाट्शब्दान्निपुणे –73[97]. *–ul* is added to *gāṭü* (efficiency, capability) to convert it into qualitative adjective such as - *gātü* → *gāṭul* (efficient, wise).

▶This sutra indicates that *–ul* is suffixed to nouns to derive the attributives.◀

कोन्डोऽल्पार्थे; गन्डो वस्तुसाकल्ये; गुतशब्दादतिशये; गदश्च –74/75/76/77[98].

The author says that *–ul* is added to *kɔṇḍ* (→ *kɔnḍul*) to denote smallness of the object. *-ul* suffixed to *ganḍ* (→ *ganḍul*) expresses packed luggage. *-ul* used with *güth* (→ *gutul*) indicates abundance of something.

▶*kɔnḍ* is a Sanskrit based word[99]developed from *kuṇḍ*. In Sanskrit *kuṇḍ* means – i) a bowl shaped vessel for preserving water, ii) a round hole in the ground for receiving and preserving water, iii) a round hole in the ground for preserving fire such as *agni-kuṇḍ*, iv) spring or basin of water especially consecrated to some holy purpose/person[100]. In Kashmiri, the word *kɔnḍ* is used more or less in the similar sense i.e., i) a round shaped metallic huge vessel for preserving water, ii) a spring of sacred water, iii) a round hole in the earth for preserving sacred fire[101]. The word *kɔnḍul* on the other side, is used for a bowl shaped small earthen pot used for keeping fire in the apparatus (called *kã̄gür*) specifically designed for heating purpose in the cool winter season in Kashmir. Thus, Īśvar Kaul's assertion

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[97] *gāṭüśabdānnipuṇe* : ------ ibid ------ 4/73 p. 99

[98] *kɔṇḍo alpārthe; gaṇḍovastusākalye; gütśabdādatiśaye; gadaśca* : ------- ibid ------- 4/-74/75/76/77 p. 99-100

[99] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 209

[100] Monior-Williams, S. M. - A Sanskrit-English dictionary p. 289

[101] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 209

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that 'addition of *-ul* to *kɔnḍ* indicates smallness of the object' is quite convincing.

The author has included *ganḍul* in the category of secondary derivatives which is not correct. The reason is √*ganḍ* is actually a verb (tr.) root meaning 'to tie' or 'to pack'[102]. The addition of *-θ* termination converts *ganḍ* (knot) into object of action while as addition of *-un* changes this verbal root into noun *ganḍun* (packing, betroth). Similarly, *ganḍul*[103] (packed luggage) is constituted by appending *–ul* to √*ganḍ* and accordingly should have been placed in the category of primary derivatives (कृदन्त).

The word *gutul* is an adjective used to denote excess or surplus quantity of an object which follows it such as– *gutul batü* (plenty of cooked rice), *gutülˆ dyār* (plenty of wealth) etc. According to author *gutul* is derived from *güth* (water flow) which is not correct. *gutul* (plenty) is actually a simple word and not a combination of *güth* and *-ul* because prominently there is nothing common between *güth* and *gutul* for which *gutul* could be assumed to be derived from *güth.* Further, the word *güdul*[104]is unintelligible and does not exist in Kashmiri.◀

दृढुशब्दान्मानावपने; दोर्गपोतशब्दाभ्यां सादृश्ये –78/79[105]. *-ul* is added to *ṭaṭh* to derive the word *ṭaṭhul* which is used in the sense of wooden measuring-pot. *-ul* is added to dŏg and *pŏt* to show resemblance or likeness. The examples are – *dŏg* (blow of fist) *–ul* → *dɔgul* (a round mass, lump) *pŏt* (child)[106] *–ul* → *pɔtul* (idol).

▶In Kashmiri the word *ṭaṭh* is used for a large basin type vessel. Besides, this word is sarcastically used to express as much quantity of food as can be contained in a *ṭaṭh*[107]. Derived from *ṭaṭh* the word *ṭaṭhul* is a basin type wooden pot comparatively small in size which is

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102 Razdan S - Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 120

103 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 318

104 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 4/77 p. 100

105 *ṭaṭhuśabdānmānāvapane ; dŏgtpŏtśabdābhyām sādRśe* : ------ ibid ------ 4/-78/79 p. 100

106 ------ ibid -------- p. 100

107 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 18

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used for feeding the domestic animals like cows, buffalos etc. The wooden pot used as measurer is called *lɔṅgun* and not *ṭaṭhul* as assumed by the author.

The observation that *dɔgul* (a round mass) is derived from *dŏg* (a fist blow) does not seem logical. The words like *mačhi dɔgul* (a lump of minced mutton), *āṭ̃ dɔgul* (a lump of kneaded flour), *batü dɔgul* (a lump of cooked rice), *měči dɔgul* (a lump of wet clay) etc. refer to a lump of pre- processed mass. In this way the word *dɔgul* turns out to be a simple morpheme which usually occurs compounded with the name of a mass in the sense of 'round lump' of that mass.

The word *pŏt* means back (*pŏt pās* – back side) or last (*pəṭ̃um śur* – last child)[108] and not a kid as given by the author. The word *pɔtul* (*putalā* in Hindi) is a simple word and, thus, indivisible into fragments like *pŏt* and *-ul* as given by the author. This word is primarily used for an idol. In addition, it is also used to denote someone who has turned weak and become motionless due to some illness.◄

मॉलसादोस्तद्धति –८०[109]. *-ul* is added to *mɔl* and *sād* to form adjectives like *mɔl* (price, value) – *ul* → *mɔlul* (costly, valuable); *sād* (taste) –*ul* → *sādul*[110] (tasty).

►It is to be noted that the word *mɔlul* is very commonly used in Kashmiri while as the use of *sādul* is not as common.◄

कोछ्शब्दाद्भारिके; छोकशब्दात्स्पष्टतायाम् –८१/८२[111]. *-ul* is added to *kɔčh* to form *kɔčhul* meaning porter. *-ul* added to *chɔk* → *chɔkul* denotes flattering or stammering tone (गद्गदम्)[112].

►The word *kɔčh* means a sack[113] and the addition of *–ul* makes the word *kɔčhul* which means a porter or a person who carries load on

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108 ---------- ibid ------- vol. ii, p. 112

109 *mɔlsādostadvati* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/80 p. 101

110 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 181

111 *kɔčhśabdādbhārike; chɔkśabdātspaṣṭāyām* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/-81/82 p. 101

112 ---------- ibid ------- p. 101

113 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 202

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his body. The word *chɔk –ul → chɔkul* is unintelligible and does not exist in Kashmiri. However, the word *chɔkh* is most commonly used in the sense of cleansing or rinsing of an object. *chɔkh* is also used in the sense of wound. In this context *–lad → chɔkülad* and *dāy̆ → chɔküdāy̆* are suffixed to denote a wounded person and deeply wounded respectively. ◀

च़ट्शब्दाचचौरे; पत्शब्दादुडुपे; च़ोॅथ शब्दात्स्वव्यभिचारे –83/84/85[114].

According to author's explanation of sutra 83 *čaṭ* means to cut and addition of *-ul* constitutes *čaṭul* which means a thief. According to sutra 84, *-ul* is added to *pat* and the derived stem *patul* denotes a raft made of reed or logs tied together to make them float in the water bodies. According to च़ोॅथ शब्दात्स्वव्यभिचारे, *-ul* is suffixed to *čɔth* (anus) to form *čɔtul* which means catamite.

▶ It is noteworthy that the actual base is a verb root √*čaṭh* and not *čaṭ* as assumed by the author. Accordingly, the derived stem *čaṭul*[115], which means pickpocket, is a primary stem and should have been discussed under primary stem-formation. Similarly, *patul*[116] is a simple word indivisible into fragments like *pat* and *–ul*. ◀

रातदुहोस्तत्काले –86[117]. *-ul* is suffixed to names *rāt* (night) and *dɔh* (day) to denote the time of night or day respectively, such as *rātul* (nighttime), *duhul* (daytime).

▶ The actual word for night in Kashmiri is *rāth* and not *rāt* as given by the author. As stated earlier (see under 2/1 & 2/3), the addition of an affix, weather inflectional or derivational, causes deletion of the final aspiration of the base such as - *kaṭh* (sheep mas.sg.) → *kaṭas* (obl. mas. sg.), *kaṭan* (obl. mas. plu.); √*naṭh* (trembling) → *nəṭiñ* (act or state of shuddering). In the similar manner, addition of *-ul* to *rāth* leads to the deletion of the final *h* of

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[114] *čaṭśabdāccaure; patśabdāduḍupe ; čɔth śabdātsvavyabhicār* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 4/-83/84/85 p. 101

[115] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 61

[116] ---------- ibid --------- vol. ii, p. 4

[117] *rātduhostatkāle* : --------- ibid ------- 4/86 p. 101

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rāth, such as - *rāth* (night) → *rātas* (during the night) and similarly, *rātul* ~ *rotul* (night-time). ◀

मूनशब्दात्वस्त्रे –८७[118]. The word *mūn* means wool[119] and' *munul* (*mūn –ul*) denotes woolen garment.

▶The word *munul* is not used for every type of woolen garment. It is a specific type of woolen apparel (also called p̃haran in Kashmiri) worn by the people of Kashmiri to keep their bodies warm during the cold winter season. According to the dictionary meaning, the word *munul* is used to denote superior quality of woolen cloth.◀

युलु –८८[120]. The author says that here onwards are described those secondary stems which are formed by the addition of termination - *yulu* (इत उत्तरं वक्ष्यमाणार्थेषु युलु प्रत्ययो भवति[121]).

▶This termination is actually pronounced as *–yul* instead of *–yulu* as given by the author. Accordingly, in the present work *–yulu* is rejected and the actual and the correct form *–yul* is employed while explaining the following sutras related to use of *–yul*.◀

टोपजटोर्जटाधारिणि –८९[122]. *–yul* is added to nouns *ṭŏp* and *jaṭü* to derive *ṭəp̃ul* and *jəṭ̃ul*.

▶The words *ṭŏp* is used for the hair particularly of woman while as *jaṭü* denotes tress or matted hair. Use of *-yul* converts these bases into *ṭəp̃ul* (having thick and roughly managed hair) and *jəṭ̃ul* (putting on rough and matted hair). The feminine form of *ṭəp̃ul* is *ṭəpil* ~ *təpij* and is comparatively commonly used in the normal discourse. *jəṭ̃ul* is also optionally used but the most commonly used word is *jaṭal* (having roughly managed hair).◀

दाहः करुणायामुपधाहृस्वश्च –९०[123]. *–yul* is suffixed to *dāh* in the sense of 'pathetic wailing' In this process the medial long vowel of

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[118] *mūnśabdādvastre* : ------- ibid -------- 4/87 p. 102
[119] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p.233
[120] *yulu* : KaśmīraśabdāmrRam 4/88 p. 102
[121] *ita uttaram vakṣyamāṇārtheṣu yulu bhavati* : ------- ibid ------ p. 102
[122] *ṭŏpjaṭojaṭādhāriṇi* : ---------- ibid --------- 4/89 p. 102
[123] *dāhah karuṇāyāmupadhāhRsvaśca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 4/90 p. 102

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dāh is shortened, such as - *dāh* (pain/sorrow/suffering) *–yul* → *dəh̃ul* (painful wailing[124]).

▶According to author उपधाह्रस्वश्च addition of *–yul* converts the long vowel preceding the ending consonant of *dāh* into short vowel which is not true. The reason is that the medial long vowel is not only shortened but it records change in the vowel quality as well. In other words, the low mid long and short vowels *-ā-* or *-a* of the base converts into, as is evident from the above quoted illustration, mid medial short vowel *ə*. Besides, the initial *–y-* of *–yul* converts into palatalization of the final consonant of the base such as - *jəṭ̃ul, dəh̃ul* etc.◀

रसात्तद्वति; मछ्स्निह्नो स्नेहवति –91/92[125]. *–yul* is added to *ras* meaning 'juice' to derive *rəšul* meaning 'juicy'. *–yul* is added to *mač̌h* to derive *məč̌hul* in the senses of loving and joyous.

▶The second assertion of Īśvar Kaul is not tenable. The reason is that the word *mač̌h* is used in various senses in Kashmiri such as – the part of arm between shoulder and elbow,[126] minced meat[127] etc. But, neither of these senses seem close to joy or affection on the basis of which it could be established that *məč̌hul* is derived by affixing *–yul* to *mač̌h*. The fact is that *məč̌hul* is a simple word and thus, indivisible into fragments.◀

मिषान्नखमांसलेशे –93[128]. *–yul* is affixed to *miṣ* to form *miṣyul* which means 'split skin on the sides of nails'[129].

▶The word *miś* in Kashmiri means very small particle of wood. In the Kashmiri Dictionary the word *miś* is represented as synonym of *liś ~ lüś* [130] which means small particle or modicum of any object

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124
125 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 251
126 *rasāttadvati ; mač̌hasniho snehavati* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 4/-91/92 p. 102
127 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 124
128 ---------- ibid ---------- vol. vi, p. 124
129 *miṣānnakhamānsaleśe* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 4/93 p. 103
130 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 198
---------- ibid --------- vol. vi, p. 198

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particularly flesh such as *māz liś/lüś*[131]. On the basis of this similarity in meaning Īśvar Kaul's observation that *miśul* is derived from *miś* seems correct. It is pertinent to mention the alveolar *ṣ* is absent in Kashmiri. The above quoted word is actually pronounced as *miś* and not as *miṣ* as assumed by the author. *-ś* is a palatal sound and a palatal sound does not occur combined with *–y*. It indicates that the affix employed with *miś* is actually *–ul* and not *–yul* as given by the author.◀

स्यकः स्वादादिसादृश्ये –94[132]. *–yul* is added to *ṣak* in the sense of 'sandy in taste' such as *šĕkyul čūnṭh* (apple which tastes like sand सिकतास्वाद सदृशः पालीवतः[133]), *šĕkij butrāth*[134] (sandy land).

▶The actual word for sand in Kashmiri is *ṣakh*[135] and not *ṣak* as assumed by the author. The addition of affix *–yul* causes deletion of the final aspiration of the base. The initial sound *–y* of *–yul* conjoins with the final (un-aspirated sound) *k-* of the base. In addition to palatalization of *-ṣ* or combination of *–y* with *s-* the medial *–a-* is replaced by *–ĕ-*. The derived stem *šĕkyul* is used to denote 'containing sand, sandy[136]' and not 'which tastes like sand' as given by the author. The example is – *sĕkyul zəmīn* (sandy soil). The feminine of *-yul* is *ij* as in *sĕkij butrāth* (sandy land).◀

मोजशब्दादपत्रपिष्णौ –95[137]. *–yul* is appended to *māj* (mother) to form *mājyul* meaning' shy or bashful' person.

▶The actual pronunciation of the given word is *mājul*[138] and not *mājyul* as stated by the author. In Kashmiri, as stated earlier, a palatal sound does not occur combined with *–y*. The derived stem is, thus, constituted by the addition of *–ul* instead of *–yul* as given by author.◀

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131 ——— ibid ——— vol. vi, p. 69
132 *syakah svādādisādRśye* : ——— ibid ——— 4/94 p. 103
133 ——— ibid ——— p. 103
134 ——— ibid ——— p. 103
135 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 251
136 ——— ibid ——— vol. iv, p. 247
137 *māj śabdādapatrapiṣṇau* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/95 p. 103
138 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p.162

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मलाद्युन तद्धति −९६[139]. *–yun* is affixed to noun *mal* (filth) to form the adjective *məlyun* meaning filthy or dirty.

कूटशब्दादल्पार्थे उनु; दगादायुधे −९७/९८[140]. *–un* is added to *kūṭ* to constitute - *kuṭun*. In Kashmiri the word *kūṭ* means 'log'. According to author *kūṭun* denotes its small size. *–un* is added to √*dag* (to pestle) to form *dagun* meaning pestle[141]or a club shaped hand tool for grinding substances.

▶The form *kūṭun* is in itself a bound form which usually follows the name of an object to indicate the small size of the object under reference. For example - *lūr* (stick) → *lori kuṭun* (small stick of wood). The word *dagun* is, as shown above, derived from a verbal root √*dag* which indicates that the derived stem *dagun* is a primary derivative and not a secondary one as assumed by the author. Further, the word *dagun* is used in the sense of grinding and not the grinding tool as given by the author.◀

रंगस्वनमनच़म दाँद काँदभ्यः शिल्पिनि र −९९[142]. According to this sutra *–r* is affixed to nouns such as *raṅg* (colour), *sɔn* (gold), *man* (a precious stone[143]), *čam* (skin), *dānd* (ox) and *kānd*[144]to form words expressive of craftsmen dealing in professions related to the above cited objects. The examples are- *raṅgr*, *sɔnr*, *manr*, *čamr*, *dāndr*, *kāndra*[145] etc.

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions are not correct. The reason is that the addition of *–r* has converted, as is evident from the above quoted words, the final simple consonants *n,m* and *d* into consonant clusters consisting of *-r* joined with *n,m* or *d* which is not the accepted phonemic structure of Kashmiri vocabulary. In other words a consonant cluster consisting of a consonant phoneme associated with

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140 *malādyun tadvati* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/96 p. 103

141 *kūṭ śabdādalpārthe unu; dagadāyudhe* : ------- ibid ------ 4/-97/98 p. 103

142 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 220

143 *rangsɔnmančam dānd kāndbhyah śilpini –r* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/99 p. 104

144 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 145

145 *Kand* is a meaningless word and also does not exist in the Kashmiri Dictioary. KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 104

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the trill can occur only in the word initial and medial positions rather than at the end of the words as given by the author. The above cited words are actually pronounced as *raṅgur*, *sɔnur*, *manur*, *čamur*, *dāndur* and *kāndur* which indicates that it is *–ur* and not only *-r* which is added to the names such as- *raṅg*, *sɔn*, *man* and *čam* to form words expressing names of the craftsmen dealing in the respective objects. For example - *rang-ur* (dyer), *sɔn-ur* (goldsmith), *man-ur* (worker in shells, stones etc.) and *čam-ur* (shoe maker). Further, the words *dāndur* (green grocer) and *kāndur* (baker) are free forms and, therefore, indivisible into units like *dānd* and *kānd* as assumed by the author.◀

डासफासोर्विनाशकभेदकयोः –100[146]. The author says that *-r* is affixed to nouns *ḍās* meaning 'destruction' and *phās* meaning 'rift' to form *ḍāsr* and *phāsr* to denote the sense of destroyer and rift-creator respectively.

▶The author's assertions regarding addition of *–r* to *ḍās* and *phās* are not correct because the forms thus derived i.e. *ḍāsr* and *phāsr* show, as stated above, deviation from the accepted phonemic structure of Kashmiri. It is in fact affix *–ur* and not *–r* as conceived by the author. Accordingly the derived forms are *ḍāsur* and *phāsur*. The feminine forms of *ḍāsur* and *phāsur* are *ḍāsür ~ ḍāsürĕñ* and *phāsür ~ phāsürĕñ*[147] respectively.◀

बंगात्तत्पायिनि; बमोऽन्तरायिणि; लमो विलम्बके –101/102/103[148].

According to Īśvar Kaul, *-r* is affixed to words such as *bangü* (Indian intoxicating leafy drug), *bamü* (obstruction) and *lamü*[149] (delay) to form *bangr* (one who sells or drinks *bangü*), *bamr* (one who causes obstructions) and *lamr* (one who causes delay).

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[146] *ḍāsphāsorvināśakabhedakayoh* : ------ ibid ----- 4/100 p. 104

[147] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 164

[148] *bangāttatpāyini; bamoantarāyiṇi; lamo vilambake* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/-101/102/103 p. 104

[149] The actual pronunciation is *bangü, bam and lamü* respectively.

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▶The actual derivatives are *bangur /bangür*[150], *bamur / bamür*[151] and *lamur / lamür*[152] which indicate addition of–*ur* or –*ür* and not only –*r* as assumed by the author. Addition of –*ur/ -ür* causes deletion of the final –*ü* of the bases as cvv word structure is absent in Kashmiri.◀

लाबो वाधुर्षिके; सालो जन्ये; लूटो लुण्ठके –104; 105; 106[153]. According to these sutras –*r* is appended to words such as *lāb* (old)[154], *sāl* (feast) and *lūṭ* to form *lāvr* (aged), *sālr* (invitee) and *lūṭr* (plunderer, robber) respectively.

▶As explained above, the use of–*r* instead of *-ur* causes deviation from the actual phonemic structure of the Kashmiri language according to which –*r* united with a consonant does not occurs at the word final position[155]. The correct derivatives are *lābur* (aged), *sālur* (invitee) and *lūṭur* (plunderer, robber) respectively. All these derivatives record addition of –*ur* and not only –*r*. Moreover, the base √*lūṭ* (to rob/plunder) is a verbal root and thus, falls in the category of primary derivatives. But, as a noun its final consonant occurs aspirated such as *lūṭh* (plundering) and, like other nouns where the final consonant of the base is an aspirated sound, addition of an affix causes deletion of the aspiration of final consonant of the base.◀

ब्रमो भ्रमपदे; लूबोऽन्त्यस्य दश्च –107/108[156]. According to Īśvar Kaul –*r* is added to *bram* and *lūb* in the sense of 'one who misleads' and 'greedy' respectively. The author further says that *b* of *lūb* is replaced by *d* before –*r*.

▶As stated earlier, *-r* as a suffix does occur alone but rather is most commonly associated with a vowel particularly *u-* (*-ur*) or

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150 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 254

151 ------- ibid ------- – vol. i, p. 247

152 ------- ibid ------- – vol. vi, p. 37

153 *lāvo vārdhuṣike; sālo janye; lūṭoluṇṭhake* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 4/-104/105/106 p. 104 - 105

154 This word is neither found in use nor is it listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary.

155 Razdan S.- Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 51

156 *bramo bhramapade; lūboantyasya daśca* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 4/-107/108 p. 105

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occasionally by *ü-* (*-ür*) or any other sound. The word *bram* means illusion or misunderstanding. According to above sutra *bram-ur* denotes the person who creates illusion or one who misleads. As regards formation of *lūdur* (greedy person), it is to be noted that *lūdur / lūdür*[157] is a simple word and, therefore, indivisible into fragments like *lūb* and *–r ~ -ur*. Similarly, *lūdur* is a different word and, therefore, conversion of *-b* into *-d* is not correct.◀

तौल्यपरिमिते युनु –109[158]. *–yun(u)* is added to names of measuring adjectives to denote the quantity of an object as well as measuring capacity of a vessel. The examples are – *trěkyun kaṭh, sīryun thāl, khāryun bor, trek̃un nŏṭ, sīryun bānü.*

▶Before commenting on the sutra it is in important to mention that *–u* at the end of *-yunu* is incorrect and irrelevant. The above quoted illustrations indicate certain changes in the base which are caused by addition of *–yun*. These are- i) final aspiration of *trakh* is dropped, ii) *-y* of *-yun* occurs united with the final consonant of the base such as *trěkyun ~trek̃un, sīryun ~ sīr̃un* etc., iii) vowel preceding the final consonant of the base shows change in vowel quality such as the low central short and long vowels *–a/-ā* of base are replaced by mid central short and long vowels *-ə/ə̄* respectively. *–a* is optionally converted into front mid short vowel *ě* such as- *trakh → trəkyun ~ trěkyun*, front mid vowel, iv) *-e* changes into front high vowel *ī* as in *ser → sīryun*, low central long vowel *ā* is replaced by mid central long vowel *ə̄*. Given below are some examples to make the statement comprehensible:

trakh –yun → ~trək̃un ~ trěk̃un kaṭh (sheep weighing a trakh[159]), *ser - yun → sīr̃un thāl* (platter of one seer capacity), *khār - yun → khār̃un bor* (load weighing one khār[160]), *trakh –yun → ~trək̃un ~ trěk̃un nŏṭ* (pitcher of six seer capacity), *ser – yun → sīr̃un bānü* (vessel of one seer capacity).◀

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[157] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 75
[158] *taulyaparimite yun* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/109 p. 105
[159] A unit of weigh denoting six seers
[160] A unit of weigh denoting eighty seer

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पाँज़ुवशब्दस्य वस्य शश्च −110[161]. According to this sutra addition of *–yun* to *pãzuv*[162] causes replacement of final *v* by *ś* such as *pãzuv* → *pãzüśun* (having capacity of pãzuv).

▶The term *pãzuv* or *pãzüśun* is not in use at least in the present day Kashmiri.◀

षष्ट्यादेर्मौल्यसंख्यायां च −111[163]. *–yun* is affixed to cardinals denoting numbers from sixty and onwards to describe value of an article, such as- *śīṭhyun ~ śīṭ̃hun* (costing ₹60), *satathyun ~ sataṭ̃hun* (costing ₹70) whereas the cardinals denoting numbers below sixty take *–hund* and not *–yun,* such as - *dəh* (ten) → *dəhan hund* (costing ₹ 10).

▶These assertions are not appropriate. The reason is that–*hund* in place of *–yun* is employed only with the cardinals expressive of numbers from two to nine while as all other cardinals, from ten and onwards, take, besides *-hund*, *–yun*. In addition, *-hund* is a genitive relation denoting postpositional word as well. It is optionally employed after the oblique form all cardinals from two onwards to express the definite cost of an object. Given below are a few examples for perspicuity:

dəh (ten) → *dəh̃un ~ dəhan **hund*** (costing ₹10), *vuh* (twenty) → *vuh̃un ~ vuhan **hund*** (worth ₹ 20), *trüh* (thirty) → *trüh̃un ~ trühan **hund*** (worth ₹ 30) etc. - *śeṭh* (sixty) → *śeṭ̃hun ~ śīṭ̃hun ~ śeṭhan **hund*** (costing ₹60), *satath* (seventy) → *satüt̃hun ~ satüthan **hund*** (costing ₹70) etc.◀

सर्वनामशब्देभ्यश्च −112[164]. *–yun* is added to pronouns like *yūt, tũt, kūt* to form *yīt̃un, tīt̃un, kūt̃un* etc.

▶The examples quoted by the author in support of the sutra are actually adjectives denoting indefinite quantity or value of an object and not pronouns as assumed by the author (see 2/3/27). The examples are: *yūt tŏmul* (this much rice), *tũt kũmath* (that much

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161 *pãzuvśabdasya vasya śaśca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 64 110 p. 106

162 A unit of weigh denoting three seer

163 *ṣaṣṭayādemaulyasankhyāyām ca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/ 111 p. 106

164 *sarvanāmaśabdebhyaśca* : ------- ibid ------ 4/ 112 p. 106

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value), *kūt põsü* (how much money/wealth), *kūt̃ ləḍükü* (so many / several boys). The addition of *–yun* to *yūt, t̃ūt, kūt* constitutes the forms which are expressive of indefinite cost or value of an article, e.g., *yīt̃un* (of this much value), *tīt̃un* (of that much value), *kūt̃un* (of how much value) etc. ◄

वर्षार्थे च –113[165]. *–yun* is also added to *varṣ* in the sense of yearly, such as - *vārṣyun* (yearly)[166].

►These assertions of Īśvar Kaul are not correct for the reasons that the word for the 'year' is *vərī*. The term *vārt̃śun* seems to be formed by affixing *ś–un* to *vərī* and not by affixing *–yun* to the word *varṣa* which does not occur in ordinary discourse. *vārt̃śun* in Kashmiri means 'one year old' and not 'yearly' as given by the author. Alveolar *ṣ* (as most frequently used by the author) does not exist in Kashmiri. ◄

संख्यायाश्च पूरणे युम –114[167]. *–yum* is affixed to cardinal numbers to denote the finite number of persons or object (पूरणेऽर्थे युमु प्रत्ययो भवति) such as - *əkum* (first), *dəhum* (tenth), *vuhm* (twentieth), *həṯum* (hundredth), *səsum* (thousandth) etc. In his explanation of the sutra the author adds that *–yum* is added to pronouns (च शब्दात्सर्वनामशब्देभ्यश्च[168]) like *yūt, t̃ūt, kūt, kəč* as well. The examples quoted are: *yītyum*, *tītyum*, *kətyum*, *kəčyum*.

►The addition of *–yum* converts the cardinal numbers into the definite ordinal numbers while as *yūt, t̃ūt, kūt, yəč, təč, kəč* are employed as adjectives to denote indefinite number or quantity of a mass or indefinite number of persons or objects. These forms in no way occur as pronouns as assumed by the author. Each of these forms is usually followed by a noun qualified by this preceding form. For example: *yĕčyum śur, kəčyum śur* etc. These terms show that the addition of *–yum* makes the final dental stop of indefinite number or

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[165] *varṣārthe ca:* -------- ibid -------- 4/ 113 p. 106

[166] vārṣikah : -------- ibid -------- p. 107

[167] *saṅkhyāyāśca pūraṇe yum* : ---------- ibid -------- 4/ 114 p. 107

[168] *ca śabdātsarvanāmaśabdebhyaśca* : -------- ibid ------- p. 107

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quantity denoting attributive to convert into the corresponding dental affricate.◀

अष्टसंख्यावधिशतार्थे हथ; तत्परतो हस्य शः –115/116[169]. According to this sutra the cardinal number *hath* (hundred) does not record any sort of change if it is compounded with the cardinals upto *sath* (seven) to form compound cardinals. From *āṭh* and onwards the *h* of *hath* is replaced by *ś* (*śath*). The examples are: *akh hath* (one hundred), *zü hath* (two hundred), *trě hath* (three hundred), *sath hath* (seven hundred), *āṭh śath* (eight hundred), *kāh śath* (eleven hundred), *ardāh śath* (eighteen hundred) etc.

देशभवे इ प्रत्ययश्च; कशीरदेशभवे उरु अन्त्यस्वरादिलोपोपधादीर्घौ च–117/118[170]. *–i* is added to the name of the place of production of an object such as- *sopor* → *sopūri nāv* (boat manufactured in Sopor), *īrān* → *īrāni gur* (horse brought from Iran), *hyondūstān* → *hyondūstāni kapur* (textile made in India). The author further says (6/118) that in Kashmiri the word for Kashmir is *kəśīr* (Kashir) which is a feminine form (इति स्त्रीलिंगवाची शब्दः कथ्यते[171]). Termination *–ur* is affixed to the name *kəśīr* to denote its association with the object as its place of production. In this process the initial part of the final vowel is dropped (अन्त्यस्वराद्यवयवस्यलोप उपधायाश्च दीर्घो भवति) and the vowel close to initial letter is lengthened, such as- *kāśur paśminü*, *kāśur kɔṅg*, *kāśür kɔṭh* etc.

▶The addition of *–i* seems to be misconceived as the above-cited terms are literally pronounced as palatal consonant ending, such as- *sopūr̃ nāv*, *īrāñ gur* (horse brought from Iran), *hyondūstāñ kapur* (textile made in India). The termination *–ur* or *-ür* is employed, with *kəśīr*, according to masculine or feminine name of the object produced, to express its association with the object as its place of production. This affixation causes the mid central short vowel (*ə*)

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169 *aṣṭasaṅkhyāvadhi śatārthe hath; tatparato hasya śah* : ----- ibid ----- 4/-115/116 p. 107

170 *deśabhave i pratyayaśca; kəśīradeśabhave uru antyasvarādilopopadhadīrghau ca* : ------- ibid ------ 4/-117/118 p. 108

171 *iti strīliṅgvācīśabdah kathyate* : ------ ibid ------- p. 108

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following the initial *k-* to become long while as *-ī-* before the final *-r* is dropped. The examples are - *kāśur kɔṅg* (saffron cultivated in Kashmir), *kāśur paśminü* (*pashmina* manufactured in Kashmir), *kāśür kɔṭh* (kɔṭh, a medicinal plant, produced in Kashmir) etc.◀

देशकालभवे चोकु अस्त्रियाम् –119[172]. According to this sutra - *uk*[173] is also employed with masculine forms in the sense of 'production of a particular time or a particular place' such as *kaũuk, taũuk, yĕũuk, huũuk, karuk, rātuk, parsuk.*

▶The use of *ca uk* (च उक) in the sutra denotes that 'in continuation to previous observation (6/ 117-118) *–uk* is also employed with common names of places and objects in the sense of 'production of a particular time or place'. *-uk* is used with common names of places and objects to denote the sense of 'belonging or pertaining to'. For example: *gar-uk* (pertaining to home), *makān-uk* (pertaining to house) etc. The feminine of *–uk* is *–üc* such as- *kaśṭüvərüc zanānü* (woman who belongs to Kashtwar). In addition, the final consonant of the personal name of a place is palatalized in the sense of 'produced or cultivated in a particular place'. For example: *kaśṭüvər̃ kamal* (blanket made in Kashtawar), *bhadrüvəh̃ razmā* (beans cultivated in Bhadrawah) *kāśur kɔṅg* (saffron cultivated in Kashmir). *–yuk* is another allomorph which is added to common names of objects to denote both i.e; 'pertaining to' or 'made in' such as *kul-yuk → kuĩuk mavü* (fruit of a tree), *garü –yuk → gaũuk kh̃am* (home cooked food) etc. In Kashmiri *–uk*, besides being employed in the sense of 'production of a particular time or a particular place', is very commonly suffixed to words of time and place in the genitive sense or in the sense of 'belonging to'. The examples are - *kar –uk → karuk* (of what time), *rāth –uk → rātuk* (of yesterday), *parus –uk → parsuk* (of yester year), *yor –uk → yoruk* (of this side), *tor –uk → toruk* (of that side), *gām –uk → gāmuk* (belonging to village/villager), *garü –uk →* (pertaining to home), *bāzar –uk → bāzüruk* (pertaining

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[172] *deśakālabhave coku astiyām* : --------- ibid ------- 4/ 119 p. 108

[173] The author has used *uku* which, as stated earlier also, is incorrect. In present work the correct form *-uk* is employed with the words quoted by the author as illustrations.

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to market) etc. The morphological structure of words *kaṫuk*, *taṫuk*, *yĕṫuk* etc. illustrated by Īśvar Kaul show that these forms are derived by adding the suffix *–uk* to the locative case forms *kati* (where/at which place), *tati* (there/at that place) and *yĕti* (here/at this place). In this process *–i* at the final position of the base changes into palatalization of the consonant preceding *–i*, such as *kati -uk → kaṫuk* (of which place), *tati –uk → taṫuk* (of that (not within the range of sight) place), *yĕti –uk → yĕṫuk* (of this place), *huti –uk → huṫuk* (of that (within the range of sight) place).◀

मिलोपयुक्तात्पारिप्रत्ययान्तात्सर्वनाम्नो युमु –120[174]. The masculine affix *–yumu*[175] is suffixed to pronominal words (सर्वनाम्नो) of direction or side to denote belonging to that direction or side. The examples are- *kapāṙum* (of which direction/side), *tapāṙum* (of that direction/side), *yapāṙum* (of this direction/side), *apāṙum* (belonging to the other side). The feminine forms are formed by adding *-c* to the basic form, such as – *katic* (of which place).

▶The words cited by the author in support of this sutra indicate that the affix is actually *–um* and not *–yum*, e.g., *kapāṙ – um → kapāṙum*, *tapāṙ – um → tapāṙum*, *yapāṙ – um → yapāṙum* and *apori/apāri/apāṙ –um → apāṙum*. The author has also included, in his above shown list of illustrations, the word '*pāṙum*' which means a person or an object belonging to the country other than speaker's own country or homeland. It is to be noted that *pāṙum* is an independent word indivisible into fragments like *pār*, *por* or *pār* and *-um* and, therefore, cannot be included in the category of words formed by affixing *–um*. The feminine forms of the above quoted words are formed by affixing *–im* and not *-c* as assumed by the author. The examples are - *kapāṙ – im → kapārim*, *tapāṙ – im → tapārim*, *yapāṙ – im → yapārim*, *apor – yum → apārim*. These illustrations further show that the addition of feminine affix *–im* causes deletion of the palatalization of the final consonant of the base. *–c ~ üc* is the

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[174] *milopyuktātpāripratyayāntātsarvanāmano yamu* : ——— ibid ---- 4/ 120 p. 109

[175] The correct term is *yum* and not *yumu* as given by the author.

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feminine form of the affix *–uk,* such as *rāth* (yesterday) → *rāuk / rāüc* (mas./fem. pertaining to yesterday) etc.◄

समूहे ख्योंल; लूकशब्दादय −121/122[176] . *–k̃hŏl* is added to (common nouns[177]) to derive collective nouns, such as - *gəv k̃hŏl* (a herd of cows), *tīr̃ k̃hŏl* (a herd of sheep), *zanānü k̃hŏl* (assemblage of women) etc. *–ay* is used with *lūk* → *lūkay*[178] to denote assemblage of people.

►The actual Kashmiri word for people is *lūkh* and not *lūk* as given by the author. The addition of an affix, derivational or inflectional, to a word ending in an aspirated sound causes, as stated earlier also, deletion of the final aspiration of the base, such as – *lūkh* → *lūkay*, *lūkan*, *lūkav* etc.◄

पानशब्दादुनु उपधाह्रस्वश्च; परशब्दादुदु −123/124[179] . *–un* is added to *pān* (self) → *panun* while as *–ud*[180] is added to *par* (other) → *parud* in the sense of 'one's own' and 'not one's own' respectively. The addition of *–un* to *pān* causes shortening of *-ā-* close to consonant at the end of the word.

►The Kashmiri word *pān* (self) is a reflexive pronoun which declines only in the singular number. As a substantive it declines in nominative (*pān* → *pānü / pānay*) and oblique (*pānas*) cases. Addition of *–un* transforms this reflexive pronoun into adjective. As an adjective it means 'one's own' and takes the number, gender and case of the noun it qualifies. The examples are: ***panun*** *nĕcuv* (one's own son), ***panüñ*** *nĕciṽ* (one's own sons), ***panüñ*** *kūr* (one's own daughter), ***panüni*** *kori* (one's own daughters). As regards *par-ud*, it is to be noted that it is prevalent in both the forms i.e; *par* and *parud* without any difference of meaning. The only difference is that *par* declines in the same manner as the nouns like marüd, poś, kāv, čūr,

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[176] *samūhe k̃hŏl ; lūkśabdāday* : ------- ibid ------- 4 /-121/122 p. 109 - 110

[177] Razdan S - Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 148

[178] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 77

[179] *pānaśabdādun upadhāhrasvaśca ; parśabdādud ;*
KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/-123/124 p. 110

[180] The author has cited the terminations as *–unu* and *–udu* while as the correct forms are *–un* and *–ud* respectively.

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vɔstād, insān etc. do while as *parud* takes the same inflectional affixes as are added to nouns whose final consonant is preceded by – *u*, such as – *śur* → *śuṟ*, *śuris*, *śuṟan* etc. Similarly, *parud* → *parüḏ*, *pardis*, *parḏan* so on and so forth.◀

तिहादिभ्यः प्रकारोक्तौ थः; उपमाने थु; तस्मात्परौ पाठि पाठिन वा –125/126/127[181]. *-th* is added to the demonstrative pronouns *tih, yih* etc.[182]to form *yith, tith, kith, kyath*[183] etc. while as *–thu* is employed to denote 'similarity'. *-pāṯh* or *-pāṭhin* are used after *–th* and *–thu*.

▶These sutras are not clear for the reasons that none of the Kashmiri pronouns end in the glottal fricative *h* as perceived and used by Īśvar Kaul here as well as in the chapter on pronouns. The correct forms are *yi, hu, hɔ, ti, su* and *sɔ*. The termination *-thü* is added to the demonstrative pronouns *yi, ti* and *ki* to derive indeclinable forms like *yithü* (as, like), *tithü* (so, thus), *kithü* (how). Use of only *–th* is not correct. *-pāṯh* or *-pāṭhin* means 'manner or way' such as- *yithü pāṯh* or *pāṭhin* (in this manner/way), *tithü pāṯh* or *pāṭhin* (in that manner/way), *kithü pāṯh* or *pāṭhin* (in what manner/way). Similarity denoting suffix is *-uth* and not *–thu* as assumed by the author, e.g; - *yuth kapur* (cloth of this very type), *ṯuth insān* (a person of that type), *ḵuth* (of what type). The terms *yithu, tithu, kithu*[184] as conceived by the author are unintelligible.◀

अन्त्योऽपि च; क्याहो ह्रस्वः –128/129[185]. According to these sutras *-pāṯh* or *-pāṭhin* is generally employed with all pronominal and other words such as – *biy pāṭhin, sāriy pāṯh, hali pāṯh* etc. The long vowel at the medial position of *kyāh* is shortened such as - *kyāh* → *kyah pāṯh*.

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181 *tihādibhyah prakāroktau thah; upamāne thuh; tasmātparau pāṯh pāṭhin vā* : ------- ibid ------ 4/-125/126/127 p. 110-111

182

183 ------- ibid ------- See 2/3/ 1-2

184 ------- ibid ------- (manuscript) p. 120

185 ------- ibid ------- (manuscript) p. 121

antyoapi ca; kyāho hrasvah : ------- ibid ------- 4/-128/ 129 p. 111

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▶In Kashmiri, the word *pāṭ̃h* or *pāṭhin* is an indeclinable employed after a noun or a pronoun in the sense of 'manner, like or like-wise', such as; *rāmüñ / rāmüsünd̃ pāṭ̃h* (like Ram), *sẽd̃ pāṭ̃h* (in a straight manner), *həl̃ pāṭ̃h* (in an intricate manner) etc. The words *sāriy pāṭ̃h* and *kyah pāṭ̃h* illustrated by the author are incorrect and do not occur in speech.◀

प्राणिकृतादेशेभ्यो रंग च –130[186]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra *-raṅg* is employed with animate pronominal words whose second case singular form is *tam, yam* etc., to refer to an intended color, such as – *yĕmi raṅgü, humi raṅgü, aki raṅgü, dəyi raṅgü, ṣaṭhāh raṅgü* etc.

▶Like other modern vernaculars of India, the word *raṅg* in Kashmiri is an independent word used in the sense of color and not as a derivational affix to constitute stems from the nominal bases. Besides, the plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns *su, yus, kus, yi,* and *hu* are *tim, yim, kam* ~ *küm, yim,* and *hum* (see 2/3/5) respectively and not *tam, yam* etc. as given by the author. The word *raṅg* is placed after the instrumental form of the name of a color or demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (*tami, yĕmi, kami* etc.) followed by the word color to refer to a specific color. The terms quoted by the author also indicate the same fact, e.g; - *yi* (this) → *yĕmi raṅgü* (of this color), *hu* (that) → *humi raṅgü* (of that color), *akh* (one) → *aki raṅgü* (of one color), *zü* (two) → *dəyi raṅgü* ~ *dəyav raṅgav* (having two colors), *ṣaṭhāh* (plenteous) → *ṣaṭhāh raṅgü* (multi colored) etc. These illustrations in no way reveal that *raṅg* is a secondary derivational affix which exhibits its meaning only when it is added to a root or base particularly a free form.◀

प्रत्ययेषु हलोपः सर्वत्र –131[187]. According to this sutra, addition of a suffix (or post positional word) causes deletion of the aspiration of the final consonant of the base.

▶Addition of a suffix or a post positional word, inflectional or derivational; primary or secondary, leads to the deletion of the

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[186] *prāṇikRtādeśebhyo raṅg ca* : -------- ibid -------- 4/130 p. 112
[187] *pratyayeṣu halopah sarvatra* : ------- ibid ------- 4/ 131 p. 112

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aspiration of the final consonant of the root is a general peculiarity of Kashmiri. The examples are – *akh* (one) → *əkis; akũk; əkˇ; əkˇum* etc, √*pakh* (to walk) → *pakun; pakān; pəkith; paki* etc. But, the illustration *kyath* → *kyāh pəṭhin*, quoted by the author does not only mismatch with the sutra but is irrelevant and misconceived. The actual word, as used by the Kashmiri speakers in their normal speech, is *kũth* (what sort of) or *kithü* (how). The post positional words *pāṭ̃h ~ pəṭhin* and *kāñ* are placed after (*kithü* → *kithü - pāṭ̃h ~ pəṭhin / kāñ* → *kithü kāñ*) to express the sense 'in what manner or way'. *kyāh pəṭhin* is incorrect. ◀

अप्राणिभ्यः स्थाने इ प्रत्ययश्च –१३२[188]. According to this sutra *–i* is used with the names expressive of inanimate objects and location. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that in the fifth case the vowel preceding the final consonant is a *common vowel* while as in the seventh case it converts into uncommon vowel, such as – *tati/tətya*, *yĕti/yətya*, *huti/hutya*, *iti/itya*, *kati* etc.

▶ In Kashmiri, *tŏt*, *yŏt*, *kŏt* and *hut*[189] denote 'there (far off), here, where and there (proximate) respectively. *–i* is actually inflectional suffix appended to the above cited pronouns. In the ablative sense the post positional word *ṽəṭhü* is placed after *–i* suffixed form such as- *tati ṽəṭhü* (from that far off place), *yĕti ṽəṭhü* (from this place), *kati ṽəṭhü* (from which place), *huti ṽəṭhü* (from that near place) etc.. To emphasize locative sense the low central vowel is replaced by the corresponding mid central vowel and suffix *–i* converts into palatalization of the final consonant. The terms thus formed are actually pronounced as- *tŏt* (there) → *tati* (at that place) → *təĩ̃* (at that very place), *yŏt* (here) → *yĕti* (at this place) → *yĕĩ̃* (at this very place) etc. ◀

तस्मादनऽनसौ वा –१३३[190]. *-an* and *–anas* are optionally employed with the above stated pronominal words of place which take *–i* suffix

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188 *aprāṇibhyah sthāne i pratyayaśca* : -------- ibid ------- 4/ 132 p. 112

189 The synonyms of these words are *tor, yor, kor* and *hor* respectively. But, these

190 are not discussed here.
tasmādanaasau vā : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/ 133 p. 113

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to become capable of being used for the locative case, such as - *tati* → *taʈan* ~ *tatinas*; *yĕti* → *yĕʈan* ~ *yĕtinas*; *ati* → *aʈan* ~ *atinas*; *huti* → *huʈan* ~ *hutinas*; *kati* → *kaʈan* ~ *katinas*.

►Thus, the above illustrated words show certain morphophonemic changes caused by addition of *–an*. In other words the combination of the final *–i* of the base and the initial *–a* of the termination–*an* results in development of *–y* which occurs in the form of palatalization of the final consonant of the base. The examples are - *tati –an* → *tatyan* ~ *taʈan* (at that place), *yĕti –an* → *yĕtyan* ~ *yĕʈan* (at this place), *huti –an* → *hutyan* ~ *huʈan* (at that place), and *kati –an* → *katyan* ~ *kaʈan* (at what place). Similarly, the terms like *tati –nas* → *tatinas* (at that place), *yĕti –nas* → *yĕtinas* (at this place) *huti –nas* → *hutinas* (at that place), *kati –nas* → *katinas* (at which place) etc. indicate that affix *–an* is optionally replaced by *–nas* and not *–anas* as assumed by the author. It is also to be noted that the words *tati, yĕti, huti, kati* etc. are used in the wider sense of 'there, here, where' etc. while as *taʈan, yĕʈan, huʈan* and *kaʈan* are expressive of specific locations, such as- *tati* 'there' → *taʈan* 'at that place'.

It is pertinent to mention that the above sutra refers to the locative use of the pronominal words which actually is subject of the declensional morphology and, therefore, should not have been included in this chapter.◄

पंचम्यां प्यठान्तोऽपि; सप्तम्यामनन्तादी च –134/135[191]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra, if *-i* suffixed pronominal words are followed by *p̃aṭh* it signifies a particular location of separation, such as- *tati p̃aṭh* (from that place), *kati p̃aṭh* (from which place) etc. *–ī* is used after *–an / -nas* suffixed locative forms to express 'emphasis'. The examples are: *tatyanī* (at that very place), *yatyanī* (at this very place), *katyanī* (specifically at wha place).

►The postpositional word *p̃aṭh* is employed to express the locative case relation such as- *mezas p̃aṭh* (on the table), *kath p̃aṭh* (on what) etc. The ablative case relation denoting postpositional word is

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[191] *pancamyām pyaṭhāntoapi ; saptamyāmanantādī ca* : ——— ibid ——— 4/ 134/135 p. 113

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p̃aṭhü and not *p̃aṭh* as assumed and quoted by the author. The terms to denote 'emphasis', as used by the speakers of the valley and as are listed in the Kashmiri dictionary, are formed by the addition of the emphatic affix *–üy* → *yĕtinüy* (here only), *tətinüy* (there only) etc. *–üy* is optionally replaced by *-ī* such as- *yĕtī* (here only), *tətī* (there only) etc. ◀

ओर्तुप्रत्ययौ वान्त्यलोपश्च; पंचम्यामपर ओर् –136/137[192]. According to these sutras *–or* and *–tu* are used in the seventh case with the above stated pronominal names referring to inanimate names *tati*, *yĕti* etc. while as *–orü* is employed to express the ablative sense. The examples quoted by the author are – *tor* (there), *yor* (here), *kor* (where), and, *yatu/yatut* (here), *tatu/tatut* (there), *katu/katut* (where), and, *-yorü* (from here), *torü* (from there), *korü* (from where) etc.

▶The concept of *–or* is irrelevant for the reasons that *tor*, *yor*, *kor*, *hor* are basically simple words and are indivisible into units like *t-or*, *y-or*, *k-or*, *h-or* so on and so forth. Similarly, concept of *–tu* is incorrect and unintelligible. The actual words are – *yŏt*, *tŏt*, *kŏt* respectively. These forms too are free forms and cannot be fragmented into units like *yat-ut*, *tat-ut* or *kat-ut* as conceived by the author. Subsequently, the above quoted examples also reveal that use of *–orü* is incorrect and the correct form is only *–ü* such as – *yor-ü* (from here/this side), *tor-ü* (from there/that side), *kor-ü* (from where/which side) etc.. ◀

तिहादिभ्यः कालेऽलिः; इहहुहोर्वुञवोञादेशौ; क्याहः कर –138/139/140[193].

–ali is added to *tih*[194] etc. to indicate 'time', e.g *t̃ĕli* (then), *yĕli* (at whenever times), *k̃ĕli* (when). *iha, huh* and *kyāh* are replaced by *vuñ*, *vɔñ* and *kar* respectively to indicate time.

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[192] *ortupratyayau vāntyalopaśca;; pañcamyāmapara orü* : ---- ibid ---- 4/ -136/137 p. 114

[193] *tihādibhyah kāle alih; ihahuhorvuñavɔñādeśau; kyāhah kar* : ---- ibid ---- – 4/-138/139/140 p. 115

[194] As stated earlier under 2/3/1-2, *tih* is incorrect.

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►Īśvar Kaul's assertions are not acceptable for the reasons that the words quoted above by the author as illustrations are actually adverbs of time and thus, indivisible into fragments like *yi, ti,* and *ki* plus affix *–ali*. Similarly, replacement of *yi, ti,* or *kyāh* by *vuñ* and *vɔñ* or *kar* is not correct. The terms *vuñ* and *vɔñ* are distinctly different in the sense. In other words, *vuñ* is used to denote 'just at this particular time or immediate present' while as *vɔñ* is used to denote 'now or now onwards'.◄

उल्वन्ताभ्यां रातदोॅहभ्यामिह; रातःकितु च; अन्त्यो ऽपि च –141/142/143[195]. According to these sutras *-i* is added to words ending in *–ul* such as *rāth* → *rātul* → *rātli* (during night) and *dɔh* → *duhul* → *dohli* (during the day). *–kitu* is also employed but with the word *rāth* only.

►In the light of the above illustrations addition of *–li* to root words *rāth* → *rātli* ~ *rotli* (during night) and *dɔh* → *dohli* (during the day) in the sense of 'during' seems more appropriate than lengthening the process by adding *–ul* to the root words and then *–i* to the derived stems, such as *rāth* → *rātul* ~ *rotul* → *rātli* ~ *rotli* and *dɔh* → *duhul* → *dohli*. *–kitu* is incorrect. The correct as well as the prevalent form is *–kut* (*kyut*) such as *rāth kut* (during the night). The illustrations cited by the author in support of the sutra अन्त्योऽपि च reveal that *–i* is suffixed to words expressive of time to denote a particular time or moment, a time of day, period or season, such as – *sul* (before time) → *suli* (in time), *viz* (time, occasion) → *vizi* – *tami vizi* (at that time, on that occasion), *kol* ~ *kāl* (period, season) → *kāli* – *vandü-kāli* (in winter season), *harud-kāli* (in autumn season) etc.◄

कोजमिम्युजशब्दाभ्यां स्; शेषेभ्योऽप्यन –144/145[196]. *–s* is used with the words like *koj* (lunch) and *mimyuz* ~ *mimuz* (post mid-day meals beside lunch) to denote lunch or afternoon meals time such as *kājis* (lunch / antemeridian time), *mimizis* (post mid-day time). *–an* is

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[195] *ulavantābhyām rātdɔhbhyāmih; rātah kituca; antyoapica* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/-141/142/143 p. 115

[196] *kojmimyuzśabdābhyām s; śeṣobhyoapyan* : -------- ibid -------- 4/-144/145 p. 116

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added to denote other periods of day such as – *mandun* (midday) → *mandiñan* (in midday), *-śām* (evening) → *śāman* (in the evening), *subah* (morning) → *subhan* (in the morning, next morning)

▶It is in place to mention that *–s ~ as ~ is* and *–an* are optionally employed to denote a particular period of time such as - *mandun* → *mandiñan ~ mandinis*, *-śām* → *śāman ~ śāmas*, *subah* → *subhan ~ subhas* etc. There is no other point of difference between *–s* and *–an* as assumed by the author.◀

अःप्रत्यर्थे लिंगात्पूर्वःप्रथच; दोॅहः प्रथलोपो वा, यप्रत्यये नित्यम्
–146/147/148[197].

In his explanation of these sutras Īśvar Kaul says that *–a* is added to denote the sense 'daily'. Besides, *prath-* is used before the noun to which *–a* is suffixed. The examples are – *prath dɔh* (every day), *prath pəhar* (every time), *prath vəriyi* (every year). *prath* is dropped with the noun *dɔh* (day) and *–y* is added to express the sense 'daily'.

▶These assertions of Īśvar Kaul are not legitimate. The reason is that *prath* is actually a separable adverbial or indeclinable prepositional word employed before a noun to form adverbial or indeclinable compounds which if dissolved, the sense 'every' is indicated by reduplication of the noun to which the prepositional indeclinable *prath* is prefixed. For lucidity a few illustrations are given below:

Compound	***Desolution into constituents***
prath dɔh (every day)	*dohay dohay*
prath vəriyi(every year)	*vühür̃ vühür̃*
prath vizi (every time)	*vizi vizi*
prath r̃atü (every month)	*r̃atü r̃atü*
prath śuris (every child)	*śuris śuris* or *əkis əkis śuris*

Further, the illustrations cited by the author also do not support his assertion that *–a* is suffixed in the sense of 'daily' as these illustrations cited by the author do show presence suffix *–a* as given

197 *ah pratyarthe liṅgātpūrvah prath ca; dɔhah prath lopo vā ; ya pratyaye nityam :* -------- ibid ------- 4/-146/147/148 p. 116 - 117

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by the author. However, *-ay* is appended to *dɔh* → *dohay* to denote 'daily'.◄

वीप्सायामाद्यात्पथन्वर्थे –149[198]. To denote repetition of time *path* is used in the sense of 'after' such as - *dɔh path dɔh* (day after day), *vərī path vərī* (year after year), *ṟatü path ṟatü* (month after month) etc.

►The words quoted by the author as illustrations seem to fall in the category of indeclinable compounds and not in the category of complex or secondary derivatives as assumed by the author. Because, these words when compounded are preceded by the indeclinable prepositional word *prath* and repetition of nouns is dropped such as -

Constituen parts	***Compound***
doh path doh (day after day)	*prath dɔh* (every day)
vərī path vərī (year after year)	*prath vəriyi* (every year)
ṟatü path ṟatü (month after month)	*prath ṟatü* (every month)

It needs to be pointed out that *prath* is arbitrarily replaced by its Persian synonym *har* such as- *prath / har dɔh*, *prath / har vəriyi*, *prath / har ṟatü* etc. But, as stated earlier also, Īśvar Kaul is silent about Persian loan words of Kashmiri.◄

इहब्रोंठशब्दाभ्यां वर्षार्थे उस –150[199]. *–us* is added to *ih* and *bronṭh* to denote 'this year' and 'coming year' respectively, such as – *ihus* and *bronṭhus*.

►The actual word for 'this year' in Kashmiri is *'yihus ~ yuhus'* which seems to be derived from the demonstrative pronoun *yi* meaning 'this'. *ih* is unintelligible. Similarly, *bronṭh* means 'ahead' and *bronṭhus* means 'coming year'. It is noteworthy that if *–us* is replaced by *–kun* → *bronṭhkun* it denotes 'in future' and if both these suffixes are replaced by *–kani* → *bronṭhükani* it denotes 'in front of'.◄

पथो रकारश्च; पूर्वतरार्थे प्रार्यादेशाः; पंचम्यन्तादिदगर्थे किनि –151/152/153[200].

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[198] *vīpsāyāmādyātpathanvarthe* : -------- ibid ------- 4/149 p. 117

[199] *ihabronṭhśabdābhyām varṣārtheh us* : --------- ibid ------- 4/150 p. 117

[200] *pathorakāraśca ; pūrvatarārthe prāryādeśah ; pañcamyantāddigarthe kini* : ---------- ibid ---------- 4/-151/152/153 p. 118

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According to author's explanation of these sutras *–us* is added to *path*, *th* of *path* is dropped and *r* is added to derive *parus* meaning 'last year'. To express 'the year before 'lastyear' *path* is replaced by *prāri* followed by suffix *–us* → *prāryus*. *–kini* is used with the fifth case form of the demonstrative pronouns to denote a direction such as - *tati kini, yĕti kini, huti kini, kati kini* etc. *-e* is replaced by *–a* with the forms other than the ablatives, such as – *tor kani, yor kani, hor kani, kor kani* etc.

▶Addition of *–us* to *path*, deletion of *th* of *path* and addition of *–r* to derive *parus* is intricate and imaginary. The words *parus* and *prāryus* are basically simple words and, therefore, indivisible into *path –us* and *prari -us* respectively.

As stated earlier, words *tati, yĕti, huti* and *kati* are the locative case forms of *tŏt* (there), *yŏt* (here), *kŏt* (where) and *hut* (there). These are followed by the oblique case affixes *–an/-nas/-i* etc. and/or different postpositional words to denote various case relations. The examples are – *tati –an* → *tatyan* ~ *taťan* (in/at that place), *yĕti –an* → *yĕtyan* ~ *yĕťan* (at this place); *tati –p̃aṭhü* (from that place), *yĕti –p̃aṭhü* (from this place) *huti –p̃aṭhü* (from that place), *tati –uk* → *taťuk* (belonging to that place) etc. Addition of *–kini* to fifth case form *tati, yĕti, huti* and *kati* is incorrect and unintelligible. However, the postpositional word *–kiñ* (in the sense of towards) is used with the adverbs of direction *yapār̃, tapār̃ hupār̃ kapār̃* such as - *yapār̃ –kiñ* (towards this side/ direction), *tapār̃ –kiñ* (towards that side/ direction), *hupār̃ –kiñ* (towards that side/ direction), *kapār̃ –kiñ* (towards which side/ direction), *pəť –kiñ* (towards back side), *brūṇṭh –kiñ* (towards front side) etc.

-kiñ is also used with the instrumental form of pronouns in the sense of 'reason' such as – *tami / tavü –kiñ* (for that reason), *yĕmi–kiñ* (for this reason), *kami–kiñ* (for what reason), *ami / avü –kiñ* (for this reason) etc. The words *tati kini, yati kini, huti kini, kati kini*, quoted by the author along with their meanings (from there, here, there and where respectively) are incorrect and unintelligible.◀

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कालार्थेकालवाचिभ्यः; अन्येभ्यः इ केवलश्च –154/155[201]. *–kani* is used with the words of time in the sense of probability or possibility such as – *az kani* (probably today), *pagāh kani* (possibly tomorrow), *dəham kani* (possibly by the tenth day of a month of the Hindu calendar). *–i* is used with the words like *bronṭh*, *path*, *dəchun*, *khovur* to indicate the directions like front, back, right and left respectively, e.g; *brūnṭhi* (towards the front side), *pəti* (towards the back side), *dəchini* (towards the right side) and *khovüri* (towards the left side).

►The words quoted by the author are actually pronounced as *brūnt̃h*, *pət̃*, *dəchiñ* and *khovür̃* respectively. It indicates that the final consonant of the base is palatalized instead of addition of *–i* as assumed by the author. It is to be noted that these words are very rarely used without the postpositional word *–kiñ* (*brūnt̃h–kiñ*, *pət̃–kiñ*, *dəchiñ –kiñ* and *khovür̃ –kiñ*). Besides, *-ü* is augmented with *bronṭh* and *path* before *kani* such as *bronṭhü kani* (in front of) and *patü kani* (behind the back, at the rear).◄

सर्वेभ्यः पार्ये च; च़ोरो विश्वगर्थे च़ों च़ोंवादेशौ च –156/157[202]. *-pār̃* is used with all demonstrative words to denote a 'direction', such as: *kamipār̃/ka-pār̃* (in which direction), *tamipār̃ /ta-pār̃* (towards/in that direction), *yamipār̃/ya-pār̃* (towards/in this direction), *humipār̃/hu-pār̃* (towards/in that direction), *dəchinipār̃* (towards the right side), *khovripār̃* (towards the left side), *brūnt̃hpār̃* (towards front), *pətimipār̃* (towards back) etc. Addition of *-pār̃* to *čor* (four) causes *čo* to change into *čɔ* or *čɔvā*, such as- *čɔ -pār̃* or *čɔvā -pār̃* (in all directions).

►The terms *kamipār̃*, *tamipār̃*, *yamipār̃*, *humipār̃*, *dəchinipār̃*, *khovripār̃*, *brūnt̃hpār̃* and *pətimipār̃* are not used in speech. The terms actually used are *kapār̃*, *tapār̃*, *yapār̃*, *hupār̃* etc. *-pār̃* is not used with names like *dəchun*, *khovur*, *bronṭh* and *path*. The postpositional *kiñ* or *kani* is placed after these forms to specify the side or direction, such as- *dəchiñ kiñ* (to the right of), *khovur̃ kiñ* (to the left of), *bronṭhü*

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[201] *kālārthe kālavācibhyah ; anyebhyah i kevalaśca* : -------- ibid ------ 4/ - 154/155 p. 119

[202] *sarvebhyah pār̃ ca ; čoro čɔ čɔvādeśau ca* : -------- ibid ------ 4/-156/157 p. 120

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kani (in front of) and *pəʧ̃ kiñ ~ patü kani* (behind/at the back of). The term *čɔpāř* or *čɔvāpāř* denotes 'in all directions/ everywhere'.◀

सप्तम्यन्तात्कुन –158[203]. *–kun* is added to words of direction ending in seventh case such as- *tor –kun* (towards that direction), *yor –kun* (towards this direction), *hor –kun* (towards that direction), *kor –kun* (towards which direction), *h̃ŏr –kun* (upwards), *bɔn –kun* (downwards) etc.

▶The use of word (सप्तम्यन्त) 'ending in seventh case' is inappropriate because the demonstratives in Kashmiri decline only in three cases viz; nominative, oblique and instrumental. The terms *tor*, *yor*, *hor*, *bɔn* and *h̃ŏr* are actually indeclinable adverbs of direction. The statement सप्तम्यन्त (ending in seventh case) is, therefore, uncalled for.◀

मयार्थे उव –159[204]. *–uv* is used to denote 'made of', e.g; *sɔnuv* (made of gold), *mĕčuv* (made of clay), *kāṭhuv* (made of wood) etc.

▶*–uv* is suffixed to the name of substance of which a product is made or to indicate the original source of a product, e.g; *m̃əč* (earth / clay) *–uv* → *mĕčuv* (made of clay/earthen), *həṭ* (wood) *-uv* → *hacuv* (made of wood/wooden), *kapur* (cloth) *–uv* → *kapüruv* (made of cloth), *süthür* (cotton) *–uv* → *sütüruv* (made of cotton), *yer* (wool) *–uv* → *yeruv* (made of wool/woolen) etc. Besides, post positional word *–sund* is a morphologically conditioned allomorph of *–uv* which occurs with the names of metals like *sɔn* and *rɔph* in the sense of made of that metal, e.g. *sɔn* (gold) – *sund* → *sɔnüsund* (made of gold/golden) and *rɔph* (silver) – *sund* → *rɔpüsund* (made of silver). *–i* is yet another allomorph which occurs in free variation with *–uv* such as: *lɔy* (bronze) → *lɔyi ~ lɔyuv bānü* (pot made of bronze), *mĕči ~ mĕčuv bānü* (earthen pot), *sartali ~ sataluv bānü* (pot made of brass) etc.

The words formed by the addition of *–uv* or *–sund* function as adjectives and, therefore, take number, gender and case of the nouns they qualify. For example: *mĕčuv bānü* (earthen pot nom. sg.) *mĕčiw̃*

203

204 *saptamyantātkun* : ---------- ibid ---------- 4/158 p. 120
mayārthe uv : ---------- ibid ---------- 4/159 p. 121

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bānü (nom. plu.); *měčivis bānas* (obl. sg.) *měčivan bānan* (obl. plu.), *sənüsund banü* (golden pot nom. sg.) *sənüsünd̃ bānü* (nom. plu.); *sənüsündis bānas* (obl. sg.) *sənüsünd̃an bānan* (obl. plu.) etc. These adjectives are also used to form the determinative compounds and occur as the first component of the compound word. In this process the derivative affix converts into a vowel sound according to the final consonant of the first component while as the inflectional affixe of the first component is dropped. For example: *yeruv palav* → *yerü palav* (woolen fabric) → *yerü palavas* → *yerü palavan*, *měčuv bānü* → *měči bānü* (earthen pot) → *měči bānas* → *měči bānan* etc.◄

अधीनार्थे बुज़्य −१६०[205]. According to author *–buz̃* is employed to denote 'under the control of' e.g; *lūkü buz̃* (under people's control), *khəḍü buz̃* (in the pit)[206], *kəlüyi buz̃* (under the control of wife).

►*-buz̃* is actually used to denote 'lost to something' (fire, water, moth etc.) or 'devoured by someone' and not to express 'under the control of' as assumed by the author, e.g; *lūkü buz̃* (devoured by people), *khəḍü buz̃* (lost to pit), *nārü buz̃* (lost to fire), *səhlāb buz̃* (lost to flood), *əthüri buz̃* (lost to moth) etc.◄

अड्ल्योंकशब्दो विकलार्थे −१६१[207]. *adülyŏk* is employed to indicate 'morbidity of a person' and 'incompletion of an action', e.g; *aḍülyŏk* (morbid), *aḍülĕc kām* (incomplete work), *aḍülŏk makānü* (incomplete house).

►The word *adülyŏk* is a qualitative adjective denoting disability, inability, deficiency, morbidity or defect of a person as well as imperfection or incompletion of an action. It is not a suffix or a post-positional or prepositional termination as assumed by the author. As an adjective it is used in two different ways, i.e; attributively and predicatively. In attributive use it is used along with the noun as an epithet and takes the number, gender and case of the noun it qualifies. The examples are: *adülyŏk insān* (morbid person nom. mas. sg.), *adülyĕc zanānü* (morbid woman), *adülyŏk makānü* (incomplete

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[205] *adhīnārthe buz̃* : -------- ibid ------- 4/160 p. 122
[206] -------- ibid -------- p. 122
[207] *aḍlyŏkśabdo vikalārthe* : ---------- ibid --------- 4/161 p. 122

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house), *adülyŏk kār* (imperfect work) etc. In its predicative use it qualifies its noun through the predicate, such as: *mohan chu adülyŏk* (Mohan is morbid), *shīlü chi adülyĕc* (Sheela is morbid), *makānü rūd adülyŏkŭy* (the house remained incomplete) etc. ◄

अभ्रधूमवातमात्रायां रिंग –162[208]. *-riṅg* is used with *ŏbur* (cloud), *düh* (smoke) and *vāv/ havā* (air) to denote a mass of few clouds (*ŏbürü riṅg*), a mass of curling smoke (*dühya riṅg*) or whiff of air (*vāvü*).

►*-riṅg* is used with *havāh* as well such as- *havāh riṅg* (whff of air)[209].◄

प्राणप्रकाशयोर्लुथ; पटस्य तुर; छलतिलिमावन्यतश्च –163/164/165[210]. According to these sutras *lüth* is used with *prāṇ / śāh* (vital air) and *gāś* (light) to denote the trifle of breath and light respectively, such as - *prāṇü / śāh lüth*, *gāśi lüth*[211], *čāṅg̃ lüth* (flicker of a lamp) etc. *–tür* is used to denote 'a piece of' cloth such as – *daji / kapar –tür* (piece of rag / cloth), *pəṭ̃ tür* (piece of woolen cloth). *-chal* and *-tilim* are used to denote a piece of any object (capable of being cut without or with a knife or a scissor) such as – *kapar / kākaz / burzü tilim* (a piece of cloth / paper /birch leaf), *kaparchal* (piece of cloth) etc.

►*–tür* and *-tilim* are also used with *kākaz* (paper) → *kākaztür/kākaztilim* (piece of paper). The word *ṭukürü* is also employed in the sense of a small piece of an object such as *kapar / haci ṭukürü* (a small piece of cloth/wood). It is worthwhile to mention that the terms constituted by addition of *tür*, *chal*, *tilim* and *ṭukürü* are actually determinative compound words and, therefore, should have been discussed in the chapter on compounds.◄

रेम्फ अल्पकरुणयोः; रेंछ् सम्बन्धस्य –166/167[212]. *–remph* is used to describe a small / trifling and an insignificant[213] object, such as *gur̃*

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208 *abhradhūmavātamātrāyām riṅg* : ——— ibid ——— 4/162 p. 122

209 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 369

210 *prāṇaprakāśayorlüth ; paṭasya tür ; chaltilimāvanyataśca* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 4/-163/164/165 p. 122- 123

211 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p.73

212 *remph alpakaruṇyoh ; renčh sambandhasya* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam

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– *remph* (a famished horse or a horse good for nothing), *čūṇ̃h remph* (a shrivelled apple[214]). *-renčh* is employed to denote "connected to some person or some object particularly cloth" (सम्बन्धस्तु वस्त्रादिकस्यवा भवेतु जीवस्यवा भवत्विति)[215] such as – *kapar renčh* (a piece of cloth), *mātāmāl renčh* (distant relations from maternal side)[216].

►The postpositional words *remph* and *renčh* are not commonly found in use in Kashmiri. The word *remčh* does not even figure in the Kashmiri dictionary. It is possible that *remph* and *renčh* might have been in use in some village or region of the valley during the nineteenth century A.D. with which the author might have been familiar.◄

जंड़काञतुल्वश्च शाककाष्ठयोः –168[217]. According to this sutra *zaṇḍ*, *kāñ*, *talu* and *thop* (च शब्दात् थोपु प्रत्ययश्च स्यात्) are used to denote a little quantity of a vegetable or wood. The examples are: *hākü zaṇḍ* (a small quantity of *hākh* किंचित् शाकः[218]), *kāṭhü zaṇḍ* (small quantity of wood किंचित् काष्ठम्[219]), *pośi zaṇḍ* (some flowers किंचित् पुष्पाणि[220]). Similarly, *hākü kāñ*, *pośi kāñ*, *hākü tulu*, *pośi tulu*, *ziñ tulu*, *muji tulu* etc. also denote small quantity of *hākh*, *kāṭh* or *poś* etc.

►Išvar Kaul's assertions are not correct. In Kashmiri, the word *zaṇḍ* actually means 'a shrub', 'a thorny bush' or a 'creeper'[221], *kāñ* means 'willow twig or wicker', *tul* means 'straw' and *thop* means 'handful' of a leafy vegetable. Thus, *pośi zaṇḍ* refers to flower shrub while as *kənḍ zaṇḍ* means a thorny bush and *hākü zaṇḍ* means thicket

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213 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 386 4/-166/167 p. 123
214 a) KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : p. 123
b) Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 386
215 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : p. 123
216 -------- ibid -------- p. 123
217 *zaṇḍkāñtulvaśca śākakāṣṭhayoh* : -------- ibid --------- 4/-168 p. 124
218 --------- ibid --------- p.124
219 --------- ibid --------- p. 124
220 --------- ibid --------- p. 124
221 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 24

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of *hākh*. Similarly, *gāsü tul* means a straw of hay), *yəndürü* (*salay* is an arrow shaped iron needle used in spinning wheel to spin the yarn) - *tul / səčüni tul*[222] denotes straw of hay put on *yəndürü salay* to reel the yarn), *hākü thop / pālki thop* means a handful of hākh[223]/ *pālkh* (spinach), *kāṅgüri kāñ* refers to 'twigs of certain species of trees' used for making the covering basket of *kāṅgri*. *kāñ* is also used before a noun to denote 'made of wicker' as in *kāñi ṭūkür* (basket made of wicker), *kāñi sŏndūkh* (box made of wicker) etc. The terms *hākü kāñ*, *pośi kāñ* are incomprehensible and incorrect. In addition, the author uses the term *talu* instead of *tul*. This propensity to shift *-u-* from the medial position of the word to the final position indicates author's insufficient understanding of the phonological and morphological structure of the Kashmiri word stock.◀

सस्यादीनां फलु −169[224]. *phŏl* is used to express the grain of a serial, pulse etc. such as– *tomlü phŏl* (a grain of rice), *mɔṅgü phŏl* (a grain of greengram), *karü phŏl* (a grain of dry peas) etc. The author further says that the word आदि (etc.) in the sutra denotes that *phŏl* is used also with the names of objects other than serials and pulses, such as- *čüñi phŏl* (piece of charcoal), *bəṭ̃h phŏl* (piece of dry cow dung), *měči phŏl* (a clod of clay).

▶The plural of *phŏl* is *phəl̃* such as- *tŏmülü phŏl* (one grain of rice), *tŏmülü phəl̃* (undefined quantity of rice). *phŏl* is also used with the names of a wide range of objects such as- *māli phŏl* (a bead of garland/rosary), *kəś phŏl* (a small quantity of husk, saw dust etc.). The author has used *phalu* instead of *phŏl* which is incorrect.◀

सर्वेभ्योऽसस्येभ्यो मोॅया हना वा लक्ष्यतः −170[225]. *-mɔyā* or *-hanā* is employed to denote 'small quantity of' any object other than serials, such as – *ŏbrü mɔyā/hanā* (a patch of clouds), *düh mɔyā/hanā* (a bit of smoke), *vāvü mɔyā/hanā* (whiff of air), *hākü mɔyā/hanā* (a small quatity of hākh), *pośi mɔyā/hanā* (a small quantity of flowers),

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222 ———

223 -------- ibid -------- -vol.ii, P. 331

224 A green leafy vegetable of Kashmir

225 *sasyādīnām phalu* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 4/169 p. 124
sarvebhyoasasyebhyo mɔyā hanā vā lakṣyatah : —— ibid —— 4/ 170 p. 125

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čüni mɔyā/hanā (a small quantity of charcoal), *měči mɔyā/hanā* (a small quantity of clay) etc. *dā̃ mɔyā* (a small quantity of paddy) is unintelligible but *batü phŏlā/mɔyā/hanā* (a small quantity of cooked rice) is possible.

►It is noteworthy that *bərüg* is optionally infixed before *hānā/ānā* with the terms *hākh* and *poś* such as- *hākü hānā ~ bərügānā*, *pośi hānā ~ bərügānā*. *hākü mɔyā* and *pośi mɔyā* are not in use. *čüni mɔyā* and *měči mɔyā* are incomprehensible. In fact, the term *mɔyā* is an indeclinable word used after the name of an object in the sense of a little quantity of the object[226]. According to author, use of *-mɔyā* or *-hanā* makes the speech stylish.◄

जलस्थानार्थ एव बल –171[227]. The place adjacent to a waterway / a water-body, particularly a river, is denoted by *–bal*, such as- *vãthübal* (place adjacent to river Vitasta), *gaṅgübal* (place adjacent to river Ganga), *mārbal* (place adjacent to a waterway), *pɔkhürbal* (place adjacent to a stream), *āvürĕñbal* (cremation ground)[228].

अन्यत्रापि च बलिदानस्थाने –172[229]. *–bal* is also used to denote the place where oblation is offered to the deities of the five elements like earth, water, fire, air and ether as well as the evil spirits (यत्र जलदेवायान्यस्मै भूदेवाय भूतादिभ्यश्च बलिः प्रदीयते[230]) such as - *sabübal*, *vurübal*, *kondübal*, *graṭübal* and *rāzübal*.

►The illustrations quoted by the author do not match with the sutra as none of these illustrations refer to the places which are specifically used for offering oblations to the deities of water, earth and the evil spirits. The fact is that these terms refer to 'banquet hall' (*sabübal*), 'place for cooking feast of marriage ceremony' (*vurübal*), 'brick kiln' (*kondübal*), 'place adjacent to water mill' (*graṭübal*) and 'cremation place' (*rāzübal*) respectively.◄

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226 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 261

227 *jalasthānārthe eva bal* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 4/ -171/172 p. 125-26

228 A cremation ground is always adjacent to a water body – a river, a stream or a pond etc.

229 *anyatrāpi ca balidānasthāne* : --------- ibid ------- 4/ -171/172 p. 125-26

230 --------- ibid ------- p. 126

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वारशब्दस्य स्नानस्थाने वस्य यः –173[231]. According to author's explanation of the sutra, *vār* in Kashmiri denotes water body where, according to Kashmiri tradition, the people bathe and offer water ablation to the deities and deceased ancestors. The *v-* of *vār* is replaced by *y-* and by the addition of *-bal* the derived stem *yārbal* means the bathing place (स्नानस्थानम्[232]).

▶These assertions of the author are not tenable. According to Kashmiri dictionary, the word *vār* is used to denote – i) an earthen jar, ii) kitchen garden, iii) jealousy, iv) a boat smaller in size, and, v) feather of the wings of birds.[233]None of these meanings refer, directly or indirectly, to a 'bathing place' or a place specifically meant for offering ablations to the deities and the deceased ancestors. *yārbal* meaning 'river' is actually a simple word and not a derivation from *vār* or a combination of *yār* and *–bal* as assumed by the author.◀

पांसयुगले टूंक –174[234]. According to author, *ṭũk* is a particle and occurs combined with *pãsü* (money), e.g., *pãsü ṭũk* (money).

▶The word *pãsü-* (also pronounced as *põsü*) *-ṭũk* is actually a copulative compound word consisting of two components *pãsü* (money) and *ṭũk* (money) and each component can stand alone as a word, such as- *mĕ chi põsü zŏrath* (I need money), and, *mĕ chunü ṭũk candas* (I do not have even a single penny in my pocket). ◀

तत्परतो हत –175[235]. According to author's explanation of the sutra the word *hath* is used with the cardinals upto three digits, such as – *akh hath* (one hundred), *zü hath* (two hundred), *trĕ hath* (three hundred) etc.

▶It is to be noted that *h-* of *hath* optionally converts into *ś-* – *śath* with cardinals *pānch*, *āṭh* and *nav* such as- *panch hath ~ śath*, *āṭh hath ~ śath* and *nav hath ~ śath*. The cardinal numbers consisting of four and five digits are expressed by usinng the term *sās* (thousand)

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231 *vārśabdasya snānasthāne vasya yah* : ------- ibid ------ 4/173 p. 126

232 ------- ibid --------- p. 126

233 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 82

234 *pãsü yugale ṭũnk* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 4/174 p. 126

235 *tatparatohat* : -------- ibid ------ 6/175 p. 126

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after the cardinal name, such as- *akh sās* (one thousand), *panch sās* (fifty thousand). The cardinal name *śath* (hundred) is optionally employed to denote the cardinal number consisting of four digits, such as- *pandah śath* (fifteen hundred).

The author has used the term *hat* (हत) in the sutra while as the illustrations quoted by the author show use of the correct form *hath* (हथ). However, the examples qouted by the author are actually numerical compound words and, therefore, should have been discussed, at appropriate place in the chapter on formation of compounds.◀

शतावधि जनसंख्यायां जनुशब्देनैव संख्यासमासः −176[236]. To denote the number of persons upto one hundred, the cardinal name is compounded with *zəñ* (persons). Besides, *-marü* is added to denote 'a number around a specific figure'. The examples are: *śeṭh zəñ* (sixty persons), *zəñ pančāh marü* (around fifty persons) etc.

▶The examples cited by the author denote that the definite number of persons is expressed by placing the word *zŏn/zəñ* after the cardinal name while as the indefinite number of persons upto one hundred is denoted by using, after the noun, the cardinal name followed by *–marü* (approximately) such as- ***akh*** *zŏn* (one person), ***pančāh*** *zəñ* (fifty persons), ***zəñ*** *pančāh marü* (approximately fifty persons), ***zəñ*** *hatümarü* (approximately hundred persons). To convey indefinite number of persons above hundred the order of the constituents would be *zəñ hath pāncü marü* → (persons hundred five times approximately i.e., approximately five hundred persons).◀

लूकशब्देन शतादिषु −177[237]. The cardinal names of hundreds or thousands are placed before or after the word *lūkh* (people) to denote the gathering of hundreds or thousands of people, e.g. *hath lūkh* (one hundred people), *zü hath lūkh* (two hundred people).

▶As stated above, a cardinal number preceding the name of the object denotes definite number of the object, such as- *zü hath kori*

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[236] *śatāvadhi janasaṅkhyāyām januśabdenaiva saṅkhyāsamāsah* : ------- ibid -------- 4/176 p. 127

[237] *lūkaśabdena śatādiṣu* : ------- ibid -------- 6/177 p. 127

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(two hundred girls) while as if it follows the name of the object, it indicates indefinite number of the object, such as- *kori hathah* (approximately one hundred girls). If *hath* or *sās* is placed before *lūkh* and *–ü* is added to *lūkh*, it denotes 'multitude of people', such as- *tati os hath/sās lūkü samomut* (large number of people had assembled there).◄

त चार्थे; अपि शब्दार्थे ति; बियः पुनरपरार्थे –178/179/ 180[238]. These sutras refer to the indeclinable words used either as conjunctions to join two words or as an adverb before the action. These are *tü*, *ti* and *biyi* ~ *bĕyi* respectively. The examples are: *yi tü hu* (this and that), *dɔh tü rāth* (day and night), *bĕyi par* (read again), *bĕyi tü bĕyi vŏnümay* (I told you again and again / repeatedly). *-ti* is used in the sense of 'too, also / as well as' such as: *su ti* (he too), *su ti tü čü ti* (he as well as you).

►It is to be noted that the indeclinable word for 'and' is *tü* and not *ta* as cited by the author. According to author *ti* is plural of *tü* which again is not correct because, as the above illustrations indicate, these two words are employed in two different senses. In addition, *ti* is also used in the sense of 'that', such as - *ti chu pŏz* (that is true) and *tü* used after *zan* denotes 'as if'→ *zan tü chu suy* (as if it were he).◄

इवार्थे जन; सादृश्यार्थे ह्यहु; निर्धारणे च –181/182/183[239]. *zan* is used to denote 'as if' or 'as it were', *hyuh* is used to show similarity or likeness and specification. The examples are: *totü zan chu bolān* (speaks as if it were a parrot), *sɔn hyuh chu nāpān* (glitters like gold), *buḍü hyuh ənizyan* (do bring the aged one).

►*zan* and *hyuh* are actually indeclinable words and not the derivational terminations and, thus, could have been justifiably discussed in the chapter on indeclinable words.◄

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238 *ta cārthe ; apiśabdārthe ti ; biyah punaraparārthe* : ------ ibid ------ 4/-178/179/180 p. 128

239 *ivārthe zan ; sādRśārthe hyahu ; nirdhāraṇe ca* : ------ ibid ------ 4/ -181/182/183 p. 128-129

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अन्यप्राधान्ये सहार्थे सूत्य; स्वप्राधान्ये सान –184/185[240]. According to Īśvar Kaul the accompaniment denoting postpositions *sūt̃~sūtin* and *sān* are used to indicate the indirect doer and the direct doer of an action respectively, such as: *məlis sūt̃ / sūtin āv* (came with father) and *məlis sān āv* (came along with father). While explaining the illustrated words the author says that in *məlis sūt̃ / sūtin āv* father is the primary doer and the son seeks his accompaniment while as in *məlis sān āv* the primary doer is son who came together with father.

▶This explanation reveals that *sūt̃/sūtin* denotes accompaniment while as *sān* means 'along with or together with'. *sūt̃/sūtin* and *sān* are actually declensional postpositional words and have wrongly been included in this chapter. Further, these have already been explained under the declension of nouns.◀

द्वयादिभ्यः पंचभ्यो युगपदर्थे शवय; नवय वा पांछ्भ्यः; सप्तादिभ्यो वय –186/187/188[241].

The collective numbers are derived by using the terms *-śvay* with the cardinal numbers from *zü* (two) to *śě* (six) except *pānčh* (five) and only *–vay* is used with *pānčh* (five), *sath* (seven) and other cardinals. *–ś* of *-śvay* is optionally replaced by *–n*. The examples are: *zü* (two) → *dɔśvay ~ dɔnüvay* (both), *trě* (three) → *trěśvay ~ tranvay* (all the three), *čor* (four) → *čɔśvay ~ čɔnvay* (all the four), *pānčh* (five) → *pančüvay* (all the five), *śě* (six) → *śěśvay ~ śanvay* (all the six), *sath* (seven) → *satvay* (all the seven).

आद्यखण्डवीप्सापूर्वाः प्रथमे वा –189[242]. According to author the initial component of collective numerals are repeated before *–vay* such as - *dɔśi~dɔśvay*; *trěśitrěśvay* etc.

▶This assertion of the author is utterly erroneous.◀

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[240] *anyaprādhānye sahārthe sūt̃ ; svaprādhānye sān* : -------- ibid ------- 4/-184/185 p. 129

[241] *dvayādibhyah pañcabhyo yugapadarthe śavay; na vay vāpānčhbhyah; saptādibhyo vay* : -------- ibid ------- 4/-186/187/188

[242] *ādyakhaṇḍavīpsāpūrvāh prathame vā* :

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चोरच्चो आदेशो दशभ्यश्च –१९०[243]. According to this sutra *čo-* of čor (four) changes to *čɔ* when compounded with *tens*, such as: *čɔdāh* (fourteen), *čɔvuh* (twenty four) etc.

▶ As discussed earlier, in Kashmiri the cardinal numbers upto ten are simple adjectives and from eleven upto ninety nine are, to certain extent, compounds of the dvigu character. Kashmiri does not merely add one number to another to express the numbers intermediate to each decade but rather compounds the two elements to make a single word. In the above quoted illustration it is not actually *čo-* of *čor* which changes into *čɔ* but the medial *–o-* of *čor*, when compounded with another numeral, changes into *ɔ, ŏ* or *u*. For example in *čɔdāh* (fourteen), *čɔyitrüh* (thirty four) and *čɔyitāji* (forty four) *-o* is replaced by *-ɔ* while as in *čŏvuh* (twenty four) *-o* is replaced by *-ŏ* and in *čuvanzah* (fifty four), *čuhāṭh* (sixty four), *čusatath* (seventy four), *čuśīth* (eighty four) and *čunamath* (ninety four) *-o* is seen replaced by *-u*. Not only *čor* but all other cardinals upto ten, when compounded with some other cardinal, undergo certain changes. For example in *akh* (one) the final aspiration is replaced by *–ü* such as: *aküvuh* (twenty one), *akütājī* (forty one), *aküvanzah* (fifty one), *akünamath* (ninety one); in *trě* (three) *–ě* is replaced by *–u* or *-ŏ* and *–r* is replaced by *-y* to signify the numbers thirty three and forty three, such as: *truvah* (thirteen), *trŏvuh* (twenty three), *těytrüh* (thirty three), *těytājī* (forty three), *truvanzah* (fifty three), *trunamath* (ninety three). Similarly, *-ṭh* of *āṭh* (eight) is replaced upto ninety eight by *–r* except in *aṭhovuh* (twenty eight) such as: *ardah* (eighteen), *arütrüh* (thirty eight), *arütājī* (forty eight), *arünamath* (ninety eight) etc. The author has not described these and other cardinals. There could have been a separate chapter on the description of adjectives in Kashmiri where in, among other types of adjectives, the numeral adjectives could have also been discussed in detail. ◀

कुन एककार्थे –१९१[244]. The term *kun* is used to denote the meaning 'alone or single'.

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[243] *čorčɔ ādeśo daśabhyaśca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 4/190 p. 131

[244] *kun ekakārthe* : ---------- ibid ---------- 4/ 191 p. 131

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► It is worth to mention that the word *kun* is actually an adjective as in *kun naphar* (single person/single hand). By the addition of *–ar* it is changed into an abstract noun → *kuñar* (loneliness) and by the addition of the emphatic affix *–uy* it denotes 'only one'. The author is silent about this derivational process applicable to *–kun*.◄

हरुजोरौ युगलार्थे –192[245]. *haru* and *jorü* are employed with animate and inanimate nouns to express 'a pair' of the object.

►The actual post positional word is *hŏr* and not *haru* as mentioned by the author. Besides, *jorü* (a pair) when employed with a noun, changes into *jūr̃* and occurs with both, i.e; animate as well as inanimate nouns. The illustrations are: *khrāvü hŏr* (a pair of wooden sandal), *pulühŏr* (a pair of straw-sleepers), *dūrühŏr* (a pair of ear rings), *dāndü jūr̃* (a pair of bulls), *gur̃ jūr̃* (a pair of horse), *kačhkar jūr̃* (a pair of golden bangles). *hŏr* and *jorü* are employed after numerals to denote 'number of pairs' such as *akh hŏr / jorü* (one pair), *trě hər̃ / jorü* (three pairs) etc.◄

किंचिदर्थे पहान –193[246]. *-pahān* is employed after a qualitative adjective of size or quantity and the adverbs of time or place in the sense of 'a little'. The examples are: *bŏḍ pahān* (a little big), *lɔkuṭ pahān* (a little small), *zyādü pahān* (a little more), *kam pahān* (a little less than), *dūr pahān* (a little away), *nyūr pahān* (a little near), *ūrihund pahān* (a little forward), *bronṭh pahān* (a little earlier/ahead), *path pahān* (a little back).

►Īśvar Kaul's list of illustrations also contain words such as *kāśur pahān* and *bangāluk pahān*. These terms are irrelevant and semantically incorrect because it is beyond imagination to think of a person or an object which could be a little Kashmiri or a little Bengali. A person or an object could be either only Kashmiri or only Bengali. There is no specific generic word for an object such as a flower, a vegetable or even the word stock of a language possessing the qualities which it has inherited from two different sources. However, the most proximate term used to refer to such type of

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[245] *harujorau yugalārthe* : ------- ibid ----- 4/192 p. 131
[246] *kiñcidarthe pahān* : ------- ibid ------- 4/193 p. 132

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objects is *pārũm* or *golüpārũm* (not belonging to Kashmir or Kashmir only).◀

▶The in-depth study of this chapter indicates that the author has grouped the secondary derivational terminations into four types, viz., i) terminations employed with nouns, ii) terminations employed with pronouns, iii) terminations employed with adjectives, and iv) terminations employed with indeclinable forms. Like Pāṇini, Īśvar Kaul's description of secondary derivatives also begins with the terminations denoting 'descendent of' a person, caste or creed (*dar pūt, kol pūt*), an animal (*mã pūt*) or a bird (*kāv pūt*) (see sutra 1-4). The secondary stems are actually complex words consisting of a free morpheme which is usually a noun, and an affix which is a bound morpheme and brings to light its hidden sense only when it occurs associated with the free form. The stems like *kāv pūt*, *kotar pūt*, *hath lūkh* etc. (see sutra 1 and 164,174-177), which are actually compound words, should have been discussed in the previous chapter i.e., formation of compounds rather than being included in this chapter. The author has also wrongly included in this chapter, the description of declensional affixes, postpositional words and indeclinable words (see sutra 131-137) which either have already been discussed in the chapter on declension of nouns or should have been discussed in the chapter on indeclinable terms. Stems like *ganḍul* (packed luggage), *čaṭul* (pick pocket) and *dagun* are primary stems derived from the verb roots *ganḍ* (to tie), *čaṭh* (to cut) and *dag* (to pestle) respectively (see sutra 75, 79 & 83). The assertions regarding addition of *–r* to the names of objects to derive names of persons who are closely associated with these objects indicate author's lack of knowledge regarding the classification of consonant clusters in Kashmiri. In other words *–r* combined with a consonant does not occur at the word final position in Kashmiri. The words *čamr*, *sɔnr*, *lūdr* etc. cited as illustrations in support of his assertions are misconceived and, consequently misstated, by the author (see sutra 99-108). The suffix is actually *–ur* → *čamur*, *sɔnur*, *lūdur* and not just *–r* as assumed by the author. However, the subject is discussed in 193 sutras in which the

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author has discussed a wide range of derivational secondary suffixes of Kashmiri.◀

The author has concluded the chapter with the words इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते तद्धितप्रक्रिया समाप्ता 'here ends the chapter on formation secondary derivatives in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of *śri śāradā* region'.

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Chapter 5

Indeclinable Words

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5
Indeclinable Words[1]

▶The Sanskrit title of this chapter is "*avyaya prakriyā*". The term *avyaya* in Sanskrit means 'not liable to change', 'immutable' and 'imperishable'. In Sanskrit grammar the term *avyaya* refers to words which are not grammatically inflected. The English equivalent of *avyaya* is 'indeclinable word'. The indeclinable words do not accept change according to the grammatical categories like number, gender, case, person and time of action though belonging to a form class whose members are usually inflected. This chapter has five sutras. Before explaining these sutras it seems pertinent to give a detailed description of the indeclinable words of Kashmiri for clear understanding of the description of indeclinable words given by the author.

The indeclinable words usually function as adverbs which qualify or modify the verbs. An indeclinable word sometimes modifies a phrase or an entire sentence. The indeclinable words of Kashmiri may broadly be categorized into two groups, viz., simple indeclinable words and interrogative indeclinable words. Simple indeclinable words modify the meanings of the words with which they are used while as interrogative indeclinable words are used for asking questions. These may further be classed as shown below:

i) *Indeclinable words of time:* these are *vuñ* (just now) → *bü votus vuñ* (I arrived just now), *vuñkas* (this time/present time) → *vuñkas chu rūd põvān* (this time it is raining) *patü* (after / afterwards) → *patü mõñ teñ galütī* (afterwards he accepted

1 *atha avyayaprakriyā* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 134

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the mistake), *patü pahān* (a little later) → *patü pahān yizi* (do come a little later), *čīr̃ pahān* (some time latter) → *čě vonuth čīr̃ pahān* (you told me a little late), *pagāh* (tomorrow) → *su gačhi pagāh sŏkūl* (he will go to school tomorrow), *rāth* (yesterday) → *bü votus rāth* (I arrived yesterday), *parus* (last year) → *yi śur chu parus zāmut* (this baby is last year born), *bronṭhüy* (beforehand) → *mě vənizi bronṭhüy* (tell me beforehand), *bronṭhkun* (in coming times) → *kus zāni bronṭhkun kyāh āsi* (who knows what happens in coming days) , *kar* (when) → *su kar vot* (when did he arrive) etc.

ii) *Indeclinable words of place*: *yěti* (here) → *yeti chu mosam jān* (the climate here is pleasant), *tati* (there distant) → *su chu tati drāmut* (he has left that place), *huti* (there proximate) → *su chu huti rozān* (he resides there), *yětinas* (at this place) → *panüñ phuṭüj thav yětinas* (put your bundle at this place), *tatinas* (at that distant place) → *panun ṭhelü thav tatinas* (put your bag at that place), *hutinas* (at that proximate place) → *hutinas běh* (sit at that place), *h̃ŏr* (up) → *h̃ŏr khas* (go up), *hěri* (upstairs) → *hěri kus chu bihith* (who is sitting upstairs), *bɔn* (down) → *bɔn vas* (come down), *bɔnü* (down stairs) → *čü prār bɔnü* (you wait downstairs), *pəṯ̃ kiñ* (on the back side/behind) → *m̃on makānü chu cāni makānü pəṯ̃ kiñ* (my house is on the back side of your house), *brūnṭ̃h kiñ* (on the front side) → *m̃on makānü chu cāni makānü brūnṭ̃h kiñ* (my house is on the front side of your house), *p̃aṭh kun* (above) → *yi tamāśi thav p̃aṭh kun* (put this toy up there) *kaṯ̃an* (where) → *bü kaṯ̃an prāray čě* (where should I wait for you) etc.

iii) *Indeclinable words of manner*: *vārü vārü* (slowly and steadily) → *vārü vārü pakh* (walk slowly), *vəl̃ vəl̃* (quickly), *tez tez* (quickly), *jal jal* (quickly) → *vəl̃ vəl̃/tez tez/jal jal yi* (come quickly), *jān* (right) → *jān kŏruth* (you did the right thing/well done), *nākārü* (ill/bad) → *nākārü chunü* (not bad), *kithü pāṭ̃h*

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(in what manner) → *čě kithü pāṭ̃h kŏruth yi* (how did you do it) etc.

iv) *Indeclinable words of quantity*: *šaṭhāh* (much, sufficient, enough) → *yūtāh tŏmul chu šaṭhāh* (this much rice is sufficient/enough), *žyādü* (too much) → *yi kapur chu žyādü* (this cloth is in excess of requirement), *kenčhāh* (something) → *kenčhāh khě* (do eat something), *kūtah ~ kotāh* (how much) → *kūtah ~ kotāh gačhiy kharüc* (how much you would need spend) etc.

v) *Indeclinable words of affirmation and negation*: *ā ~ avü ~ avāh/ovāh* (yes), *na/ nü* (no).

vi) *Indeclinable words of reason*: *avay* (so), *tavay* (hence) → *bü ās avay/tavay yor* (this/that is why I came here), *kyāzi* (why) → *čü kyāzi ākh yor* (why have you come here) etc.

vii) *Indeclinable words of number*: *gɔḍüñath* (first of all) → *gɔḍüñath banāvav cīzan hund phiristü* (first of all we will make a list of items), *vizi vizi* (time to time) → *mě chamay čě vizi vizi čenüvan dičümüč* (I have warned you from time to time), *kuñi kuñi* (sometimes/rarely) → *su chu kuñi kuñi* (*sātü*) *yivān* (he rarely comes) etc.

It is noteworthy that there is no mention of these and other such indeclinable words or adverbs of Kashmiri in this or any other chapter of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam. However, a few adjectives, which also occur as adverbs, have been included in the explanation of the last sutra of the chapter. The other sutras of this chapter are a description of the primary affix *-ān* added to verb roots to convert them into participle verbs. It needs to be pointed out that the contents of the chapter are at variance with the subject matter indicated to be discussed in the title of the chapter as well as the example quoted in support of the first sutra of the chapter.◀

The author in the beginning of the chapter says:

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क्रियासंबन्धिनोऽव्यया नित्यम् –1[2]. The indeclinable word always occurs associated with the verb, such as- *yɔdünay karakh* (if you do not do).

▶This sutra as well as the example cited in support of the sutra clearly indicate that *avyaya* (indeclinable word) refers to a lexical item which is employed to qualify or modify a verb or a verb phrase, such as- ***yorkun*** *pher* (turn this side), *kulis* ***tal*** *bihith naphüras* ***kun*** *chukhü vuchān* (do you look at the man sitting under the tree). The verb phrase *yɔdünay karakh* illustrated by the author is incorrect. The correct construction is ***yɔdüvay nü*** *karakh* (if you do not do).◀

धातुभ्य आनव्यये –2[3]. *-ān* is suffixed to the verb root if it is used in the sense other than its literal meaning. This *-ān* suffixed form functions as *avyaya* (क्रियासंबन्धिनि अन्यधात्वर्थे अभिधेये सति तस्माद्धातोः आन् प्रत्ययो भवति स चाव्ययः). The example is *vaṭhān āv* (has become fat).

▶This assertion of the author is not tenable for two reasons. One, the example *vaṭhān āv* cited by the author is incorrect as it is bereft of appropriateness and compatibility of sense denoted by the words *vaṭhān* and *āv*. Two, the primary affix *-ān/-vān*[4] is employed to form the active present participle verbs. Combined with auxiliary according to tense of action the *-ān/-vān* suffixed forms are primarily used to denote the contemporaneity of action in the present, past or future tense, such as- *su chu/os/āsi* ***parān*** (he is/was/will be reading). In addition, *-ān* suffixed participle verb also functions as infinite verb in the imperative and indicative sentences and require presence of a finite verb for the completion of sense, such as- ***treś cavān*** *mü as* (do not laugh while drinking water). The reduplication of *-ān* suffixed participle verb expresses the sense 'while', such as- *kitāb* ***parān*** *pĕyas ñəndür* (III per. mas./fem. sg. felt asleep while reading

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[2] *kriyāsambandhino avyayā nityam* : ---------- ibid -------- 5/1 p. 134.

[3] *dhātubhya ānavyaye* : -------- ibid -------- 5/2 p. 134

[4] *-vān* is suffixed to vowel ending roots.

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the book), ***načān načān ās gūr*** (III per. mas./fem. sg. felt giddy while dancing) etc. *-ān* suffixed participle verb occurs in adverbial relation to past participle verb expressive of the prior of two actions done by the same agent, such as- ***hūnis vɔphān*** *būzith čəl̃ čūr* (on having heard the dog barking the thieves disappeared). It clearly indicates that *-ān/vān* suffixed forms function as participle verbs and not as adverbs or indeclinable words as assumed by the author.◀

वीप्सया वा; स्वरान्ताद्धान् –3/4[5]. These sutras are a continuation of the previous sutra. According to these sutras *-ān* suffixed forms are optionally reduplicated, such as- *vaṭhān vaṭhān gauv* (he kept putting on weight). *-vān* is used with the vowel ending roots to convert them into indeclinable words, such as- √*khĕ* → *k̃havān k̃havān*.

▶It has been explained and illustrated above that *-ān/vān* suffixed participle verbs are reduplicated to express 'while' or 'continuity of infinite action'.◀

लिंगाभीक्ष्ण्येन च –5[6]. According to this sutra if an adjective is related to a verb, it is optionally reduplicated to function as adverb, such as- *čatur čatur* (quickly), *lŏt lŏt* (slowly), *ləti ləti* (in a low tone), *gŏb gŏb chu pakān* (walks pompously), *čatur k̃havān chu* (eats quickly), *lŏt karān chu* (does slowly), *gŏb pakān chu* (walks with a vain).

▶In this sutra the author refers to the qualitative adjectives which qualify the verb as well. As adverbs these adjectives are usually reduplicated and are placed before or after the finit verb, such as- *su chu ləti ləti pakān ~ su chu pakān ləti ləti* (he walks steadily).◀

▶The study of this chapter reveals that the author's knowledge regarding adverbs or indeclinable words of Kashmiri is insufficient. He is silent about the various types of adverbs of Kashmiri which have been discussed above in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter.◀

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5 *vīpsayā vā ; svarāntādvān* : ---------- ibid ---------- 5/-3/4 p. 134

6 *liṅgābhīkṣṇyena ca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 5/5 p. 134

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The chapter is concluded with these words- (इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते अव्ययप्रक्रिया समाप्ता) 'here ends the chapter on indeclinable words in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'.

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Chapter 6

Feminine Affixes

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6
Feminine Affixes[1]

▶Gender is important not only to make a distinction in nouns but this distinction is observed in pronouns, adjectives, genitives and auxiliaries as well. Nouns in Kashmiri are masculine and feminine when referring to male and female objects respectively such as: *marüd* (man) - *zanānü* (woman), *kə̃ṇṭur* (male sparrow) - *čər* (female sparrow), *ləḍükü* (boy) - *kūr* (girl) etc. Besides, a large number of feminine forms of Kashmir nouns, animate as well as inanimate, are derived from the masculine bases by the process of affixation. The gender differentiation of inanimate objects is made according to shapes and sizes of these objects. In other words the objects which are comparatively smaller in size or beautifully shaped are employed as feminine forms. The examples are: *dəriyāv* (river mas.) – *jɔy* (spring/streamlet fem.). This chapter of KaśmīraśabdāmRtam is practically a continuation of the 4rth chapter which deals with the formation of the secondary stems. The author begins this chapter with the sutra स्त्रियाम्[2] and says अत्राधिकारे ये वक्ष्यमाणाः प्रत्ययास्ते स्त्रियामेवेत्यधिक्रियन्ते[3] which indicates that this chapter is the description of the derivational affixes which are employed to form the secondary feminine stems in Kashmiri.◀

मनुष्यजातेः सर्वत्र बाय; अनादरार्थे कोलय –2/3[4]. According to this sutra -*bāy* is appended to names (of all castes, classes, social groups

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1 a) *atha strīpratyayaprakaraṇam* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 136

2 b) Formation of feminine stems

3 *striyām* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 6/1 p. 136

4 -------- ibid -------- p. 136
manuṣyajāteh bāy ; anādarārthe kɔlay : -------- ibid ------ 6/-2/3 p. 136

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etc.) of humans (मनुष्यजातेः) while as *-kɔlay* is a disrespectful term. In his explanation of the sutras the author says that caste is of two types, viz. community based, and, profession based. *-bāy* is used with the names of persons of both the groups. The use of word मनुष्य in the sutra denotes that it is not employed with the names of birds or animals. The examples are: *darbāy* (female member of *Dhar* family), *kolbāy* (female member of *Kaul* family), *baṭbāy* (female member of Kashmiri Hindu family), *sɔnarbāy* (wife of a goldsmith), *khārbāy* (wife of a blacksmith) etc. The examples denoting use of the term *kɔlay* are - *baṭ kɔlay* (wife of a Kashmiri Hindu), *chānü kɔlay* (wife of a carpenter) etc. The author further says that the word *kɔlay* literally means 'wife' but, if it occurs compounded with a noun it imparts derogatory sense. The term *kotarbāy* is used to express 'female member of *Kotar* family and not in the sense of 'female pigeon'.

►It is to be noted that addition of *-bāy* or *-kɔlay* causes augment of *–ü-* before the termination. The words illustrated by the author are actually pronounced as *darübāy*, *kolübāy* and *khārübāy* and not as *darbāy*, *kolbāy* and *kharbāy* as given by the author. Similarly, *–ur* at the final position of the base converts into *–ürˇ* as in *dãdur* → *dãdürˇbāy* (wife of a greengrocer), *kãdur* → *kãdürˇbāy* (wife of a baker), *sɔnur* → *sɔnürˇbāy* (wife of a goldsmith) etc. The words such as *baṭübāy* or *baṭü kɔlay* are unintelligible and are not used in speech. Use of word *manuṣya* (मनुष्य) in the sutra seems superfluous because the word *jāteh* (जातेः), meaning caste or surname, is in itself an attribute of humans and, therefore, self evident.◄

सर्वेषामुकारान्तानामूकारादेशः –4[5]. According to this sutra the final *–u* of all *–u* ending masculine appellatives as well as attributives is replaced by *-ū* to derive their feminine stems. The examples are: *pəṭu* (plank) → *pəṭū*, *mvtu* (thick) → *mvṭū*, *gəru* (horse) → *gərū* (mare), *dŏbu* (washer man) → *dvəbū* (washer woman), *vovuru* (weaver) → *vovrū*, *gaguru* (mouse) → *gagərū*[6] etc.

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[5] *sarveṣāmukārāntānāmūkārādeśah* : ---------- ibid -------- 6/2/4 p. 137

[6] ---------- ibid -------- (manuscript) p.153

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▶Īśvar Kaul's statement is inapplicable. His understanding of the distribution of vowel sounds as well as their actual place of occurrence in a word is completely flawed. In actual use none of the above illustrated nouns are pronounced as *-u* (उकारान्तानाम्) or *-ū* ending (ऊकारादेशः) as provided by the above given rule of the author. These words are pronounced as ending in consonant which is preceded by a high or mid back vowel and not followed by *–u* as assumed by the author. This preceding vowel is replaced by a high or mid central vowel to derive their feminine stems. Thus, the statement 'replacement of *u* by *ū* (ऊकारादेशः) is fallacious. The words cited above by the author as illustrations, are actually pronounced as- *pŏṭ* (plank) → *pəṭ* (small plank), *mŏt* (thick mas.) → *məṭ* (thick fem.) *gur* (horse) → *gür* (mare), *dŏb* (washer man) → *dəb* (washer woman), *vovur* (weaver) → *vovür* (weaver's wife or female weaver) and *gagur* (he mouse) → *gagür* (she mouse).

It would be in place to mention that the feminine stems of *dŏb* and *vovur* are also derived by use of *-bāy* after the masculine bases. In this process the final consonant of the base is palatalized before *-bāy*, such as- *dŏb̃* (washer-man) → *dŏb̃-bāy* (washer-man's wife or washer-woman), *vovur* (weaver) → *vovür̃-bāy* (weaver's wife or woman weaver). Other words of this class are: *dãdur* (greengrocer) → *dãdür̃bāy* (greengrocer's wife or woman greengrocer), *kãdur* (baker) → *kãdür̃bāy* (baker's wife or woman baker) etc. This does not apply to the feminine names of animals and birds etc. In addition to *-bāy*, *-ĕñ* is added to masculine bases, especially ending in *–ur*, to derive the stems expressive of 'wife of a professional or a woman professional'. *–u* of *–ur* converts into *–ü*. The examples are: *vovur* → *vovürĕñ*, *dãdur* → *dãdürĕñ*, *kãdur* → *kãdürĕñ* etc.◀

वा छटुशब्दात्; खरश्च; लान्तानां जः −5/6/7[7]. *–u* of *čhŏṭu* (a man of diminutive structure) and *kharu* (bald) is optionally replaced by *-ū*. Otherwise (पक्षे), *-iñ* is commonly added to these nouns to constitute their feminine bases. The examples are- *čhŏṭu* → *čhŏṭū* ~ *čhŏṭiñ*

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[7] *vā čhaṭuśabdāt ; kharaśca ; lāntānām jah* : ——— ibid ——— 6/-5/6/7 p. 137

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(woman of diminutive structure), *kharu* → *kharū* ~ *khariñ* (woman bald खरशब्दात् स्त्रीलिंगविषये विकल्पेन मात्रागमो भवति[8]) etc. *–l* at the end of the masculine nouns is replaced by *–j* as in *volu* → *vājū* (hole), *-li* is augmented with *ḍulu* → *ḍuliji*

►These sutras are a continuation of the preceding sutra. As stated above, the author's knowledge and understanding of phonemic structure of the Kashmiri word stock are not thorough enough and, in certain cases, lead him into wrong postulations. The nouns illustrated by the author are in no way employed as ending in *-u*. Replacement of *-u* by *-ū* is, therefore, irrelevant. The words illustrated in support of the sutra are actually pronounced as *čhŏṭ* and *khŏr* respectively. *–iñ* is usually suffixed to masculine bases whose final consonant is either an alveolar sound or the final consonant of the base is preceded by a low central vowel, short or long. The examples are *čhŏṭ* → *čhŏṭiñ*, *khar* (male ass) → *khəriñ* (female ass), *vũṭh* → *vũṭiñ* (female camel), *nāg* → *nāgiñ* (female serpent) etc. The feminine of *khŏr* (male bald) is *khər* (female bald). *khəriñ* (meaning female ass) in the sense of 'female bald' is incorrect.

The author, while explaining the sutra लान्तानां जः, says 'उकारविशिष्टानां लकारान्तानां लकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति i.e.,*–l* associated with *-u* converts into *–j* as in *volu* → *vājū*'. These observations do not hold ground as the forms actually in use, i.e., *vol* (hole) → *vāj*, do not show existence of *–u* with *–l*. Similarly, in *ḍul* (bowl shaped large earthen or metal vessel) *–u* is associated with *–ḍ* and not with *–l* (*-lu*) as given by the author. The word *dulij* itself shows that *–ij* is added to *ḍul* to form *ḍulij* (bowl shaped vessel smaller in size than *ḍul*). The forms *ḍulu* and *ḍuliji* do not occur in speech. It is important to note that the illustrations *ḍulu* and *ḍuliji* are not listed in the manuscript but are included in the printed copy.◄

त्र्यक्षरादीनामुलोप उलोश्च –8[9]. *-ul* is suffixed to words which are tri-syllabic etc. in structure, *–u* preceding the final consonant is dropped

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[8] ---------- ibid ------- p. 137

[9] *tryakṣarādīnāmulopa ulośca* : ------- ibid ------- 6/8 p. 138

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and *–l* of *-ul* converts into *-j*, e.g., *gāṭulu* (wise) → *gāṭaj*, *phuṭulu* (bundle) → *phuṭaj*, *vātulu* (sweeper) → *vātaj*; *ṭaṭhulu* (basin type wooden pot used for feeding the domestic animals like cows, buffalos etc.) → *ṭaṭhaj*, *patulu* (aquatic weed mat) → *pataj* (straw mat), *čakulu* (customized piece of timber or metal) → *čakaj* (specifically used for the lower part of the small manually operated stone grinder).etc. *narkon* (reed), *gɔgulu* (round shaped object) → *gɔgjū*, *čɔtulu* (stupid) → ***čɔtjūj***. The author further says that the word त्र्यक्षरादीनांम (tri-syllabic etc.) is used to express that this does not apply to words consisting of less than three syllables.

▶The words quoted by author as illustrations indicate that *–u* preceding the final consonant of the base is not dropped but is replaced by the high central short vowel *–ü*. Further, dental sounds such as *–l*, *–n*, etc. at the end of the base and preceded by *u-* or *o-/ā-* convert into palatal sounds *-j* and *ñ* respectively. The vowel *u-/ū-* or *o-/ā-* preceding the final dental consonant changes into *–ü* or *-ə̄* (*–üj*,*-ə̄j*, *-ə̄ñ*) respectively. The examples are: *gāṭul* (wise) → *gāṭüj*, *vɔzul* (red) → *vɔzüj*, *phuṭul* (bundle) → *phuṭüj*, *mol* (father) → *māj*, (mother), *vol* → *vāj*, *kon* (blind by one eye) → *kə̄ñ*, *hūn* (dog) → *hūñ* etc. The terms *phuṭul*, *vātul*, *čakul gɔgul* etc. also reveal the fact that their feminine forms are derived by making some changes in the internal structure of the bases rather than by the processes of addition of *-ul* etc. as stated by the author. In addition, the author has listed the basic words as ending in *-u* and *-ū* which, as the examples show, is not justifiable.◀

कवर्गान्तानां चवर्गः ; न खूंखुचोकोः –9/10[10]. A velar sounds *k*, *kh* or *g* associated with *–u/-ū* at the end of a masculine base changes into the corresponding palatal sound *c*, *ch* or *j* respectively. The examples are: *batuk* (duck) → *batüc*, *hŏkhu* (dry) → *hvch*, *d̃ũgu* (round shaped reel of thread or wool) → *dĩj*, *śrŏgu* (low priced) → *śrŏj*.

▶The masculine words illustrated above are actually pronounced as *batuk/h*, *hŏkh*, *d̃ũg* and *śrŏg*. In *batuk/h* and *d̃ũg* *–k* and *–g* are

[10] *kavargāntānām caoargah ; na khũkhučŏkoh* : ---- ibid ---- 6/-9/10 p. 138

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preceded by *–u* and *-ū* respectively while as in *hŏkh* and *śrŏg* both *–kh* and *–g* are preceded by *–ŏ* which indicates that the author's statement उकारविशिष्टानाम् refers to the back rounded vowels. The author further says that *-kh* of *khũkh* (one who speaks with nasal accent) and *–k* of *čŏk* (sour) occur unaltered. But, it is notable that the feminine forms of *khũkh* and *čŏk* are *khũ̃kh*[11] and *čŏc* ~ *čŏś*[12] respectively. In addition, the adjective *čŏk* is used in the feminine sense as well and the selection between *čŏk* and *čŏc*, in the feminine sense, is choice based, such as: *yi chi čŏk / čŏc dach* (these grapes are sour). Author's illustrated forms *khũkhu* and *čŏku* are spelled as *-u* ending which is incorrect.◀

तवर्गान्तानामप्रसिद्धः –११[13]. The dental stops *t, th* and *d* at the end of the word change into the corresponding *aprasiddh* sounds (अप्रसिद्धः)[14] (*č, čh* and *z*) respectively, such as- *mŏtu* (insane) → *mŏč*; *kvthu* → *kvačh* (female load carrier भारिका)[15]; *vurudu* (widower remarried) → *vuraz*, *van* (forest) → *vañ*, *gān* (pimp) → *gāñ* (prostitute), *chān* (carpenter) → *chāñ*, *hūn* (dog) → *hūñ* etc.

▶The author has used the word *kvth* in the sense of male porter which is not correct. The word (actually pronounced as *kɔth*) literally means 'thread formed into loose round shaped reel'[16]. *kɔth* also means a leather sack used for carrying grains[17]. With the addition of *–ü kɔthü* means packed load or bundle[18]. The feminine of *kɔth* is *kɔthüj*[19] which means kit or smallish bag. The word *kɔčhū* is

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[11] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 253

[12] -------- ibid -------- – vol. iv, p. 97

[13] *tavargāntānāmaprasiddhah* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 6/11 p. 139

[14] The word *aprasiddh* is used to denote the dental affricates č,čh and z

[15] -------- ibid -------- p. 3

[16] -------- ibid -------- p. 139

[17] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 200

[18] -------- ibid -------- p. 200

[19] -------- ibid -------- p. 200

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unintelligible. However, *kɔ̆ch* means bag or small sack[20] whereas the word used for male porter is *kɔ̆chul*[21] which is derived by appending the secondary affix *-ul* to *kɔ̆ch* . Other illustrated words are actually pronounced as ***mŏt → məč̆***; ***vărud → vărüz***. The terms ***mŏtu → mŏč̆*** and *vyarudu → vyaruz* are unacceptable.

The author has also quoted words which end in dental *–n* such as *chān* (carpenter) → *chāñ*; *hūn* (dog); *hūñ* etc. These words do not indicate conversion of a dental nasal stop into any corresponding *aprasiddh* nasal (affricate). The fact is that there is no nasal affricate sound in Kashmiri into which the conversion of dental *–n* could be conceived. The illustrations under reference show the conversion of dental *–n* into palatal *–ñ* and thus, cannot be included to exemplify तवर्गान्तानामप्रसिद्धः. The term *vañ* as feminine of *van* (forest) is incomprehensible. ◀

कंगोऽल्पार्थेराकारश्च –12[22]. *–r* is added to *kaṅg* and *-ā* is augmented after *k-* to derive *kāṅgür*.

▶The word *kaṅg* (mas.) denotes a more or less round shaped handy earthen pot specifically used for keeping embers while as *kāṅgür* (fem.) is a beautifully designed firepot used by the people of Kashmir for heating purpose during the cold winter season. The word *kāṅgür* is derived by employing *–ür* with *kaṅg* and not only *–r* as claimed by the author. Addition of *–ür* causes lengthening of *–a* of *kaṅg → kāṅgür*. ◀

चासः कृत्रिमे सस्य च खः –13[23]. *–r* is added to *čās* (cough) to derive *čākhür* meaning unnatural cough. In this process *–s* of *čās* is replaced by *–kh*.

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20 ——— ibid ——— p. 202

21 ——— ibid ——— p. 202

22 *kaṅgoalpārtherākāraśca* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 6/12 p. 139

23 *čāsah kRtrime sasya ca khah* : ——— ibid ——— 6/13 p. 139

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▶The example *čākhür* cited by the author reveals addition of *–ür* and not only *–r* as given by the author. It is also noteworthy that both these terms, i.e., *čās* and *čākhür*[24], are feminine forms.◀

त्रकस्तुलायाम्; म्वन्डुशब्दस्यान्त्यस्वरलोपः; फोतं शब्दस्य च; लटोश्च –14/15/16/17[25].

The word *trakr* is derived by appending *–r* to *trakh* (a unit of weight denoting six seers). *–r* is added to *mŏnḍu* (log), *phŏtu* (a round shaped big basket made of willow twigs) and *laṭu* (tail or equivalent meaning) to form *mənḍr* (small log), *phətr* (small size basket) and *laṭr* (fragment of an object) respectively.

▶The term *trakür* seems a simple word rather than a derived stem. However, if *trakür* is considered as a derivation from *trakh*, the derivational suffix must be *–ür* and not only *–r* as assumed by the author. Similarly, *mŏnḍ* → *mənḍür*, *phŏt* → *phətür* and *lŏṭ* → *laṭür* also reveal addition of *–ür* and not only *–r*.

The word for scales is *trakür* and not *trakr* as illustrated by the author. Similarly, *mənḍr*, *phətr* and *laṭr* are incorrectly spelled. The reason is in Kashmiri, the cluster sounds consisting of a consonant and a trill usually occur in the word initial and very rarely in the medial position but does not occur at the end of the word. This also supports the assertion that the suffix is actually *–ür* and not only *–r*. This is also true of the stems such as *kāṅgür* and *čākhür* discussed above. Further, semantically the word *laṭür* (fragment of an object such as *kūṭ̃ laṭür* 'piece of a log'[26]) seems closer to *lŏṭh* (small and thick stick) than *ləṭ* (tail). The word *mŏnḍ* does not show presence of any vowel at the end which, according to sutra, is dropped (म्वो' न्डशब्दस्यान्त्यस्वरलोपः) before *-ür*. Thus, *–u* at the end of the bases is wrongly conceived.◀

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[24] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 74

[25] *trakastulāyām; mŏnḍśabdasyāntyasvaralopah; phŏt śabdasya ca; laṭośca* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 6/-14/15/16/17 p. 139-140

[26] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 23

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मक्शब्दात् चप्रत्ययः –१८[27]. *–č* is affixed to *makh* (axe mas.) to derive *makč* (hatchet fem.).

▶The author uses the word *mak* in the sutra which is incorrect. In his explanation of the sutra he simultaneously uses term *makh* which is the actual pronunciation of the word. The suffix employed is actually *–üč*, such as- *makh* → *maküč* and not only *–č* as employed by the author because *makč* does not fit in the phonemic structure of Kashmiri word-stock. The addition of *–üč* causes the deletion of final aspiration of the base.

According to author the feminine terminations are employed to denote- i) names of objects which are comparatively smaller in size (अल्पार्थे) such as- mas. *katur* (bottom of broken earthen pot which can hold something[28]), fem. *katür* (broken piece of an earthen pot[29]); ii) artificial or unnatural objects (कृत्रिमार्थे) such as- fem. *čās* (cough) → fem. *čākhür* (unnatural cough); iii) to refer to feminine names of animate and inanimate objects (स्त्रीलिंगोद्देशके) such as- *məngur* (he lamb) → *məngür* (she lamb); *vŏčh* (he calf) → *vačhür* (she calf), and, iv) likeness and association (सादृश्ये स्वविशेषेऽर्थे) such as- *tatur* (burning sensation) → *tatür* (jealousy), *nər* (arm) → *nŏr* (arm of a dress) etc. It is pertinent to mention that the author has incorrectly spelled these derived stems as *katr*, *čākhr*, *məngr*, *vačhr*, *tatr* and *nəru* respectively which indicates that he has wrongly conceived the derivational suffix as *–r* instead of *-ür* as explained while discussing previous sutras. In addition *nər* (arm) is a feminine noun while as *nŏr* is a masculine term and is considered as the base of *nər*.◀

हस्तुशब्दान्नित्यमिञ्; कावनागवूंटभ्यश्च; अन्त्योऽपि पशुजातेः –१९/२०/२१[30]. According to these sutras, *-iñ* is generally added to the masculine names of animals and birds like *hastu* (elephant), *kāv*

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28 *makśabdāt čapratyayah* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 6/18 p. 140

29 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 64

30 ------- ibid ------- p. 64

hastuśabdānnityamiñ ; kāvnāvūṭbhyaśca ; antyoapi paśujāteh :

------- ibid ------- 6/-19/20/21 p. 141

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(crow), *nāg* (serpant), *vũṭ/h* (camel) and the names of other animals to derive their feminine forms. The examples are: *hŏs* → *həstiñ*, *kāv* → *kāviñ*, *nāg* → *nāgiñ*, *vũṭ/h* → *vũṭiñ* or *khar* (ass) → *khəriñ* etc.

►These examples indicate that *–iñ* is most commonly suffixed to the masculine common names whose final consonant is either an alveolar sound or is preceded by a long vowel (see sutras 6/5-7). Further, the author has used the word ***hastu*** for elephant and says that *–iñ* is used with *-u* ending bases to nullify its conversion into *-ū* (उकारान्त्वात् ऊमात्रादेशनिवृत्यर्थं नित्यं इञ प्रत्ययो भवति). But, ***hastu*** is incorrect and the word for elephant in Kashmiri is pronounced as *hŏs*[31]. Addition of *–iñ* changes *–ŏ-* into *-ə-* and adds palatalization to *-s* → *həs̃tiñ* (she elephant).◄

व्यडुगूठभ्यां निन्दार्थे –22[32]. According to this sutra *–iñ* is added to adjectives *vŏṭh* (fatty mas.) and *gūṭh* (fatty mas.) in the derogatory sense such as: *vĕṭhiñ* (fatty woman), *gūṭhiñ* (fatty woman)[33].

►The commonly used feminine of *vŏṭh* is *vəṭh* while as *vĕṭhiñ* is employed in the derogatory sense. The forms *gūṭh* or *gūṭhiñ* is not found in common use. In the Kashmiri Dictionary *gūṭh* is listed as synonym of *gūnṭh* meaning 'dull headed' or 'foolish'[34]. Another meaning of *gūṭh* is thumb[35]. *gūṭhiñ* does not exist even in the Kashmiri Dictionary.◄

बोटशब्दात्स्त्रियाम्; बुगियशब्दाद्यलोपश्च –23/24[36]. *–iñ* is appended to *bɔṭü* (male member of the Bhot community) not in the derogatory

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31 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 255

32 *vyaṭhugūṭhbhyām nindārthe* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 6/22 p. 141

33 -------- ibid --------- p. 141

34 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 368

35 -------- ibid -------- p. 368

36 *bɔṭśabdātstriyām ; bugiyaśabdādyalopaśca* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 6/-23/24 p. 142

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sense but to constitute its feminine form *bŏṭiñ*. *–iñ* is affixed to *bugiy*[37] (master/lord) to derive *bugiiñ*[38].

▶The author in his explanation of the sutras says that the most commonly used word is *bɔṭü-bāy* which is not true. The fact is that the word *bŏṭiñ* ~ *buṭiñ* is found most commonly used in normal discourse by the speakers of Srinagar. The term *bugiy* or *bugiiñ* are not seen in common use.◀

ज़लात्पादनिदाघे; गराद्गृहसंस्कारे; दोंबुशब्दादायुधे -25/26/27[39]. *–iñ* is added to *zal* (water) → *zaliñ*, *garü* (home) → *gariñ* and *dŏb* (washer-man) → *dŏbiñ* to express 'perspiration of feet', 'mistress of the household' and 'wooden tool used for washing clothes' respectively. The author further says that *garvājañ* is used to express other senses like wife, lady of the house etc. (अन्यत्र गरवाजञ)[40]., and, feminine of *dŏb* is *dvab*[41]or *dvabi-bāy* (अन्यत्र द्वब् वा द्वबि बाय)[42].

▶As described earlier (see sutra 2,3,4) feminine of *dŏb* is *dəb* and the most commonly used term is *dŏb̃-bāy*. Use of *–iñ* with *dŏb* → *dəbiñ* denotes the 'wooden tool used for washing clothes'. Similarly, *garvājañ* primarily means wife. Its other meanings are 'lady of the house' and 'mistress of the household' while as *gəriñ* means 'maker of the home'. The addition of *–iñ* results in conversion of *-a* and *–ŏ* before the final consonant into *-ə* as in *garü* → *gəriñ*, *dŏb* → *dəbiñ* etc. Īśvar Kaul is silent about this change.◀

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37 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 309

38 -------- ibid -------- vol. i, p. 309

39 *jalātpādanidāghs ; garādgRhasamskāre; dŏbuśabdādāyudhe :* Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 6/-25/26/27 p. 142

40 -------- ibid --------- p. 142

41 *dɔbū* is unintelligible word and does not exist in Kashmiri.

42 Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam p. 142

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मनुष्यजातेरञ -२८[43]. *–añ* is used with the name of the community to denote woman belonging to that community, such as- *baṭü* (Kashmiri Hindus) → *baṭañ* (a Kashmiri Hindu lady), *musalmān* (Muslims) → *musalmānañ* (a Muslim lady).

▶It worthwhile to mention that–*añ* is used only with the names *baṭü* (Kashmiri Hindus) and *musalmān* (Muslims) while as *-yəñ* is used with the name *sikh* (Sikhs) → *sikiyəñ* (a Sikh lady) and *-əñ* is used with *gujur* (gujjar tribe) → *gujürənə* (a Gujjar lady).◀

वोलुप्रत्ययान्तान्नित्यम् -२९[44]. *–añ* is employed to form the feminine of nouns derived by affix *–volu*, such as- *garvolu* (owner of house/householder) → *garvãjañ*. The author, in his explanation of the sutra, says that although *–volu* is *–u* ending which is always converted into *-ū* i.e. *volu* → *vājū* yet this does not apply to *garvolu* (न तु गरवोलशब्दस्य उकारान्त्वात् ऊमात्रादेशः स्यान्नित्य-----)[45].

▶These assertions of Īśvar Kaul are misleading for the reason that in view of the fact that *–u* occurs very rarely at the word final position in Kashmiri, the affix *–volu* turns out to be incorrect. *–vol* in the sense of possession is affixed to the name of the object of which a person is possessor. The examples are: *guṽ-vol* (possessor of horses), *makānü-vol* (possessor of house/s), *d̃ārü-vol* (possessor of wealth) etc. The feminine of *-vol* is *–vājañ* as in *guṽ–vājañ*, *makānü–vājañ* and *d̃ārü–vājañ*. The term *vāj* is feminine of noun *vol* (hole) and not of the affix *–vol* as assumed by the author.◀

प्रत्ययादेर्यो रान्तेभ्यः; पंड़ितगुजरयोरा -३०/३१[46]. According to these sutras, if *–añ* is added to nouns ending in *–r*, the initial *–a* of affix *–añ* changes into *–y* while as if it is added to names like *pənḍit* or *gujur*, the initial *–a* of *–añ* converts into *aprasiddha -a*[47](रकारान्तेभ्यः

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[43] *manuṣyajāterañ* : -------- ibid -------- 6/28 p. 142

[44] *volupratyayāntānnityam* : -------- ibid -------- 6/29 p. 143

[45] -------- ibid ------- p. 143

[46] *pratyayāderyo rāntebhyah; paṇḍitagujarayorā* : ------ ibid ------ 6/-30/31 p. 143

[47] -------- ibid ------- p. 143

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शब्देभ्यः प्रत्ययादिवर्णस्य यकारो भवति[48]). The examples are: *sālur* (guest) → *sālüryñ*; *sɔnur* (goldsmith) → *sɔnüryñ*; *panḍit* → *panḍitāñ*; *gujur* → *gujürāñ* etc.

▶The words quoted in support of the conversion of *–a* of affix *–añ* into *–y* do not prove the assertions of the author as correct. The quoted illustrations rather prove that not *–añ* but *–ĕñ* is added to masculine bases ending in *–ur*. In this process *–u* of *-ur* is replaced by *–ü*. The feminine forms of ***sālur*** and ***sɔnur*** are *sālürĕñ* and *sɔnürĕñ* respectively. To make the observation more lucid some more examples (as explained earlier also) are: *dāndur* (greengrocer) → ***dāndürĕñ***; *kāndur* (baker) → *kāndürĕñ*; *vovur* (weaver) → ***vovürĕñ***; *pa̐ñur* (water carrier) → ***pa̐ñürĕñ*** etc. Similarly, *-āñ* is used when female or wife of male of a particular caste or profession is meant such as: *panḍit* (Kashmiri Pandit) → *panḍitāñ*; *nokar* (servant) → *nokürāñ*; *hyond* (Hindu) → *hĕnd̃āñ*, *gujur* → *gujürāñ* etc.◀

▶Analysis of this chapter reflects Īśvar Kaul's concept regarding use of the feminine suffixes and the changes caused thereby in the internal structure of the root words. While exemplifying use of *-bāy* and *-kɔlay* the author quotes words like *baṭü bāy* and *baṭü kɔlay* which are unintelligible and in reality do not exist in Kashmiri. The author is silent about augment of *–ü* before addition of the feminine terminations especially beginning with a consonant as in Kashmiri two consonants very rarely occur combined together. The two consonants coming in close contact, ending consonant of the base or the first component and the initial consonant of the affix or the second component, are separated by inserting a vowel sound or palatalizing the final consonant of the first member, such as *darübāy*, *dŏb̃bāy* etc. Most of the words are spelled as ending in a consonant cluster such as- *katr*, *čākhr*, *mɔngr*, *vačhr*, *tatr* etc. which indicates author's inaccurate understanding of distribution of speech sounds in Kashmiri. Formation of feminine stems by conversion of final *–u* of the base into *-ū* सर्वेषामुकारान्तानामूकारादेशः is fallacious and the

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48 ------ ibid ------ p. 143

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words quoted in support of this sutra are, thus, wrongly interpreted, like *pəṭu*, *mvaṭu*, *dvabu*, *gagaru*, *vovaru* etc., and, do not support author's statement. These derived forms show conversion of *–ŏ* and *-u* into *-ə* and *–ü* respectively, such as- *pŏṭ* → *pəṭ*, *mŏṭ* →*məṭ*, *dŏb*,→ *dəb*, *gagur* → gagür, *vovur* → *vovür* etc. The author uses the name *aprasiddha* for the dental affricate sounds. These are three in number viz. *č*, *čh* and *z*. Kashmiri does not possess any such sound which is or can be classed as a dental nasal affricate sound. The sutra preposterously commends replacement of dental stops including the dental nasal by the dental affricates and the words cited as examples show replacement of dental nasal *–n* by the palatal nasal *-ñ* such as *chān* → *chāñ*, *hūn* → *hūñ* etc.◀

The present chapter, which is a description of the secondary feminine affixes, is concluded by the author with the words इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रक्रिया समाप्ता meaning 'here ends the description the feminine suffixes in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of *śrī śāradā* region'.

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Chapter 7

Verbal and Nominal Roots

7.1 List of Verb Roots

7.2 Addendum of Denominative Roots

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7.1
List of verb roots[1]

▶The verb in Kashmiri is discussed in the seventh and eighth chapters of the Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam under the title *Ākhyātaprakriyā*. These two chapters are further divided into sub chapters. The first chapter i.e., chapter seven is discussed under two subtitles viz., '*Dhātupāṭhah*' and '*Pariśiṣṭa-nāma-dhātavah*' while as chapter eight is handled over four subtitles viz., '*Vartamānapādah*', '*Bhaviṣyatpādah*', '*Bhūtapādah*' and '*Hetupādah*'. The present sub-chapter is simply a catalogue of the verbal and nominal verb roots of Kashmiri while as chapter eight contains description of the conjugation of verbs in Kashmiri.

The Sanskrit word *ākhyātam* means 'a verb' and *prakriyā* means 'formation'. it also means '*technique*', or '*method*' depending on the context in which the word is used. *Ākhyātaprakriyā*, therefore, means 'procedure of conjugation' of verbs in Kashmiri. The word *prakriyā* also means a 'process'. According to Bhartṛhari, a verb reflects a series of intermediate processes[2] and the culmination of the whole process i.e; from *beginning to end* which has assumed the character of *being*, is denoted by a noun[3]. Yāskamuni distinguishes the verb from the noun by saying that the noun is characterized by existence where as the verb by action[4]. *Dhātu,* in Sanskrit grammar, denotes a verbal root usable for conjugation. *Pāṇini's dhātupāṭha* lists two types of verbs viz; *primitive verbs* and *derived stems. Primitive verbs* are

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1 a) *ākhyātaprakriyāyām dhātupāṭhah* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 144

2 b *The term is originally used by Pāṇini in his grammar Aṣṭādhyāyī .*

3 *yāvat siddhamasiddham vā sādhyatvenābhidhīyate āśrita kramarūpatvāt tat kriyetyabhidhīyate* : Vākyapadīya – 3:8:1

4 a) *ākramarūpasya samhāre tat satvamiti kathyate* : ---- ibid ---- 3:1:35
b) *nāmaśabdāh pravartante sahasta iva kramam* : ------- ibid ------- 3:8:29
satvapradhānāni nāmāni bhāva pradhānamākhyātam : Nirukta – 1:1

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entries of the ordered set that begins with *bhū* (meaning *be, become*) and have the class name *dhātu*[5]. The *derived stems* ending in suffixes *–san* etc. are also assigned the same class name[6]. In fact, dhātupāṭha is the list of the verbal roots to which primary affixes can be appended to derive stems usable for declension or to which the conjugational affixes can be directly added to denote various tenses, moods and person, number, and gender of the verb. Like Pāṇini's dhātupāṭha this chapter of Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam contains a detailed list of verbal as well as nominal roots and stems used by Kashmiri speakers in their normal discourse.◀

Īśvar Kaul begins the chapter with this Sanskrit verse:

धात्वोन्योन्यसांकर्यात्कथ्यन्ते दोषसंज्ञया।
ते दोषज्ञेन शोध्यन्ते सांकर्याच्च विकीर्णनात्।
तथा गिरं प्रणम्यादौ शारदाक्षेत्रधातवः।
संकीर्णाश्चविकीर्णाश्च ग्रथ्यन्ते यत्रतो मया।। 2[7]

(Roots generated by mixing of two or more words are called *bad roots*. The discerning scholars rectify these by the processes of addition and subtraction. Hence, I begin by invoking the benediction of *Sharda*, goddess of speech, and proceed with listing and classification of roots on the basis of 'mixed' and 'broken' forms which are in vogue in the Śāradā deśa [*kəśīr* as it is historically known]).

▶The basic form of a verb in Kashmiri is identical in form with the second person singular of the imperative mood. It remains absolutely the same throughout all tenses, moods and persons etc. with slight exception that the aspiration of the final aspirated consonant is irregularly dropped throughout all formations, such as - √*pakh* (to walk) → *pakān* (present participle); *pŏk* (past); *paki* (future); √*gačh* (to go) → *gačhān* (present participle); *gav* ~ *gŏv*

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5 *bhūvādayodhātavah* : Pāṇini - 1.3.1

6 *sanādyantā dhātavah* : ---- ibid ------ 3.1.32

7 *dhātu anyonyasāṅkaryātkathyante doṣasanjñayā, te doṣajñena śodhyante saṅkayācca vikīrṇanāt, tathā giram praṇamyādau śārdākṣetra dhātavah, saṅkīrṇāśca vikīrṇāśca gathyante yatrato mayā.* – KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 144

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(past); *gačhi* (future) etc. The author, in the above cited benedictory verse, refers to two types of verbal roots viz; i) pure roots, and, ii) mixed forms. Pure roots are primary or simple roots indivisible into fragment. These roots are mostly monosyllabic in structure consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel (cv) as in - √*ni* (to lead), √*khě* (to eat), √*cě* (to drink), √*pě* (to fall) or a vowel followed by a consonant (vc) as in - √*as* (to laugh), √*ač* (to enter). But, majority of the primary verb roots in Kashmiri consist of a consonant followed by a vowel and a consonant (cvc), e.g; √*par* (to read), √*lekh* (to write), √*vɔth* (to stand up), √*boz* (to listen to), √*buz* (to parch) etc. Mixed roots are actually secondary roots or derived stems formed by adding the derivational affixes to the verbal or nominal bases, by compounding two primary verbal roots, an adverb and a primary verbal root and an abstract noun and a primary verbal root. Accordingly, these roots can be classified into three groups, viz., a) causative roots, b) denominative roots, and, c) compounded roots.

Causatives:- The causative roots are of two types – first causatives and second causatives. The first causatives are formed by appending the causative suffixes *-āv* and *-nāv* to the vowel ending and the consonant ending verb roots respectively. The examples are: √*khě* (to eat) → √*k̃hāv* (cause/make to eat), √*cě* (to drink) → √*cāv* (cause/make to drink), √*par* (to read) → √*parünāv* (cause/make to read), √*lekh* (to write) → √*lekhünāv* (cause/make to write) etc. Kashmiri is also rich in the second causatives which are formed by adding *-nāv* to the first causatives derived by the addition of *-āv* and by the reduplication of *-nāv* in case of the stems derived by the addition of *-nāv*. The examples are:

Verb root	First causal	Second causal
√khě	√k̃hāv	√k̃hāvünāv
√cě	√cāv	√cāvünāv
√par	√par**ünāv**	√par**ünāvünāv**
√lekh	√lekh**ünāv**	√lekh**ünāvünāv**

Denominatives:- The denominative roots in Kashmiri are mostly derived from the qualitative adjectives by dropping the vowel in the

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medial position of the base or by replacing it by some other vowel and *-āv* is employed to form their causatives, e.g.,

Adjective	Denominative base	Causal
ŏdur	√ədar	√ədürāv
(wet)	(to become wet)	(to make something to wet)
vɔzul	√vɔzal	√vɔzülāv
(red)	(to turn red)	(to cause something to turn red)
narüm	√naram	√narümāv
(soft)	(to become soft)	(to cause something to become soft)

Compounded roots:- As stated above, the compounded roots in Kashmiri are made up of either two verbal roots combined such as - *vɔlü běh* (come and sit); *gind drŏk* (play and enjoy) or a verb root preceded by an adverb or a noun such as – *vəs̃ pě* (to fall down), *vañ di* (to look for someone) etc.

Īśvar Kaul's catalogue contains a list of 926 verb roots. This number includes all types of verb roots as are described above. The author further says, "the verbs which in the past tense are employed as passive transitively or impersonally only are indicated by using the abbreviation mark अक[8] and अभा[9] respectively before the verb root. Rest of the verbs occur active intransitively in the past tense also (तत्र येषां धातूनामतीतकाले केवलं कर्मप्रयोगाः केवलं भावप्रयोगा एव संपद्यन्ते तेषां संकेतो यथा (अक) (अभा)। शेषां धात्वोऽतीतकालेऽपि कर्तृप्रयोगिनो भवन्ति।[10]). The author, thus, refers to the different phases of the verb. In Kashmiri majority of the intransitive verbs are used transitively as well. However, a few verbs like √*yi* (to come), √*gačh* (to go), √*ner* (to leave), √*vɔth* (to stand up), √*śɔṅg* (to sleep), √*čh̃an* (to break apart), √*daz* (to burn) and √*ač* (to enter) denote actions which cannot be done to anything and, therefore, are incapable of being used transitively. The other intransitives are transformed into transitive forms by addition of the causal affix *-āv ~ -nāv/* or */-rāv/* or by changing the vowel quality of the vowel

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8 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 144
9 ---------- ibid -------- p. 144
10 ---------- ibid -------- p. 144

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preceding the final consonant of the base, such as - √*gal* (to melt) → √*gāl* (to make melt), √*pakh* (to walk) → √*pakünāv* (to make someone walk), √*tambal* (to be tempted) → √*tambülāv* (to tempt), √*bal* (to get better) → √*bəlürāv* (to cure) etc. The author's above cited statement refers to the following phases of verb in Kashmiri-

Active Transitive:

It reflects the agent of transitive verbs acting in such a manner that his action necessarily affects the external objects. The agent occurs in the direct case in the present and future tenses and verb agrees with its subject in number and gender, e.g.,

√*khĕ* (to eat)

Sg.	Plu.
su chu batü k̃hava:n	**tim chi** batü k̃hava:n
(he eats/is eating food)	(they mas. eat/are eating food)
sɔ chi batü k̃hava:n	**timü chi** batü k̃hava:n
(she eats/ is eating food)	(they fem. Eat/ are eating food).

Passive Transitive:

It shows the agent of the transitive verb in the instrumental case and the verb in the past tense agrees with the direct receiver of the action in number and gender, e,g.,

√*khĕ* (to eat)

Mas. object	Fem. object
təm̃/tami **k̃hav batü**	təm̃/tami **kheyi čoṭ**
(he/she Inst. ate food)	(he/she Inst. ate bread)
timav **k̃hav batü**	timav **kheyi čoṭ**
(they Inst.mas. ate food)	(they Inst. fem. ate bread)

Active Intransitive:

It reflects the agent of intransitive verbs acting in such a way that his action does not pass over from him to affect an external object. The agent occurs in direct case and the verb takes the number and gender of the agent, e.g.,

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√*dav* (to run)

Sg.	Plu.
su chu dava:n,	**sɔ** chi dava:n
(he runs/is running)	(she runs/is running)
tim chi dava:n	**timü** chi dava:n
(they mas. run/are running)	(they fem. run/are running)

Passive Intransitive or Impersonal:

When the agent of the intransitive verb occurs in the instrumental case and the perfect passive participle of the intransitive verb is used impersonally, it is called passive intransitive or impersonal phase of the verb. Impersonal phase of verb is illustrated as below:

√*as* (to laugh)

Sg. doer	Plu. doer
tə**m̃**/tami ŏs	tim**av** ŏs
(he/she Inst.laughed)	(they Inst. laughed)

The abbreviations *ptr* and *pim* employed before the verb roots in this study signify the roots which occur as passive transitively and passive impersonally respectively. Rest of the verb roots occur intransitively. The author has listed the roots in the Devanāgarī alphabetic order. This list contains verb roots and stems which are either Sanskrit based or have indigenous origin.◀

List of Roots:[11]

Root	**Sanskrit Translation by Īśvar kaul**	**Meaning**[12]

अकाराद्याः[13]. The verb roots stated under *akārādyāh* begin with high, mid and low central short vowels *ü/ə/a*.

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[11] *dhātupāṭhah*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 144

[12] It is important to note that the English equivalents are given according to the Sanskrit translation of the verb roots given by the author. In addition, the Kashmiri Dictionary has also been consulted to cross-check the doubtful entries and their meanings.

[13] *akārādyāh*: ---------- ibid ---------- p. 144

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	ač	*praveśe*	to enter
	ačh[14]	*daurbalye*	to become delicate/ thin / weak
	aḍ[15]	*nairbalye / abhiyoge ca*	to shrivel due to sickness[16]/ to be obstinate
	ədar[17]	*ādrī bhavane*	to drench
ptr.	ədürāv[18]	*ādrī karane*	to moisten, to make wet
ptr.	an or ān[19]	*ānayane*	to bring
ptr.	ə̃zar/ ə̃zarāv ca	*samāpane*	to come to an end; to be accomplished
ptr.	abas / abüsāv ca	*veṣṭane*	to spin
ptr.	abar / abürāv ca[20]	*medhāvirbhāve*	to be/ make wise
ptr.	araz	*arjane*	to earn
ptr.	arpāv	*pātane*	to cause to fall[21]
	al /	*adrhuvībhāve*	to move / shake
ptr.	ələr / ələrāv[22]ca	*ceṣṭādāne / kampane ca*	to make someone or something to shake

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[14] *Vačh* is a denominative stem derived by replacing the initial vowel *ŏ-* of the adjective *ŏčh* (delicate) by *a*. This adjective is frequently used to qualify the objects like thread, cloth etc. e.g; *očh pan* (delicate thread), *očh kapur* (delicate/ thin cloth) etc., where as the denominative *ačh* is very rarely found in use.

[15] This verb is used, though very rarely, in the sense of *obstinacy* and seems to have come from Hindi / Urdu *aṛanā*.

[16] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i, p 48

[17] *Vədar* is basically a denominative base derived from the qualitative adjective *odur* (meaning *wet*) by replacing the initial and medial vowels: Razdan S.

[18] Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p 212.

[19] *Vədürāv* is a causal derived by appending the causative suffix *-āv* to the denominative stem *ədar*

[20] *Vān* is used by the Kashmiri speakers of marāz region.

[21] This verb does not exist in Kashmiri spoken in Kashmir valley.

[22] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i, P. 47

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ptr.	as	*hasane*	to laugh
ptr.	ahal[23]	*mānane*	to agree

आकाराद्याः[24]. The verb roots given below begin with high, mid and low central long vowels *ṻ/ə̄/ā*.

ptr.	āčhan[25]	*paricayane*	to choose / select
ptr.	*ə̄*zar[26]	*tatpartāyām*	to be ready / prepared
ptr.	ə̄ṭar	*kopādvicāraṇe*	to look for an opportunity / to scold
ptr.	ə̄ḍar / ə̄ḍürāv ca	*miśraṇe, piṇḍī karaṇe*	to knead / to put to use
ptr.	āpar / āpürāv ca	*hasten, paramukh-ārpaṇe*	to hand feed
	āman[27]	*vaivarṇye*	to turn pale due to exertion
ptr.	āyav[28]	*samyag Rjvīkaraṇe*	to straighten
ptr.	ārad[29]	*ārādhane*	to worship
ptr.	ārav	*paruṣīkaraṇe, naukā vihāre ca*	to make coarse[30]; boating[31]; to row the boat towards the bank[32]
ptr.	āvar/āvürāv ca	*vyāpane/ āvaraṇe ca*	to keep involved/ engaged; to occupy space

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22 *Vəlar / Vəlürāv* is a causative stem formed by addition of *–ar/-āv* suffix.

23 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i, p 112

24 *i/īkārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 146

25 This verb does not exist in Kashmiri spoken in the valley

26 Not used in speech.

27 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i, p. 133. *Vāman* as verb is very rarely used. The word *āman* as noun is usually used in the sense of smell emitted by green leafy vegetables during cooking.

28 *Vāyav* is a doubtful root and is also not listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary.

29 The word is listed as *ārdan* (a noun meaning 'worship') in the Kashmiri Dictionary, vol. i, P. 124. It is not found in use in the normal discourse.

30 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i, p. 124. It is not found in use at least in Kashmiri spoken by the people of Kashmir valley.

31 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 145

32 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i, p. 131

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	āvas	*viśaraṇe*	to lack support[33]/ to become weak[34]
	ās	*sattāyām*	to be or to exist

इ–ईकाराद्याः[35]. The verb roots given below begin with high front short and long vowels

i/ī.

ptr.	ich[36]	*icchāyām*	to wish
	īr[37]	*ūrdhva bhramaṇe*	to float[38]

क/ख/गकाराद्याः[39]. The verb roots given below begin with the velar stops *k, kh* and *g*:

ptr.	kaḍ	*niṣkāsane*	to draw out
ptr.	kat	*yantra veṣṭhane*	to spin
ptr.	katar	*kRntane*	to chop/to slice (vegetables or fruit etc.)
ptr.	kanz	*pakṣi bharjane*	to burn hairy layers of birds or limbs of sheep or goat[40]
pim.	kənzar / kənzürāv ca[41]	*nirdravyī bhavane*	to be devoid of wealth
ptr.	kapaṭ kapüṭāv ca[42]	*kRntane*	to cut (dress etc.)

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33 Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 145

34 ------- ibid ------- p. 145

35 *ākārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 145

36 In Kashmiri, *i-* easily passes into *ĕ-* in the initial syllables while as it is replaced by the semi-vowel *y-* in the word initial position. This applies to the *tadbhava* word stock of Kashmiri while as in the Persio-Arabic and English loan words, *i-* and *ī-* occur in free variation with *yi-* and *yī-* respectively. The word *ich* is therefore, pronounced as *vyačh* instead of *vich*. (see Razdan S. : Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p 85).

37 Pronounced as *yīr*: Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vii, p 323.

38 ------ ibid ------ vol. vii, p 323

39 *k/kg/gkārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 146-149

40 ------ ibid ------ vol. v, p 116

41 Not in use. This term is also not listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary. Used with reference to cutting and tailoring.

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ptr.	kamav/ kamnāv[43]	*arjane*	to earn
ptr.	kar	*karaṇe*	to do
ptr.	kal	*mūkībhāvane*	to be speechless/mute/ tongue tied
pim.	kaś	*kaṇḍūyane*	to scratch
ptr.	kas	*tailādipacane*	to deep fry in oil & spices; to tighten
	kahar	*pāruṣye*	to be intractable
	kāčar	*piṅglībhavane*	to turn golden brown
ptr.	kã̄ch	*kāṅkṣāyām*	to wish
	kāṭh	*karkaśībhāve*	to be hard/lazy/dull
ptr.	kə̃ṭ[44]	*apratykṣa haraṇam*	to reduce/control/squeeze
kān		*kāṇībhavan parā-bhave ca*	to lose one eye / to be out of shape
	kāmp[45]	*kampane*	to shiver/ to shudder
ptr.	kāy	*ālasye*	to laze
	kāyar	*nihsārībhāve*	to be lazy
ptr.	kār	*kvathane*	to boil (milk)
	kāvar	*śyāmī bhavane*	to turn black[46]; to become cripple; to decline
ptr.	kās	*muṇḍanopanayanoh*[47]	to trim (hair, nails etc.)

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[43] Both these forms are meaningless and unintelligible. The actual forms, as used in speech and as are listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary, are *kamāv* meaning 'to earn' and *kamāvünāv* meaning 'to make someone earn' - Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 106.

[44] The Pandit speakers pronounce this word as *kə̃ṭ* where as the Muslim speakers pronounce it as *kã̄ṭ*.

[45] This word is pronounced as k*ã̄mp* by the Pandit speakers and *kāmp* by the Muslim speakers. This verb is not listed in the manuscript but is recorded in the copy (p. 146) reproduced by Nag Publishers Delhi.

[46] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 137

[47] *muṇḍanopanayanoh* refer to two sacraments (samskaras) prescribed in the Dharma sūtras called *muṇḍan* and *upanayan* respectively. The term 'muṇḍan' means 'tonsure'. In the 'upanayan samskār' the children, preferably between the age five to seven years, in the ancient India were admitted to *'Gurukul'*. In

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	k̃an[48]	*kledane*	to moist
	kuṭh	*vRttisamkoce*	to be indigent
	kup	*kope*	to sulk
	kɔb	*kubjī bhavane*	to become hump / hunch backed
	kumal	*komalī bhavane*	to melt / soften
ptr.	kuh[49]	*niṣkarṣe*	to summarize
	kūr	*niṣkarṣamūla śithilī karṇayoh*	to extract; to uproot
	kRṭ[50]/kraṭ	*kārśye*	to lose health/ to shrink
ptr.	krüp	*kartane*	to cut with scissors
	krehn	*kRṣṇī bhavane* bhavane	to turn black
ptr.	konkav	*guṇpraśamsāyām*	to observe jealously
	kol	*lauhitye*	to become golden brown by frying[51]
	küč	*ārdrī bhavane*	to drench/to become wet
ptr.	küčav	*ārdrī karaṇe*	to make something to dip
ptr.	kün	*vikrīṇane*	to sell
ptr.	krāv	*karaṇe*	to do
	kreṭ (kreṭh)[52]	*kārkaśye*	to be hard / harsh
pim.	kreś	*gRghnutāyām*	to covet
ptr.	khaṭ	*gopane*	to conceal/ hide
ptr.	khənḍar/ khənḍarāv	*vibhājane*	to divide; to break into pieces
ptr.	khan	*avadhāraṇe*	to dig

Gurukul they were invested with the sacred thread which made them twice born and entitled them to receive education from an accomplished Guru (teacher). The verb *kās*, means *to trim* or *to shave* and is not specific to *muṇḍan* and *upanayan* although it is a pre-requisite in both the samskaras.

48 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 215

49 Unintelligible root and is not in use.

50 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 196. It is usually pronounced as √*kraṭ*).

51 ------ ibid -------- vol. v, p. 194 (not used in discourse)

52 ------ ibid -------- vol. v, p. 90

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pim.	khap	*vyabhicāre*	to indulge in sex
pim.	kham	*uchvāsa nihśvāse*	to fret and fume
	khar	*aprītau*	to be disliked
	khal	*vistāre*	to get expanded
ptr.	kharüc	*vyayīkaraṇe*	to spend / expend
	khas	*ārohe*	to climb/grow/rise/ascend
ptr	khüh	*citrīkaraṇe*[53]	to scratch; to harm
ptr	khār	*ārohaṇe*	to lift/ impose/ raise
ptr.	khĕ	*khādane*	to eat
pim.	khisük	*dambhgatau*	to escape deceitfully
	khɔkhar	*nihsāratāyām*	to become hollow
ptr.	khɔkhülāv	*vastunojalāvagāhne*	to rinse
ptr.	khut[54]	*adhah khanane*	to extract
ptr.	khünz	*tanūruha karṣaṇe*	to clean and prepare (poultry etc.) for cooking; to scold
	khoč	*bhaye*	to be frightened; to be alarmed
	khor[55]	*bhaye*	to be frightened
	khol	*udghāṭane*	to open/untie/disclose
ptr.	khüs	*tanūruha karṣaṇe*	to pluck out body hair
	gačh	*gatau yuktībhavaneca*	to go; to be proper
ptr.	ganḍ	*granthe*	to tie/wrap
	gan	*ghanī bhavane*	to thicken/deepen/ to become dense
ptr.	gəzar / gəzürāv ca	*samkhyāne*	to count

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[53] The Sanskrit word *citrīkaraṇe* literally means 'to paint' or 'to variegate'. This meaning has no connection with the sense in which *khüh* is used in Kashmiri. It is probable that this verb might have remained in use in the sense of *carving* of images (on wood or metal etc.) in some regional variety of the 19th century Kashmiri.

[54] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 253

[55] ---------- ibid ------ vol. v p. 261

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ptr.	gar	*ghaṭṭane*	to make /shape or craft (ornament etc.)
	garam	*gharmī bhavane*	to become hot; to be enraged
	gal	*nāśe*	to melt, to vanish
	gãgal/ grãgal ca[56]	*paraiścāñcalye*	to distract; to divert attention
ptr.	gār	*prasāde anveṣaṇe ca*	to search / probe; to show kindness[57]
ptr.	gāl	*nāśane* to make	something melt / vanish
ptr.	gind	*krīḍāyām*	to play
	gyamaṭ[58]	*kRśībhavane*	to shrivel
ptr.	gilava	*apaharaṇe bhrāmaṇe ca*	to steal; to sway/rotate
ptr.	gyav	*gītau*	to sing
	gīr	*bhramaṇe*	to feel giddy / dizzy
pim.	guzürāv[59]	*upekṣāyām*	to pass time
pim	gund[60]	*upālambhe*[61]	to abuse/censure
ptr.	gup	*gopane*	to hide / conceal
	gɔb	*gaurave*	to become heavy/ to feel dignified / proud
	gum(un)	*dhūsare / (dhūsartāyām)*	to perspire; to lose colour or finish
	guraṭ	*gaure / (gauratāyām)*	to become turbid/muddy
ptr.	gɔlav/ gulnāv ca[62]	*mukh lāḍane*	to dissolve (toffee etc. in mouth) by shuffling
ptr.	ger	*āvaraṇe*	to cover

56

57 *gãgal/grãngal* is basically a noun used in the sense of *'feeble belabour'*.

58 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 148

59 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 397

60 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 360. This root is wrongly listed as *gugarāv* in the manuscript (See p. 173 of the manuscript)

61 This word is neither used in speech nor is listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary.

62 Apte, V. S. – The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary p. 299
Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 363 - 64

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	gel	*viyoge upahāse ca*	to deride/ridicule; to make fun of
ptr.	gor[63]	*vilāpe*	to cry
	govar[64]	*nidrahatatve*	to feel drowsy
	grak	*cāñcalyapākātiśaya-yoh*	to boil; to boil over
pim.	graz	*garjane*	to roar / thunder / utter loudly or impressively
ptr. / pim	grāśar/ grāśarāv[65]ca	*grahaṇe vRṣṭibandhe ca*	to receive; cessation of rain
	gɔč[66]	*pātrasthajalādi ceṣṭāyām*	to make splashing sound
ptr.	güh	*gharṣaṇe*	to rub

च/छ/जकारादयाः[67]. The verb roots given below begin with the palatal stops *c, ch* and *j*.

ptr.	catāv	*stutau*	to eulogize; to put into circulation; to make irrelevant statements[68]
ptr.	camak	*dīptau*	to shine
ptr.	cār	*balād bandhane*	to tighten
ptr.	cāv	*pāyane*	to make someone drink
ptr.	cĕ	*pāne*	to drink
ptr.	cīr	*niṣpīḍane*	to squeeze; to press hard
ptr.	cukāv	*mūlya niścayīkaraṇe*	to find (settle) the price / charges; to liquidate the debt

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[63] This word is neither used in speech nor is listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary.

[64] The word is listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 384 but is not used in speech.

[65] It is neither used in speech nor is listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary

[66] The actual verb is *grɔč* and not *gɔč* as given by the author-Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v, p. 304

[67] *c/ch/jkārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 149-151

[68] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii, p. 89

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pim.	cum	*dīnatāyām*	to act timidly; to supplicate
ptr.	cõkhar	*samkocane*	to shrink / contract
ptr.	chak	*kārṇane*	to scatter
ptr.	chəkar / chəkürāv ca	*avakīrṇane*	to scatter
ptr.	chəčürāv	*śvetīkaraṇe*	to make something fade
	chat	*śvaite*	to fade
	chan	*pāte*	to shed; to lose weight or decline in number
ptr.	chap	*vRṣṭikālayoh kṣepe*	to seek protection/cover (especially in rain)
pim.	char	*purīṣotsarge*	to defecate uncouthly
ptr.	chal	*kṣālane*	to wash
ptr.	chān	*utpavane śātane ca*	to sieve/cleanse/purify
ptr.	chā̃ṭ	*krodhādguhyāviṣkaraṇe*	to sought out
ptr.	chāv	*upabhoge kṣepaṇe ca*	to enjoy; to make use of an object especially dress, house, vehicle etc.
pim. for	chik	*secane pramehane ca*	to urinate[69]; not to care
ptr.	chindar	*mohane*	to distract / perplex
	chiv	*made*	to be overly exuberant
ptr.	chivürāv	*mādane*	to make someone to be overly exuberant
	chɔkal[70]	*samghaṭṭābhāve*	to be scattered
ptr.	chɔkav	*jalāvagāhane*	to rinse
ptr.	chɔñar/ chɔñürāv ca	*ūnīkaraṇe*	to reduce number or quantity
	chɔn	*apacaye*	to be short of the right quantity

69 ---------- ibid ---------- vol. iii, p. 130

70 ---------- ibid ---------- vol. iii, p. 135

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ptr.	chŏpür / chŏpürāv	*vyayīkaraṇe*	to spend extravagantly[71]/ to cover
ptr.	chɔmb	*karṇamardane*	to thresh / beat out; to tongue-lash
pim	cher[72]	*adhikṣepe*	to send away/throw away
ptr.	chor[73]	*tyāge*	to pass watery stools
pim	jakh	*sevāyām*	to be engaged in drudgery
ptr.	jar	*uṭṭaṅkane*	to inlay
pim.	jūr	*upasevāyām*	to afford[74]

अप्रसिद्ध च/छ/ज़कारादयः[75]. The below given verb roots begin with the dental affricate sounds *č, čh* and *z*

ptr.	čaṭ (ṭh)[76]	*chedane*	to cut
	čam	*alpībhavane-saṅgate ca*	to contract/ shrink
	čamaṭh	*paryuṣitatve*	to shrivel
	čar	*upacaye*	to exceed / increase
	čar	*antahkope-(strī bhā)*[77]	to have sore feelings; to have strained relations
ptr.	čarüč	*cārakriyāyām*	to keep an unfavourable eye on other's actions; to wait for a good opportunity
	čal	*calane*	to flee
pim.	čas	*atihāse*	to guffaw

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71 ---------- ibid ---------- vol. iii, p. 133

72 The word is used by the speakers of Doda region but in not used by the speakers of Kashmir.

73 The word *chor* is a noun and not a verb root as given by the author

74 Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. iii, p. 110

75 *aprasiddhač/čh/zkārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 151-153

76 The final voiceless stop is usually pronounced with aspiration in IIIrd Person sg. Imperative Mood

77 Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam (manuscript) p. 177

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ptr.	čān	*praveśane*	to insert
ptr.	čāp (ph)	*adane*	to chew
ptr.	čār	*cayane*	to sort out/choose; to clean (grains etc.)
ptr.	čāl	*sahane*	to endure/ tolerate
pim.	čyakhal[78]	*sonprāśe*	to deride
pim.	c̃ang	*harṣe*	to behave over exuberantly
pim.	c̃̃atür / čitra[79]	*upekṣayev prekṣaṇe*	to be indifferent / to treat indifferently
ptr.	c̃al	*balātpraveśane*	to compress; to fill forcefully
ptr.	čīñür / čīñürāv[80]	*samjñāpane*	to make someone feel/ experience
	čɔk	*krodhe amlībhavane ca*	to have bitter feelings; to become sour;
pim.	čɔkar / čɔkürāv ca[81]	*kopane*	to create bitterness; to make sour
ptr.	čɔgünāv	*caturguṇī karaṇe*	to quadruple
	čɔc[82]	*vRtti saṇkoce*	to control life style; to putrefy
ptr.	čɔmb	*vedhane*	to perforate
ptr.	čŏmürāv	*alpīkaraṇe/ saṅgatī karaṇe*	to make something shrivel
pim.	čuv	*kalahe*	to quarrel
ptr.	čū̃nṭ	*adhah śabde*	to fart
ptr.	čū̃r	*yonyāghāte*	to indulge in fornication; to hoe[83]

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78 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol.iv, p. 81. This word is not in use.

79 Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam (manuscript) p. 177. This term is not found in use.

80 čenar / čenürāv : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iv, p. 108

81 This verb is pronounced as *čŏkar/čŏkürāv* and not *čɔkar/čɔkarāv* as given by the author.

82 čɔč as verb does not occur in speech. However, the term *čɔčun* as noun is employed in the sense of 'messy or chaotic' condition of a situation or objects.

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ptr.	čeṭ (ṭh)	*kuṭṭane*	to pound / pestle
pim.	čen	*cetane*	to feel / sense
ptr.	čüh	*cūṣe*	to suck
ptr.	čhaṭ (ṭh)	*utkṣepaṇe*	to winnow; to throw up[84]
	čhar[85]	*riktībhavane*	to be empty / worthless
ptr.	čhal	*chalane*	to deceive; to out wit
ptr.	čhāḍ / čhānḍ	*anveṣaṇe*	to search
	čhanḍ ca	*laghvībhavane*	to query
	čhãčhan[86]	*laghvī-bhavane*	to reduce weight/ to shorten/diminish
	čhaṭ (ṭh)	*aśūddhī bavane*	to become impure
ptr.	čhəṭar / čhəṭürāv ca	*aśūddhīkarane*	to make impure/ to render unusable because of defilement
	čhan	*chede*	to get cut
	čhav	*śame*	to be extinguished
ptr.	čhəvar / čhəvürāv ca	*śāmane*	to extinguish
	čhɔč	*nihsārī bhavane*	to become hollow/insignicant in-substantial
	čhɔṭ	*hRsvībhavane*	to become short / small
ptr.	čhŏṭar / čhŏṭürāv ca	*hRsvīkaraṇe*	to shorten/to curtail
ptr.	čhün[87]	*pātane*	to dispose of/ to wear
ptr.	zujar[88]	*takṣaṇe*	to scratch/peel off; to be weary[89]

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[83] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iv, p. 88

[84] ---------- ibid -------- vol. iv, p. 113

[85] The term *čhŏr* is employed as an adjective in the sense of 'empty' but *čhar* as verb is not in use.

[86] The word *čhānčhan* or *čhãčhan*is niether used in speech nor is this word listed in the Dictionary.

[87] The verb *čhün* is used in the sense of 'to wear'. *čhün* associated with *vtrāv* (*trāvith - čhün*) denotes 'to discard' or 'to throw away.

[88] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iv p. 43. But, *zujar* as verb is not in use.

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ptr.	zap	*japane*	to recite God's name in prayer
ptr.	zar	*sahane*	to bear
	zal	*jalvatsvādāvagame*	to feel burning sensation
pim.	zāg	*pratijāgare*	to lay ambush/to be on prowl
ptr.	zān	*avabodhane*	to know
ptr.	zāl	*dāhe*	to burn; to light
	zi[90]	*janane*	to create
	ziṅgar	*viklalī bhavane*	to feel uneasy; to be tired out; to be fatigued
ptr.	zīṭhar/ zīṭhürāv ca	*dīrghīkaraṇe*	to lengthen; to stretch/ prolong
	zɔṅgar	*vaikalye*	to be emaciated
	zɔzar	*jarjaratve*	to be withered
	zuv	*jīvane*	to live
ptr.	zuvar/ zuvürāv ca	*sajīvīkareṇe*	to make vivacious/give life
pim.	zɔs	*kāse*	to cough
	zeṭh	*āyatībhavane*	to become long
ptr.	zen	*jaye*	to win; to earn
	zot	*dīptau*	to glow
ptr.	zŏvar/ zŏvürāv ca	*utpādane*	to give birth / to produce/ to bring into existence
ptr.	zürav	*sahane*	to tolerate
ptr.	zül	*takṣaṇe*	to scratch

ट/ठ/ढकाराद्याः[91]. The below given verb roots begin with the alveolar stops *ṭ*, *ṭh* and *ḍ*

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[89] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iv, p. 43

[90] This term is not found in use. However, the verb *vžŏvar* is used in the sense *'to create'*.

[91] *ṭ/ṭh/ḍkārādyāh* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam p. 153-155

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ptr.	ṭak (kh)	*śabdavaddantai-śchedane*	to crunch
pim.	ṭap[92]	*parokṣa paribhāṣaṇe*	to backbite
	ṭal	*parivarte*	to get averted/ get away
pim.	ṭãg	*ghoravāśite*	to bellow
pim.	ṭāl	*upekṣā gamane*	to avoid
	ṭ̃aṭh	*tiktībhavane*	to become bitter; to become ill tempered
ptr.	ṭ̃ap[93]	*saṅghaṭṭe*	to unite
	ṭ̃amb	*lope*	to remain under cover
ptr.	ṭuk	*ākhuvacchedane*	to nibble
ptr.	ṭokav	*kūṭāghāte*	to beat and hammer
	ṭoṭ	*vRttisaṅkoce*	to shrink
ptr.	ṭuv	*saṅkocane*	to close/shut
	ṭoṭh	*prasāde*	to endear
pim.	ṭük	*dhāvane*	to run
ptr.	ṭüs/ ṭüsan	*antarnayane*	to insert
	ṭhag	*chalane*	to cheat
ptr.	ṭhagāv	*śāṭhe*	to cause to be cheated
	ṭhəhar	*samsthāne*	to stop
ptr.	ṭhāk	*utkhanane (nirodhe)*	to restrain[94]
ptr.	ṭhās	*utkhanane*	to knock; to hammer[95]
	ṭhīk	*sithatau*	to recover[96]/gain health
ptr.	ṭhuk	*utkhanane*	to hammer; to thrust
ptr.	ḍak[97]	*śabdavat pātane*	to gulp noisily

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[92] It is frequently used by the speakers of Doda- Kashtawar region but is not found used by the speakers of Kashmir valley.

[93] a) *ṭipun* or *ṭ̃apun* – Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii p. 26 and 43
b) The word *ṭ̃apun* is also used as a noun in the sense 'fish waste like scales, entrails etc.,'.

[94] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii , p. 49

[95] ---------- ibid --------- vol. iii p. 49

[96] ---------- ibid --------- vol. iii p. 51

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ptr.	ḍakhav	*daṇḍāvadhārī-karsṇe*	to take support of crutches or walking stick
ptr.	ḍəkhar/ ḍəkhürāv ca	*ādhārīkaraṇe*	to give support; to keep from falling
	ḍar	*bhaye*	to be scared
	ḍal	*ullaṅghane*	to move aside; to deviate; to divert
pim.	ḍãṭ	*vidveṣe*	to rebuke
ptr.	ḍāl	*parivartane*	to change/ move; to divert attention
	ɖal	*śaithilye*	to become loose
	ḍɔk	*dehānārjave*	to decline in health
	ḍub	*majjane*	to sink; to be ruined; to result in a loss; to suffer a loss[98]
ptr.	ḍulünāv/ ḍulav ca	*golavad bhrāmaṇe*	to move /shake / put in motion
ptr.	ḍuv	*sammārjane*	to sweep with a broom[99]
	ḍɔs[100]	*dehānārjave*	to deteriorate in health
ptr.	ḍeś	*prekṣaṇe*	to face unexpected situation
ptr.	ḍol/ḍɔl	*aparicayane*	to be of no importance

त/थ/दकाराद्याः[101]. The below given verb roots begin with the dental stops *t, th* and *d*

tag	*tajjñatāyām*	to know; to be familiar
taṅg[102]	*saṅkoce*	to contract / shrink

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97 The verb *ḍak* in the sense 'to gulp noisily' does not occur in Kashmiri spoken in the valley. The term is also not listed in the Kaskmiri Dictionary.

98 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii p. 318

99 ---------- ibid ---------- vol. iii p. 320

100 This verb does not occur in Kashmiri.

101 *t/th/dkārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 155-158

102 *taṅg* is basically a qualifier which, when used attributively, precedes the noun it qualifies and follows the verb if used predicatively, e.g; *taṅg palav mü tshün*

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ptr.	təčar/ təčürāv ca	*tāpane*	to heat
pim.	tach	*takṣaṇe*	to scratch
ptr.	təñar/ təñürāv ca	*viralīkaraṇe*	to make thin/watery
	tat	*taptībhavane*	to become hot
	tan	*viralībhavane*	to emaciate/to become thin/watery
ptr.	tap	*auṣṇyopadāne*	to soak in the warmth of kāṅgarī[103]
	tambal	*cāñcalye*	to get tempted
	tar	*taraṇe*	to swim across/to get over a difficulty / to be successful
ptr.	tal	*snehapāke*	to fry
ptr.	tav	*bharjane*	to parch
ptr.	tād	*kopādvicāraṇe*	to be enraged; to keep a tab on someone's actions[104]
ptr.	tār	*tāraṇe*	to enable someone to cross over; to carry across
ptr.	tāl[105]	*utthāpane*	to make to rise[106]
ptr.	tāv[107]	*tāpane*	heat

(do not wear tight dress) *yim palav chi taṅg* (this dress is tight). In a sentence like *bü chus āmut taṅg* (I am fed up) *taṅg* is an appellative.

[103] *Kāngri* is a specific type of fire pot used by the people of Kashmir to warm up themselves during chilly winters.

[104] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii, p. 280

[105] The word *tāl* is actually a noun (used in the sense palate; scalp; top of an object) which, when compounded with a noun, adjective, verb or a non – declinable constitutes terms expressive of the figurative sense such as- *tālüzāvijar* (crookedness) *tāli (kiñ) vasun* (to outsmart by trickery) *tāl dazüñ* (to be fed up / tired of) *tāli kiñ tshaṭh kaḍüñ* (to cause distress, strain, loss) etc.; Kashmiri Dictionary: vol.ii P.287-288

[106] *tāl* does not occur as verb as given by the author.

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	ẽamb	*dRkcāñcalye*	to feel jealous
ptr.	tīzar/ tīzürāv ca	*niśāne*	to sharpen
	tīlan	*snigdhpūtī bhāve*	to become oily (nuts etc.) due to putrefaction
	tund	*tīkṣaṇī bhavane*	to become sharp (to lose temper)
ptr.	tɔmb	*tūlavad vivaraṇe*	to gin (cotton) / to shred
ptr.	tul	*utthāpane*	to pick up; to remove
	tūr/ tūraṇ[108]	*śītībhavane*	to become cold; to be unfriendly/to lack enthusiasm
	tez	*tīkṣaṇī bhavane*	to become sharp
	tel	*visphoṭādi damśe*	to give burning sensation
ptr.	tol	*tulane*	to weigh
ptr.	tovar/ tovürāv ca	*krūrdRṣṭau*	to look angrily at; to bake in fire/ sun[109]
	toś	*toṣe*	to be gratified
	trakar	*karkaśī-bhavane*	to be hard/ harsh
ptr.	trakürāv	*karkaśī- karaṇe*	to make hard/ harsh
ptr.	tragünāv	*triguṇīkaraṇe*	to make three fold/triple to
	trač	*bhaye*	to be scared / frightened / alarmed
ptr.	trəčürāv	*trāse*	to frighten
ptr.	trāv	*tyāge*	to give up
ptr.	truk	*kaṇaśaśche dane bhakṣaṇe ca*	to nibble ; to grab
ptr.	trŏpar	ācchādane	to close/ shut/ cover

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[107] *tāv* is an abstract noun derived from verb root √*tav* (meaning *to parch*) by the process of lengthening the medial vowel of the root on the analogy of *tar* (to cross) >*tār* (crossing / liberating);

[108] the alveolar nasal (*ṇ*) does not exist in Kashmiri and the actual pronunciation is *tũrun*: Kashmiri Dictionary: vol.ii, p. 325

[109] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii, (*ṇ*) does not exist in Kashmiri and the actual

[109] pronunciation is *tũrun*: Kashmiri Dictionary: vol.ii, p. 325

Kashmiri Dictionary: p. 351

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ptr.	trɔmb/ trɔmbüv ca	*sūcīghāte*	to vaccinate
	trɔś	*kaṭhīnībhavane*	to be brittle / crisp
ptr.	trŏśrāv	*kaṭhīnīkaraṇe*	to make crisp / brittle
	tror	*visphoṭādi kārkaśe*	to feel prickly sensation on dry crust of wound
	thak	*śrame/uścaih-*	to be tired
ptr.	thəzar/ thəzürāv ca	*karaṇe*	to make tall / lofty / loud
	thad	*unnatībhavane*	to become tall/ to progress
	tham	*avaṣṭambhe*	to stop (rain or snowfall)
	thar	*kampane*	to tremble
ptr.	thal	*śākhācchedane*	to prune / to thrash / tongue lash
ptr.	thav/ thāv	*sthāpaṇe*	to put/ keep
	thə̃thar[110]	*tvarāyām*	to tremble
pim.	thak	*ślāghāyām*	to boast
pim.	thip[111]	*tāḍane*	to beat
pim.	thɔk	*niṣṭhībhavane*	to spit
ptr.	thur	*ghaṭane*	to make / create
ptr.	dag	*ghātane*	to pestle; to beat
	daz	*bhasmī bhavane*	to burn to ashes
ptr.	dɔdürāv	*kṣīṇīkaraṇe*	to putrefy
ptr.	dap	*ājñāyām kathane ca*	to command; to tell
pim.	dabav[112]	*bhūmikṣepe*	to bury; to press down; to suppress; to hush up; to grab
pim.	dam	*vātāgni-śabdayoh*	to blow the fire ablaze
	dar	*sthairyāvi nirodheṣu*	to stay firmly/stick/get a hold; to last long
ptr.	dərar	*sthirīkaraṇe*	to make firm / stable / strong / immovable

[110] It is also pronounced as thə̃thar

[111] The actual word is *ṭhip* and not *thip* as given by the author

[112] The term is actually pronounced as *dabāv:* Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii, p. 194

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ptr.	dal	*vidāraṇe*	to peel / scrape / shave (wood etc.)
pim.	dav	*śīghragatau*	to run
ptr.	das	*ghātane*	to punch
ptr.	dəñr / dəñrāv ca[113]	*dhyāne*	to think over; to go deep in thought
ptr.	dār	*dhārṇoddhā rayoh*	to beg for something; to put on
ptr.	dāv	*dāpane*	to (cause) be to given
ptr.	di	*dāne*	to give
ptr.	dəgav	*avakhaṇḍane*	to crush with a pestle
ptr.	dəgünāv	*dviguṇīkaraṇe*	to make double
	dədar	*jīrṇībhavane*	to be decayed
ptr.	dədürāv	*jīrṇīkaraṇe*	to cause decay/putrefy
ptr.	dəbar / dəbürāv ca	*bhūmikṣepe*	to bury
ptr.	dəy	*dohane*	to squeeze/suck out
	dəṣ[114]	*cyavane*	to drip
ptr.	dű̃čhr[115]/ dű̃čhrāv ca	*pRthak-pRthak karaṇe*	to rummage
	dūr	*dūrībhavane*	to keep distance
ptr.	don	*picuvadvivaraṇe*	to gin
	dor	*gaticāturye*	to run
ptr.	dün / dünav ca	*vastrādirajopaharaṇe*	to shake off
pim.	düy	*vaimanasye*	to be dejected
pim.	drək	*krīdāyām*	to vomit; to play[116]

[113] The actual forms are *dəñar / dəñürāv:* Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii, p. 253. A consonant cluster does not occur at the end of the word in Kashmiri as given (दाञ्र / दाञ्राव च) by the author (manuscript page 187)

[114] Read *dəś* instead of *dəṣ* as *ṣ* does not exist in Kashmiri

[115] The actual forms are *dű̃čhar / dű̃čhürāv* and not *dű̃čhr / dű̃čhrāv* (दून्छ् / दून्छ्राव च) as given by the author (manuscript page 188)

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	drɔg	*mūlyātiśaye*	to become expensive
ptr.	drɔgürāv	*durmūlyīkaraṇe*	to make expensive
	drẽṭh	*kārkaśye*	to become dry & hard (especially vegetables, fruits etc.)
ptr.	dūṣ(śü)rāv	*doṣadāne*	to spoil; to make defective; to accuse/ to blame

नकाराद्याः[117]. The below given verb roots begin with the dental *n*

pim.	nač	*nartane*	to dance
ptr.	nəñar[118] / nəñürāv ca	*nagnīkaraṇe*	to find out/ to expose
	naṭ	*kampe*	to tremble
ptr.	nəṭürāv	*kampane*	to cause to tremble
	nan	*nagnībhavane*	to be open / known
pim.	nap	*utkocadānegraha ṇe*[119]	to rob fraudulently[120]
	nam	*namrībhavane*	to bend / bow
	nav	*atiśayī bhavane*[121]- *nūtanatāyām ca*	to grow; to progress; to flourish[122]; to rejuvenate
	naś	*adarśane*[123]	to be worn out; to forget

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[116] *drɔk* literally means 'to vomit'. It gives the sense 'to enjoy' only when it is compounded with the verb *√gind* (to play) → *gindun drɔkun* (to play and enjoy').

[117] *nakārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 158-159

[118] The word *nəñar* is basically ā denominative derived from the adjective *nŏn* meaning *naked* or *open*. By changing the medial vowel *ə* to *a*, *nañar* (abstract noun) means *disclosure*. *nañar* followed by a verb e.g; *kar* (*to do*) or *gatsh* (in the sense of *be*) means 'to expose'/ 'disclose' or 'to become open' / 'to be exposed' respectively.

[119] a) 'to bribe or to receive bribe': KaśmīraśabdāmṛtAm - p. 158
b) 'bending one from the right path': Apte, V. S.: Sanskrit English Dictionary- p. 259.

[120] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vi, p. 274

[121] 'to be excellent' / 'to become new or fresh'.

[122] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vi, p. 308

[123] 'to become invisible'.

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ptr.	nahāv	*kriyāghāte*	to erase; to destroy
	nə̃ṭh	*niṣphalī bhavane*	to ruin / make futile / to be frigid
	nə̃p[124]	*dīptau*	to shine
ptr.	nāv	*śodhane*	to cleanse
ptr.	nāśür / nāśürāv ca[125]	*nāśane*	to destroy / ruin
ptr.	ni	*haraṇe*	to take away
	nik	*alpībhavane*	to become slim
ptr.	nikr / nikrāv ca[126]	*khaṇḍaśah karaṇe*	to chop
ptr.	ñaṅgal	*nigeraṇe*	to swallow; to grab
ptr.	nyat	*paśuroma kRntane*	to fleece
ptr.	nyavāz[127]	*nivedane*	to offer / dedicate / bestow
	nīl	*haritībhavane*	to turn bluish
ptr	nechav	*khyātīkaraṇe*	to bring glory
	ner	*nirgamane*	to leave
ptr.	nam/nŏmr/ nŏmrāv[128]ca	*namrīkaraṇe*	to bend / to make flex / to shorten
ptr.	nɔvr / nɔvrāv[129]ca	*atiśayīkareṇe*	to grow / produce / spread
ptr.	ñāv	*haraṇe*	to cause to take away /

प/फ/बकाराद्याः[130]. The below given verb roots begin with the labial stops *p*, *ph* and *b*

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[124] The most commonly used term is *nāp* and not *nə̃p* as given by the author.

[125] This verb is not found in common use.

[126] A-The actual form is *nikar / nikürāv* and not *nikr / nikrāv* (fudz @ fudzko p) as given by the author (see manuscript page 188)

[127] The actual word is *navāz* : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol.vi, p. 308

[128] The actual forms are *nŏmar* and *nŏmürāv*

[129] The actual form is *nŏvar / nŏvürāv* and not *nɔvr / nɔvrāv* (Uooz @ Uoozko p) as given by the by the author (see manuscript page 189)

[130] *p/ph/bkārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 159-165

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	pak (kh)	*gatau*	to walk
	pač	*Rṇaviśvāse*	to trust
ptr./pim	pachtāv[131]	*paścātāpe*	to repent
ptr.	pachān[132]	*upalakṣaṇe*	to recognize
	paz	*yuktībhavane satyāvirbhāve ca*	to be befitting / appropriate; to come out true
ptr.	pəjar / pəjürāv ca	*āveṣṭya socane ca*	to hem
ptr.	pəzar / pəzürāv ca	*styāviṣkaraṇe*	to verify; to prove truthfulness
	paṭ[133]	*prāptau*	to obtain
ptr.	paṭāv[134]	*gatau*	to move
	paṭh	*siddhyām*	to progress; to achieve
ptr.	pəṭhar/(or) pəṭhürāv	*samskāraṇe/mīnādi-śodhane ca*	to wash/ cleanse especially fish
pim.	pad[135]	*kutsite śabde*	to fart
	pap	*pariṇāme*	to ripen
ptr.	pay	*dhātvadipāke*	to bake in fire
ptr.	par	*paṭhane*	to read / study
ptr.	parkhāv	*parīkṣāyām*	to put to test
ptr.	parzan / parzünāv ca	*upalakṣaṇe*	to observe[136]; to recognize
ptr.	*pal*	*guptadāne*[137]	to be brought up[138]
	palaz	*upasevāyām*	to help; to be helpful
	palaṭ	*dravībhavane*	to melt
pim.	paś	*viṣāde*	to express despondence[139]

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[131] Usually pronounced as *paśütāv* : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii, p. 42

[132] Also used as noun in the sense of "knack of knowing".

[133] This verb is found used by the speakers of the Doda region.

[134] Not found in use in the Kashmiri spoken in Kashmir valley.

[135] Noun (mas. sg.) :Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 10

[136] Apte, V.S. : The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary p. 292

[137] *'A secret gif'* : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii, p. 160

[138] ——— ibid ——— vol. ii, p. 49

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	paṣp[140]	*kṣaraṇe*	to drip
	pākan[141]	*visphoṭādi pāke*[142]	to ripen/ to grow to fullness (especially a boil, pimple or tumour)
ptr.	pākav	*pacane*	to cook/ boil
ptr.	pāz	*nihsāraṇe*	to clean up a pond or a well
	pāth[143]	*sadbhāve*[144]	to acquire/obtain[145]/to be entitled to
	pār	*keśaveṇīkaraṇe paṇasthāpane ca*	to braid/to bet
ptr.	pāl	*rakṣaṇe*	to bring up/nurture
ptr.	pāv	*pātane*	to cause to fall / to beat / defeat
pim.	ṗāsür/	*dhikkaraṇe*	to reproach
ptr.	pāsürāvca[146]		
	pi[147]	*patane*	to fall down
pim.	piṭ	*paridevane*	to pine for
ptr.	piṭürāv	*dīnīkaraṇe*	to make someone feel helpless
ptr.	p̃atar	*pālane*[148]	to suffer; to look after
	p̃ad	*vRtajñatāyām*	to take undue advantage

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[139] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 160

[140] The term is actually pronounced as *paśüp* and not *paṣp* as given by the author.

[141] This verb is not in use

[142] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 160

[143] This verb is frequently used by the speakers of Doda region and not by the speakers of Kashmir valley

[144] *'amiability'*: Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 160

[145] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 62

[146] *pāsar / pāsürāv* : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii, p. 88

[147] Pronounced as *pĕ*

[148] *To nurture* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 161

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	pil	*prāptau*	to have within one's access; to have within one's reach
ptr.	pilan/ pilünāv ca	*prāpane*	to make something to reach
pim.	p̃av	*pākārthamagnyā-rambhe*	to fire up the hearth for cooking food
	piśal	*peśalībhavane*	to be slippery; to soften
	pis[149]	*pākena bahirnih-saraṇe*[150]	to be overcooked
ptr.	pih	*sañcūrṇan*	to grind
	pīṭ[151]	*khedātsamīkṣṇe*	to investigate painfully; to be perturbed/worried
pim.	pīṭhar/ pīṭhürāv ca	*saśikṣa pratikṣepaṇe*	to procrastinate[152]
ptr.	pīnav	*prasāvane*	to assist in childbirth
	pīr	*medurtāyām*	to lubricate/coat with some oily substance[153]
ptr.	pučan	*puṣpādikhaṇḍaśah karaṇe*	to tear piece by piece
	pun	*śāpa sāphalye*	curse to come true
pim.	põd	*kṣute*	to sneeze
	pɔl[154]	*nairbalye*	to become weak
ptr.	puśar/ puśürāv ca	*arpaṇe*	to thrust
ptr.	pūz	*pūjāyā*	to worship

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[149] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 94

[150] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 161

[151] a) -------- ibid ------- p. 161

b) synonym of piṭ (causative - pīṭar, pīṭürāv, pīṭünāv / piṭünāv meaning to cause to procrastinate for): Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 97, 98

[152] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 161

[153] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 100

[154] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 138. This verb does not exist in present day Kashmiri.

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ptr.	pūṭhar/ pūṭhürāv ca	*sthūlīkaraṇe*	to make sturdy and powerful; to strengthen
ptr.	pūr	*pūraṇe*	to fill
	peḍ	*niryāse*	to spread
	poṭh	*sthūlī bhavane*	to become strong and powerful
	por	*paryāptyanārdratayoh*	to affect
pim.	por va poṣ[155]	*bādhane paryāptatā yām*	to overpower / to suffice
	prakhaṭ	*prakaṭane*	to become apparent / to become manifest
ptr.	prazan/ prazünāv ca	*upalakṣaṇe*	to recognize
	prazal	*prajvalane*	to become lustrous
	pran	*nairmalye*	to shine / to become fair complexioned
	pray	*prīṇane*	to be liked
	pras	*prasave*	to give birth
ptr	prāṭ	*khanane*	to uproot/to dig barren land
	prāṇ	*purāṇī bhavane*	to be worn out/decayed
	prār	*samīkṣaṇe*[156]	to wait[157]
ptr.	prāv	*prāptau*	to obtain/secure
ptr.	prič̌h	*pRchāyām*	to ask
ptr.	priṇ[158]	*upālambhe*	to censure/abuse
ptr.	prinz[159]	*preraṇe*	to inspire
ptr.	phak[160]	*saktvādibhakṣaṇe (dāridryāviṣkāre ca)*	to eat parched & pulverizedgrain/to become

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155 The term is actually pronounced as *poś*

156 to investigate: Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 162

157 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 28

158 ——— ibid ——— vol. ii p. 33

159 ——— ibid ——— vol. ii p. 33

160 The verb *phak* in the sense 'to become pauper' does not occur in Kashmiri while as this term is used by the speakers of Doda - Kashtawar region.

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			pauper[161]
	phaṭ	*kāṣṭhbhedāṅkurod bhedayorjalanimajja-nādiṣu ca*	to sprout; to burst (boil); to turn sour (milk); be drowned / sink
	phab	*praśasti bhavane*	to progress
	phar	*steye*	to rob; to deceive
ptr.	pharükāv	*arthopasarjane*	to disclose; to reveal
	phal	*vastrajīrṇanevibhāga-yośca*	to be worn out (dress etc.); to fall to one's share; to bear fruit; to prove auspicious and fruitful
	phas	*baddhī bhavan*	to be entangled / entrapped / caught
ptr.	phəsar	*baddhī karaṇe*	to entrap
	phəhar	*pāruṣye*	to become hard / rough
pim.	phā̃g	*śiśumārjāra rodane*	to mew
ptr.	phān	*nihśeṣīkaraṇe*	to be annihilated
	phā̃phal	*kriyāyogī bhavane*[162]	to improve health[163]
ptr.	phālav	*kāṣṭhbhedane*	to split wood into pieces
ptr.	phāsar/ phāsürāv ca	*baddhīkaraṇe*	to entrap/entangle
	phič	*vismaraṇe*	to make an error / slip / lose an opportunity.
ptr.	p̃hačav	*apratyakṣa haraṇe*	to steal[164]
ptr.	phir	*pustakakathābhāṇḍā-ṇām parivartane*	to shuffle (books, data, utensils etc.); to turn; to pour

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[161] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 162

[162] *'to be fit for work'* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 163

[163] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 168

[164] The verb *p̃hačav* in the sense *'to steal'* does not occur in Kashmiri. However, this term is used by the speakers of Doda Region.

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ptr.	phikh[165]	*bhrāmaṇe*	to make something rotate/spin
ptr.	p̃haś[166]	*oṣṭhādi lehane*	to lick / sip with tongue
ptr.	phuk	*aṅgāra pradīpane*	to blow the fire ablaze
ptr.	phukār	*kopālāpe*[167]	to whiff; to take deep breath[168]
	phuṭ	*bhaṅge*	to be fractured / shattered
ptr.	phuṭar/ phuṭürāv ca	*bhañjane*	to break / reduce to pieces
	phɔl	*vikasane*	to blossom; to progress
	phuś(phɔś)/ phuh ca	*antah kope*	to be vexed / displeased / annoyed / peeved
ptr.	phũk	*āghrāṇe*	to smell (to discern)
	pher	*bhramaṇavistrībhavana paścātāpavailomyeṣu*	to rove; to repent; to be conscious of pain / displeasure
ptr.	pheś	*oṣṭhādilehane*	to lick ; to rub
	pho	*sphuraṇam*	to throb / palpitate / pulsate
ptr.	p̃hā	*rasaniṣkāsane*	to filter
pim.	phr	*ucchavāsaniśvāsayoh*	to be out of breath (due to exertion)
ptr.pim.	bak	*bhāṣaṇe*	to be garrulous
ptr.	bagār	*mrakṣaṇe*[169]	to season vegetables etc. in the process of cooking[170]/to douse with heated oil
	bac	*anāhatatāyām*	to escape

[165] This verb does not occur in Kashmiri but is found in use in Doda region

[166] Regional variant of *pheś*

[167] *'to talk furiously'* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 163

[168] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. ii p. 178

[169] *'to rub; to strike'* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 164

[170] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i p. 244

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ptr.	bəcürāv	*bhayādi akṣaṇe*	to save someone or something
ptr.	baz	*sevāyām snehenca*	to serve; to love[171]; to fry; to praise; to fill someone's pocket[172]
	baḍ	*gativRddhyoh*	to leave/go; to grow
ptr.	baḍāv	*gatiśamanayoh*	to set out; to increase / raise; to put out; to close (shop etc.)
ptr.	baḍar/ baḍürāv[173]ca	*vardhane*	to raise / increase
ptr.	badürāv	*pūpāṅgārapāke*	to bake the cake on burning coal
	ban	*bhavane*	to become
ptr.	banzür/ banzürāv[174]	*vibhājane*	to divide / distribute / share out
ptr./pim	bar	*pūraṇe viyoga dainye ca*	to fill; to feel pain due to separation
ptr.	barükāv[175]	*pātane*	to topple down / to cause something or someone to topple down
	bal	*ārogye prāṇane ca*	to recuperate
ptr	bəlür/ bəlürāv ca	*ārogyīkaraṇe*	to cure
	bas	*nivāse*	to dwell/settle down
	basan[176]	*pītībhavane*	to turn pale; to deform

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[171] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 164

[172] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i p. 236-37

[173] *bəḍar / bəḍürāv:* Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i p. 278

[174] The actual word for 'to divide/share out'is *bāgar* or *bāgürāv* and not *banzür/bənzür* or *banzürāv/ bənzürāv* as given by the author. These can be regional variants of *bāgar* and *bāgürāv.*

[175] The term *vurükāv* is actually used to express 'to tumble down / to cause something or someone to topple down'. The terms *'barükāv* or *bürükāv/ burükāv'* can be a regional term.

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	bahar[177]	*śūratāyām*	to dare
	bākhan[178]	*buddhibhramśe*	to get enraged
ptr.	bāgür/ bāgürāv ca[179]	*vibhājane*	to distribute
ptr.	bəjar/ bəjürāv ca[180]	*vibhājane*	to distribute
	bād (brād)	*prabalī bhavane*	to exploit; to draw undue advantage
	bāmbar	*tvarāyām*	to be in extreme hurry
ptr.	bāv	*abhiprāyāviṣkaraṇe-devārpaṇe ca*	to reveal/express; (and) to make offering, such as milk, water etc., to deity
	bāvaz	*rocane*	to be agreeable / to be liked
ptr.	bāp[181]	*uccāraṇe*	to utter
	bās	*bhāsane*	to be evident
	bigar	*vikāre*	to be deformed / spoiled
ptr.	bĕñar/ bĕñürāv ca	*vivarṇe bhinnī-karaṇe ca*	to segregate/differentiate
	b̃an	*bhinnībhavane*	to be apart from
	biy[182]	*paryuṣitatve*	to putrefy
	bĕh	*upaveśane*	to sit
ptr.	buch	*damśakri yāyām*	to behave aggressively
ptr.	buz	*bharjane*	to roast / bake / parch
	bɔḍ	*nimajjane*	to get wet / drenched;
	buḍ	*sthavirī bhavane*	to become old / steady

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[176] The actual term is *busan /busünāv* : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i p. 309

[177] The actual pronunciation is *bəhar:* Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i p. 283

[178] The term *bākhan* is used by the speakers of the dialect spoken by the people of South Kashmir including Doda region.

[179] The actual pronunciation, as used by the speakers of the valley, is bəgar / bāgürāv : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i p. 288

[180] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i p. 283

[181] This term does not occur in Kashmiri

[182] '*biy*' in the sense 'putrefy' does not occur in Kashmiri

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	bɔv	*utpattau*	to be produced ; to grow.
ptr.	būg	*bhoge*	to suffer or to enjoy depending on the context
pim.	bech	*bhikṣāyām*	to beg
ptr.	boz	*niśāmane*	to hear / listen
ptr.	bol[183]	*pakṣi śabde*	to speak
ptr.	brak	*damṣṭrāghātako-payoh*	to grab / to eat up
	braz	*dīptau*	to glitter
	bram	*bhrāntau*	to yearn
ptr.	bramar/ bramürāv ca[184]	*buddhi haraṇe*	to entice ; to tempt; to yearn
ptr.	braś	*damṣṭrāghāta-kopayoh*	to gobble up
ptr.	bričh[185]	*paridevane*	to wail; to suffer pain[186]
	breṭh	*mūrkhī bhavane*	to be stupid to become senile

मकाराद्याः[187]. The below given verb roots begin with *m*

ptr.	mãg	*yācane*	to ask for; to beg
ptr.	mačürāv[188]	*unmādane*	to madden/to drive to madness
ptr.	maṭhār	*samīkaraṇe-sāntvane ca*	to make even / to equalize; to set right; to console
ptr.	manḍ	*vastramardan-ālaṅkaraṇayoh*	a process for washing woollen quilts

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[183] *bol* usually occurs combined with *boś* → *bolboś* to express babbling of a baby.

[184] The actual pronunciation is *brəmar /brəmürāv:* Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. i , p. 227

[185] The verb *vbrič*h in the sense of wailing is not used by the speakers of Srinagar and its adjoin areas while as the term *brasun* is used for wailing by the speakers of Kamraz region

[186] Apte, V.S. : The practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary p. 595

[187] *p/ph/bkārādyāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 159-165

[188] It is pronounced as *məčürāv* : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vi p.179

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	mat	*unmāde*	to become mad
ptr.	math	*mardane*	to rub
ptr.	manav[189]	*kopāpa nayane*	to persuade/convince
ptr.	mənzür / mənzürāv ca[190]	*vikalī karaṇe*	to perturb
ptr.	mand	*manthane*	to churn
	mandach	*mandākshe*	to feel ashamed / to feel shy
	mamal[191]	*niścaitanye*	to lose sensation
ptr.	mar	*maraṇasandhā-panayoh*	to die
	marč	*antah kope*	to be piqued
ptr.	mardāv	*visphoṭādi mardane*	to rub (esp. boil etc.)[192]
ptr.	mal	*mardane*	to rub
	maṣ	*vismRtau*	to be forgotten
ptr.	məśr/ məśrāv ca[193]	*vismāraṇe*	to forget
ptr.	mahār	*kaṇaśah karaṇe*	to soften clumps of cooked rice
ptr.	māz	*tatparatāyām śodhane ca*	to have concern / interest
ptr.	mãj	*dhatu nirmalī-karaṇe*	to scrub the metallic utensils
ptr.	mār	*māraṇe*	to kill
ptr.	milav / milanāv ca	*samyojane*	to mix
	mɔkal	*muktau*	to be free / relieved

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189 The actual pronunciation is *manāv* -------- ibid ------- vol. vi p. 146

190 The verb *mənzür* or *mənzürāv* is not used in speech.

191 The actual verb root for 'to lose sensation' is *mɔmal* or *mɔman* : Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vi p. 257

192 -------- ibid ---------- vol. vi p.120

193 This verb is incorrectly spelled (manuscript p. 200). The actual pronunciation is *məśar / məśürāv* : -------- ibid ------- p. 180

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	mɔč	*avaśeṣe*	to shrink / contract / reduce
ptr.	mučar / mučürāv ca	*udghāṭane*	to open
ptr.	much	*vratādityāge*	to discontinue religion ordained fasting
	mɔṭ	*sthūlībhavane*	to become fat / thick
ptr.	mɔṭür / mɔṭürāv ca	*sthūlīkaraṇe*	to thicken
	mɔnḍ	*kuṇṭhī bhavane*	to become blunt / dull
ptr.	mɔnḍür / mɔnḍürāv ca	*kuṇṭhī karaṇe*	to make blunt
	mɔdür[194]	*madhurī bhavane*	to become sweet
ptr.	mɔdürāv	*madhurī karaṇe*	to sweeten
ptr	mun	*dhānyakh ṇḍaṇe*	to pound / pestle
ptr.	mɔlav	*mūlyaniścayī karaṇe*	to fix the price
ptr.	muṣ[195]	*moṣaṇe*	to steal
ptr.	mus	*asabhyagbhakṣaṇe*	to eat uncouthly
ptr.	musar / musarāv ca[196]	*udghāṭane*	to open
ptr.	muh	*mohane*	to hoodwink; to befool
pim.	mūnčhür / mūnčhürāv ca	*samīkṣaṇe*	to procrastinate; to pay no heed[197]
ptr.	mũtra[198]	*mantrāyattī-(karaṇe) bhavane*	to cast a spell to expel evil spirits
ptr.	mür	*tvaco niṣkarṣe bhakṣaṇe ca*	to crush between palms or finger tips
	meṭh	*madhurī bhavane*	to become sweet
ptr.	men	*māpane*	to measure

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[194] The actual pronunciation is *mŏdar/mŏdürāv*: -------- ibid ------- p. 237

[195] Verb *muṣ* or *muś* in the sense of stealing does not occur in Kashmiri.

[196] The verb for 'to open' is *mučar / mučürāv*.

[197] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vi p. 234

[198] This verb is listed as *māntür (un)* in Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. v p. 193

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	mel	*sangame*	to meet
	mor	*śame*	to soothe / mitigate
ptr.	morav	*pīḍāsahane*	to put up with pain; to endure pain

Roots beginning with y :

ptr.	yatar / yatürāv ca	*śaktau*	to endure / to manage
	yāp	*vyāpatau*	to have capability / capacity/ competence
ptr.	yār[199]	*sankhyāne*	to count[200]; to establish asso-ciations[201]
	yi	*āgamane*	to come
ptr.	yer	*tantusantāne*	to knit ; to build nest; to occupy space[202]

Roots beginning with r :

ptr.	rang	*rañjane*	to dye; to dabble for prominence
ptr.	rach	*rakṣāyām*	to protect; to take care of
ptr.	rəčhr / rəčhrāv[203] ca	*samyaksams karaṇe*	to preserve / to take care of
ptr.	raṭ[204]	*grahaṇe*	to take / catch
ptr.	ran	*pāke*	to cook
	ranz	*prītau rāge ca*	to be delighted
ptr.	ranzünāv	*prīṇane*	to please someone
	ramb	*śobhāyām*	to be graceful/ embellished
	ras[205]	*sarasī bhavane*	to be full of juice

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199 The word *yār* is a noun and not a verb as assumed by the author.

200 Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 168

201 Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vii p. 308

202 ---------- ibid -------- vol. vii p.335

203 *rəčhr* and *rəčhrāv* are incorrectly spelled (see manuscript page 203). These are actually pronounced as *rəčhar* and *rəčhürāv* respectively.

204 The imperative IIIrd per. sg. is *raṭh*.

205 *ras* is a noun (meaning juice / curry) and not a verb as assumed by the author.

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	rāv	*naṣṭī bhavane*	to be inaccessible ; to be lost
ptr.	rāvr / rāvrāv[206] ca	*naṣṭīkaraṇe*	to cause to lose
pim.	rinzav	*chadmagatau*	to deceive
pim.	riv	*alaṅkaraṇātatpara--tāyām*	to lament / wail[207]
ptr.	ruv	*ropaṇe*	to plant / sow
	roč	*rocane*	to be liked / agreeable
	roz	*sthitau*	to stay
	roṭ[208]	*avaṣṭambhe*	to become stunned
	roṣ[209]	*ruṣṭau*	to sulk
ptr.	rükav	*bhūsangānayane*	to drag
	rüḍ	*rūḍhī bhavane*[210]	to scold; to rebuke[211]
	rüt	*sādhvī bhavane*[212]	to be noble, benign
	rüṇ	*jīrṇī bhavane*	to become worn out
pim.	rüs	*gamane*	to flee / escape

Roots beginning with l:

ptr.	lakh	*antarnayane*	to insert/to indulge in sex
	lag	*saṅge pīḍāyām*	to receive an injury; to get hurt
pim.	laṅg	*paṅgvī bhavane*	to limp
	laz	*yogyatāyām*	to be suitable/reasonable
pim.	laṭāv	*gamane*	to flee
pim.	laḍ	*yuddhe*	to fight

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[206] These words are wrongly lettered (see manuscript page 203). These are pronounced as *rāvar* and *rāvürāv* respectively.

[207] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii p. 370

[208] The term *rotü* is usually employed as noun followed by the verb √gačh

[209] *roś:* Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii p. 381

[210] 'to be popularly /conventionally accepted': Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 168

[211] Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. iii p. 371

[212] The word *rut* (decent/graceful) is an adjective. It is unconvertible into a verbal stem.

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ptr.	laḍāv	*samprahāraṇe*	to cause to fight
ptr.	latav	*latāghāte*	to trample upon
ptr.	latār	*adhikṣepe*	to trample clay
ptr.	lad	*vastupreṣaṇe-gRhādi-ṇordhavāntarī-karaṇayoh; sūtrādi karmaṇi ca*	to send; to fill; to build; to *nirmā* thrust into; to blame; to load
ptr.	lab	*prāptau*	to find out/to experience rarity
ptr.	lam	*ākarṣaṇe*	to pull / stretch / draw
	lay	*arghaṇe*	to have attachment
ptr.	lalav	*aṅkapālane*	to nurse
	las	*samyagjīvane*	to live long
	lahan[213]	*nāḍīśithilībhavane*	to become wrinkled; to be aggressive[214]
ptr.	lāg	*anukaraṇadhāraṇā-kRṣi-samparcaneṣu*	to put on; to apply/affix; to impose; to sow a field; to mimic; to plant
ptr.	lāy	*āghāte prakṣepe ca*	to beat
ptr.	lār	*sparśānugama-nasnigdhīkaraṇeṣu*	to stick to/adhere; to cling
ptr.	likh[215]	*lekhane*	to write
	l̃ač	*nirbalībhavane*	to be unwell; to be dispirited / listless
	l̃aḍ	*parājayī bhavane*	to give in; to lose courage
ptr.	lithav	*mardane*	to drag; to make dirty by rough use; to lash at
	l̃ədar	*pītībhavane*	to turn pale
ptr.	l̃ədürāv	*pītīkaraṇe*	to make yellow

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213 This term is listed as *lühan* in Kashmiri Dictionary: vol. vi p. 64

214 ---------- ibid ---------- vol. vi p 64

215 Actual pronunciation is *lekh:* ---------- ibid ---------- vol. vi p. 94

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ptr.	liv	*lepane*	to mud wash
ptr.	l̃av	*lehane*	to lick
	lis[216]	*prasannatāyām*	to rejoice[217]
	lɔt	*lāghave*	to become light
pim.	lɔl	*upakrīḍāyām*	to be uninterested
ptr.	lūkürāv	*kṣudrīkaraṇe*	to make small
ptr.	lūṭ	*luṇṭhane*	to rob
	lūb	*lobhane*	to tempt ; to be allured
ptr.	lūr	*vinaṣṭīkaraṇe nipātane ca*	to destroy /dismantle
ptr.	lekh	*lekhane*	to write
	lok[218]	*kṣudrī bhavane*	to become small
ptr.	lon, lɔñ (iti kecit)	*lavaṇe*	to harvest
	lor	*vaikalye*	to turn excessively lean[219]
	los	*śrame*	to be weary / fatigued
	lüy, lüh ca	*samyakparyāptau*	to have to one's content
	lühan	*pākavikāre*	to ripen[220]

Roots beginning with v:

ptr.	vakhan	*vyākhyāne*	to explain
pim	vaz	*vādya svane*	to produce sound; to ring/tinkle
ptr.	vazav	*sādrīkaraṇe*	to soak ; to drench
ptr.	vaṭ[221]	*veṣṭane*	to wind up; to collect; to gather; to fol

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[216] The word *lis* is listed in Kashmiri Dictionary (vol. vi, p.69) as *lisü* (N. lazy, indolent, unwell).

[217] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 170

[218] This verb does not exist in spoken language

[219] a) Kashmiri Dictionary, vol. vi p.86
b) It is usually used as noun in the sense of *stigma* and *inclination*

[220] Kashmiri Dictionary, vol. vi p.73

[221] Actual pronunciation is *vaṭh*

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ptr.	vəḍar / vəḍürāv ca	*nikṣepe*	to throw down[222]; to bury[223]
ptr.	vathar / vathürāv ca	*āstaraṇe*	to spread out
pim.	vad	*rodane*	to cry
ptr.	van	*bhāṣaṇe*	to tell
ptr.	vanav	*strīṇāmeka-svaragāne*	chorus by women in singsong manner
ptr.	vand	*upahāre*[224]	to sacrifice
	vay	*pathyī bhavane*	to be agreeable
ptr.	var	*varaṇe*	to choose bride/groom[225]
ptr.	val	*ācchādane*	to wrap / cover one's body
ptr.	vav	*vāpane*[226]	to sow
ptr.	vaṣ[227]	*varṣaṇe*	to be leaky
	vas	*avarohaṇe*	to come down; to alight
ptr.	vahār/a vahārāv ca	*vistāraṇe makṣikādyapavā-raṇe ca*	to spread; to spread out; to swat flies etc.
pim.	vɛ̃č[228]	*vañcane*	to avoid / evade / cheat
ptr.	vāṭ	*samdhāpane*	to connect / join

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[222] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 170

[223] Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.74

[224] *'to offer gift'* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 171

[225] Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.32

[226] The Sanskrit term *vāpanam* (causing to sow) is causative form of verb *√vap* (to sow) while as its non-causative form is *vapanam*. The Kashmiri verb root *√vav* or *√vɔv* is a non-causal and should have been translated in Sanskrit as *vapane* and not *vāpane* (see manuscript p. 207).

[227] *vaṣ* is unintelligible and the correct word is *varüśun* (Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.34) meaning *shower*. *varüśun* is an indeclinable and occurs compounded with a free form such as in *pośi varüśun* (shower of flowers); *rəpüyi varüśun* (shower of money); *pã varüśun* (shower of water) etc.

[228] This root is spelled as *vãč(un)* in Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.67

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	vāt	*prāpaṇe*	to reach
ptr.	vām	*makṣikādya-pavāraṇe*	to swat flies etc.
ptr.	vāl	*avatāraṇe-vRṣṭipāte-vRṣṭipāte ca*	to bring down; to deceit; to insult
	vigal[229]	*vigalane*	to melt away
ptr.	vicār[230]	*vicāre*	to think; to judge; to deliberate
	ṽač	*sambhave*	to be unimpressed
ptr.	ṽačhan[231]	*vivaraṇe*	to explain in detail
ptr.	ṽazür/ ṽazürāv ca	*jñātīkaraṇe*	to find out / to trace
ptr.	ṽañar/ ṽañürāv ca	*pRthak pRthak-karaṇe*	to disentangle; to separate
	ṽaṭh	*sthūlī bhavane-*	to become fat ;
ptr.	ṽaṭhür/ ṽṭhürāv ca	*sthūlīkaraṇe karane*	to fatten
	ṽadür	*śaithilye*	to become loose; to become lazy / weak;
ptr.	ṽadürāv	*śaithilīkaraṇe*	to soften.
ptr.	ṽand	*ācaraṇe*	to know; to be aware of; to wish
	ṽap	*sambhave*	to adjust/fit in
ptr.	ṽapür/ ṽapürāv ca	*sambhāvane*	to make something to adjust/ fit in
	ṽalar	*asvāsthe*	to be in miserable state; to be wearied

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[229] *ṽgal(un)* : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.172
[230] *ṽčār(un)* : ---------- ibid -------- vol. vii p.169
[231] Also *ṽčünāv* : ---------- ibid -------- vol. vii p.169

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ptr.	ṽav/ ṽavür/ ṽavürāv ca	*vikīrṇane*	to join; to winnow [232]; to explain in detail; winnow[233]
	vɔtal	*ūrdhavī bhavane*	to grow; to rise
	vɔth	*utthāne*	to get up
ptr.	ṽathar/ ṽatharāv ca[234]	*avamārjane*	to wipe / cleanse / remove
	vud	*jāgaraṇe*	to wake up; to achieve fame[235]
	vudar	*viyoga khede*	to suffer pain due to loss or separation; to be afflicted
	vun	*daivānārjave*	to befall / happen
	vɔnnat[236]	*unnatībhāve*	to progress
	vup	*antardāhe*	to have inward wrath
	vɔpaz[237]	*utpattau*	to grow; to produce
	vuph	*vihāyasāgatau*	to fly
ptr.	vɔphar	*śaithilye*	to loosen; to relax; to move/ shaken
	vɔbar	*samāptau*	to accomplish/finish/conclude
	vɔbas	*bahulībhavane*	to be wide spread/ known
	vɔm	*sīmānadhigame*	to work drearily

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232 _____

233 _____ ibid _____ vol. vii p.176

234 _____ ibid _____ vol. vii p. 176
The actual pronunciation is vɔthar/vɔthürāv and not ṽathar/ṽathürāv- Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.138

235 _____ ibid _____ vol. vii p.102

236 This verb does not occur in Kashmiri. However the word *vɔnut* is most commonly used as qualitative adjective in the sense of *tall* - Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.156

237 The term in vogue is *vɔpad (un) / vɔpan (un)* - see Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.135 - 136

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	vuy[238]	*paryāptau*	to be sufficient
ptr.	vur	*umbhapaṭap-racchādana-nipātaneṣu*[239]	to cover the body; to wrap; to thread a needle or pearls; to imbed
ptr.	vɔlaṅg[240]	*ullaṅghane*	to transgress; to overstep;
	ṽasar	*viśīrṇane*	to lose courage; to buckle
	vis[241]	*prasannī bhavane*	to be delighted
	vɔk	*doṣādiceṣṭāyām*	to pulsate / throb
	vukar	*vakrībhavane*	to become crooked
ptr.	vukürāv	*vakrīkaraṇe*	to make someone crooked
ptr.	vɔkhar/	*ūrdhavādhrī*	to turn around with ladle
	vɔkhürāv ca	*karaṇe kngri*	the stuff in particularly
	vɔgan	*uttānībhavane*	to move upwards/to bubble up
ptr.	vugürāv	*Rṇaprati-grahaṇe*	to recover the debt/dues
ptr.	vuṅg	*śvarave*	to cry/wail like dog
	vuč	*dagdhī bhavane*	to be peeved
ptr.	vuch	*prekṣaṇe*	to see
	vuz	*jāgaraṇejalādivya-ktī bhavane ca*	to wake up; to spring up/ooze from the ground
	vɔzal	*raktībhavane*	to turn red
	vɔṭ[242]	*plavagatau*	to walk quickly[243]

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[238] *vuy* is used as noun (meaning udder) : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.118

[239] Read *ubhapaṭa* and not *umbhapaṭa* : Sir M.M. Williams- A Sanskrit-English Dictionary p.216

[240] This verb does not occur in common discourse. The term *vɔlaṅgun* listed in Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii, p. 153 means to cross over is also not used oin speech.

[241] This term is listed in the Kashmuri Dictionary vol. vii p.90 but is actually pronounced as *vɔlüsun/ṽačun* or *vɔsi yun*. *visun* can be a regional term.

[242] Actual pronunciation is *vɔṭh* (noun) meaning *jump* : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.140.

[243] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 173

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ptr.	vuṭh	*veṣṭane*	to wind / twist
	vaḍ[244]	*uḍḍayane*	to fly
ptr.	vuḍāv	*nāśane cālane*	to fly; to blow away
	vɔnal[245]	*alaṅkaraṇe*	to decorate
	vɔlas	*ullasane*	to jubilate / rejoice / exult
	vɔśal	*auhitye*	to blush
	vuṣṇ[246]	*uṣṇībhavane*	to become warm
	vɔs[247]	*bāhulye*	to be over joyous
ptr.	vusar/ vusarāv ca	*uddhāṭane*	to unfold / spread / scatter
	vuh	*anirvāṇe*	to have insufficient means[248]; to flare up; to be ablaze
pim.	vɔhav	*śāpe*	to curse
ptr.	von	*tantuvāya karmaṇi*	to knit
pim.	vor	*bhāṣaṇe vismRtyālāpe ca*	to talk gibberish
	vol	*cañcalī bhavane*	to fume with anger
ptr.	vovür/ vovürāv ca	*dhātūnāmtakṣaṇe*	to work on the metal; to flatten

Roots beginning with ś:

ptr.	śagnāv	*ṣaḍguṇī kakaṇe*	to make six-fold; to multiply
	śam	*upaśame*	to be extinguished; to cool down

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[244] The actual pronunciation is *vvuḍ* Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.1o4

[245] The term *vɔnal* is neither used in speech nor is this term listed in the dictionary.

[246] The actual verbal stem for '*to become warm*' is *vvuśan*. It is derived from the adjective *vuśun* meaning '*warm*': Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.110

[247] The term *vɔsi* is commonly used as noun. It is followed by the verb *vyi* and *vɔsi yun* means '*to be over joyous*' : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.148

[248] a) KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : - p. 173
b) Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p.118

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ptr./	śaṣ[249]	*sahane*	to endure/tolerate
pim.	śahal[250]	*śītī bhavane*	to become cool / chilled
pim.	śāś[251]	*ucchvāsa nihśvāse*	to breathe heavily
	śigan	*parerṣyādāne*	to become object of envy for others
	śiṭh/śriṭh ca	*śīnī bhavane*	to freeze; to solidify
	śɔṅg	*śayane*	to sleep
	śɔddh	*śodhane*	to become pure/sincere
	śūb	*śobhāyām*	to look pleasing
ptr.	śūbar/ śūbürāv ca	*śobhane*	to enhance grace; to bring honour
ptr./ *pim.*	śẽk	*śaṅkāyām*	to suspect; to raise doubt
ptr.	śer	*samskaraṇe*	to mend
	śrap	*jīrṇane*	to get absorbed; to be scared
pim.	śrɔk	*krandane*	to cry[252] ; to shrink[253]
ptr.	śrut	*śabdavatpāne*	to drink noisily
	śroč	*śuddhau*	to become pure / clean

Roots beginning with s :

	sakhar	*prasthāne*	to get ready
ptr.	sagav/ sagünāv ca	*vRkṣādisiñcane*	to water the plants; to irrigate
ptr.	səñür/ səñürāv ca	*agādhīkaraṇe*	to deepen
pim.	satāv	*bādhane*	to torment

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[249] Not found in use.

[250] Actual pronunciation is śehal : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. iv p. 323

[251] Actual pronunciation is śã̃ś : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. iv p. 287

[252] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 174

[253] Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. iv p.270

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	san	*agādhī bhavane*	to go deep into / to concentrate; to be deeply impacted
ptr.	sənzr[254]	*sajjīkaraṇe*	to make preparations; to get equipped
ptr.	səndr/ səndrāv[255] ca	*sandhukṣaṇe*	to prepare the hearth for cooking
ptr.	sandār	*prāṇasvāsthye*	to recover; to make up
	sapaz/sapad/ sapan ca	*siddhau*	to accomplish / complete
	sam[256]	*sāmye*	to gather / assemble
	samakh	*samakṣī bhavane*	to meet; to come across
ptr.	sambāl	*samskaraṇe*	to look after; to protect; to repair; to recuperate
ptr.	sar	*smaraṇe*	to remember
ptr./ pim.	sah[257]	*sahane*	to endure/tolerate
	sə̃gar[258]	*viśaraṇe*	to be utterly poor[259]
ptr.	sād	*sanrādhau*	to help in accomplishing an action
ptr.	sār	*svāraikatrī bhavane kramānayaneṣu*	to carry/transport; to gather; to feel with hands; to absorb/ gain
ptr.	sāv	*śāyane*	to put someone to sleep
ptr.	šəzar/ šəzürāv ca	*Rjvīkaraṇe*	to set right

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254 The correct form is *sənzar*: ------- ibid ------- vol. iv p.193

255 This root is incorrectly spelled. The actual pronunciation is səndar/səndürāv ---- ibid ------ vol. iv p. 192-93

256 The author has given the meaning of *√sam* as *sāmye* (equality) which is neither correct nor is the verb *√sam* employed to express 'equality'.

257 Not used in common discourse

258 Not used in common speech

259 Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 175

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ptr.	šañürāv[260]	*adRḍhīkaraṇe*	to soften (especially veg. etc.) by boiling or (bread, biscuits etc.) by dipping in tea or milk
	šad	*siddhyRjvībhavanayo*	to become straight; to have mended ways;
	šandür[261]	*aruṇībhavane*	to turn vermilion coloured[262]
	šanna[263]	*akarkaśī bhavane ca*	to become soft by boiling
ptr.	siv	*sevane pākaviśeṣe*	to boil in plain water
	sīr	*bhramaṇe*	to revolve
ptr.	suk[264]	*vyabhicāre (antarāveśane)*	to deviate from the right course; to enter
ptr.	sɔkhav/ sɔkhünāv ca	*mRḍane*	to make someone's life comfortable; to favour
	sɔg	*mūlyālpatāyām*	to become low priced/cheap
ptr.	sɔgürāv	*sumūlyīkaraṇe*	to make low priced/ affordable
ptr.	sɔčürāv	*śāmane*	to make calm/ to tranquilize
	sɔt	*śamane*	to become calm/to get tranquilized
ptr.	sɔmbar	*samīkarṇaikatrī karaṇyoh*	to align; to put together; to collect
ptr.	sɔr	*smaraṇe*	to remember ; to recall[265]
ptr.	surav	*bhājanbhama-śuddhau*	to dry scrub with ash
ptr.	sɔraś[266]	*hastādi śuddhau*	to wash hands with plain water before eating meals

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[260] The actual pronunciation is šəñürāv or šənürāv

[261] The word *šəndür* is a noun (meaning vermilion) and does nor occur as a verb: Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. iv, p.256

[262] Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam - p. 175

[263] The actual verb root is *všan* : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. iv, p.252

[264] The word *sukü* is employed as noun in the sense of i) *punch or blow of fist* & ii) *starvation*; Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. iv, p.218

[265] --------- ibid --------- vol. iv, p. 237

[266] The actual verb root is *vsɔrüšāv* --------- ibid ----------: vol. iv, p. 238

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ptr.	sulav	*aṅkapālane*	to cradle in lap [267]
ptr.	suv	*sūcīkarmaṇi*	to sew
	sɔsar[268]	*kāṣṭhādi jīrṇane*	to decay (timber etc.)
ptr.	soz	*prāṇipre ṣaṇe*	to send someone to a particular destination
	sor	*avasāne*	to decline; to give way; to be completely used up
ptr./ pim.	süt[269]	*saṅghane*	to compress
	srav	*kṣaraṇe*	to ooze; to seep[270]
	srɔgürāv	*sumūlyī karaṇe*	to make affordable/low priced
pim.	sūs	*apānavāyau*	to pass intestinal gases[271]

Roots beginning with h:

	hakar[272]	*kārkaśye*	to be emaciated; to become stale and hard
pim.	hag[273]	*purīṣotsarge*	to defecate
pim.	haṭ[274]	*kṣīṇī bhavane*	to become feeble due to illness or strain;
ptr.	həṭür / həṭürāv ca	*kṣīṇī karaṇe*	to enfeeble
	həndür [275]	*śītī bhavane*	to become chilled and stale
ptr.	handürāv ca	*śītī karaṇe*	to make chilled and stale
	hap[276]	*kārśye*	to get bored and tired

267
268 ibid vol. iv, p. 219
269 ibid vol. iv, p. 240
270 ibid vol. iv, p. 216
271 ibid vol. iv, p. 155
272 ibid vol. iv p. 213
273 ibid vol. vii p. 193 (This verb root is pronounced as *vhakhar*)
274 ibid vol. vii p. 195
275 ibid vol. vii p. 184
276 ibid vol. vii p. 230
ibid vol. vii p. 181

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	ham	*śamane*	to become calm/ to be subdued
	har[277]	*kṣaraṇapata nayoh*	to get shed and fallen
	hal[278]	*vakratāyām*	to become crooked
ptr.	hahar	*vivāha karmaṇi*	to get married; to make preparations for[279] wedding
	hãkal	*śītasaṅkocane*	to freeze with bone-chilling cold
	hãṭh	*naiṣphale*	to be unproductive / infertile
ptr.	hãṭhürāv	*niṣphalī karaṇe*	to make unproductive / infertile
	hān	*śaitye*	to shiver with cold[280]
	hāman	*śītalāpāke*	to be left scarred due to smallpox[281]
ptr./ pim.	hār	*parājaya nipātayoh*	to be defeated; to lose
ptr.	hāv	*darśane*	to show
ptr.	hi[282]	*grahaṇakrīṇna/ dhāraṇesu*	to buy/purchase; to observe
ptr.	ɦak	*śaktau*	to be able to; to have courage/ nerve
ptr.	ɦach	*śikṣāyām*	to learn
pim.	ɦaḍ	*paribhāṣaṇe*	to snicker; to maka a caricature of someone
	hil[283]	*prabalībhavane*	to take for-granted
	hɔkh	*śoṣe*	to get dried

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277 -------- ibid -------- vol. vii p.189

278 -------- ibid -------- vol. vii p. 197

279 -------- ibid -------- vol. vii p. 208

280 -------- ibid -------- vol. vii p. 219

281 -------- ibid -------- vol. vii p. 219

282 This verb root is actually pronounced as *vhĕ* : Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vii p. 279

283 ---------- ibid -------- vol. vii p. 239

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ptr.	hɔkhar / hɔkhürāv ca	*śoṣaṇe*	to make dry; to make emaciated
	hɔč	*vistrībhavane*	to get putrefied
ptr.	hɔčürāv	*vistrīkaraṇe*	to putrefy
ptr.	hɔbür/ hɔbürāv ca	*parājayane*	to inflict defeat
ptr.	hum[284]	*home*	to offer oblation
ptr.	hɔmür[285]/ ca hɔmürāv	*śāmane*	to make calm; to extinguish
	hon[286]	*utkaṭī bhavane*	to become rabid in behaviour
ptr.	hor	*pratidāne*	to liquidate/dissolve
	hün	*śothe*	to inflate[287]
	hür	*upacaye*	to be in excess
	hün	*prasavārambhe*	to start labour pain[288]
ptr.	hüsan/ hüsünāv ca	*śvādisucanāyām*	to incite[289]

▶Here ends the list of Kashmiri verb roots given by the author. It consists of 926 entries. The study of this chapter shows that the list given by the author contains not only the verbal roots and stems of Kashmiri but also includes the roots which are neither used by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley nor are listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary, such as *abar/abürāv* (to make wise), *āyav* (to sraighten), *kənzar* (to be devoid of wealth), *kuh* (to sumarize), etc. Some of these tems are specifically used by the seakers of the Doda- Kashtawar region, such as *pāth* (to acquire/obtain), *p̃hačav* (to steal), *phikh* (to make something rotate). More questionable is the that the author has included in this list the lexical items which are basically appellatives and can occur attributively as well but do not occur as verbs, e.g., *tāv*

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284 ———

285 ——— ibid ——— vol. vii p. 246

286 ——— ibid ——— vol. vii p. 201

287 ——— ibid ——— vol. vii p. 262

288 ——— ibid ——— vol. vii p. 242

289 Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam - p. 177

Kashmiri Dictionary : vol. vi, p. 242

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(heat), *taṅg* (tight), *tāl* (top), *śɔd* (pure and clean), *s̃əndür* (vermilion) etc.◀

The chapter is concluded with these words- (इति श्री शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते धातुपाठ–प्रक्रिया समाप्ता) 'here ends the chapter regarding verb roots in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'.

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7.2
Addendum of Denominative Roots[1]

▶The nominal roots in Kashmiri are derived from nouns and adjectives by treating them exactly like verb roots or by dropping the aspiration of the final consonant of the base or by replacing the vowel in the medial position of the base by some other vowel. The examples are- pɔnd (sneeze) → √pɔnd (to sneeze), čʊ̃ṭh (fart) → √cʊ̃ṭ (to fart), narüm (soft) → √naram (to be soft), ŏdur (wet) → √ədar (to be drenched) etc. Roots like these have been listed by the author in the previous chapter. The contents of the present chapter reveal that it is a list of compounded roots rather than nominal roots as suggested in the title "अथ परिशिष्टनामधातवो लिख्यन्ते"[2] of the chapter.

The verb roots in Kashmiri are of two types, viz., primary roots and secondary roots. Primary roots are free forms and cannot be segmented into units. Secondary roots on the other hand, are derived by the addition of derivative terminations, such as- √pakh (to walk) → √pakünāv (make to walk), vɔzul (red coloured) → √vɔzülāv (to cause to turn red) etc. Secondary roots are further divided into three groups, i.e., causative, denominatives and compounded roots. The author has devoted in his work a separate chapter (8.4) on the description of causative verbs while as there is no reference to the denominative verbs let alone a detailed discussion on the subject. There is, thus, a mismatch between the title and the contents of the chapter.

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1 *atha pariśiṣṭanāmadhātavo likhyante* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 178

2 ------ ibid ------ p. 178

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The compounded roots in Kashmiri are constituted either by combining two verbs or a noun and a verb or even an adverb followed by a noun. The examples given below will make the statement clear-

Verb + Verb	*Noun + Verb*	*Adverb + Verb*
vɔlü běh	vɔṭh tul (üñ)	vəs̃ pě (p̃ŏn)
(come & sit)	(to jump up)	(to fall down)

Īśvar Kaul's list under discussion contains only those compounded roots which consistof a noun and a verb. The entries in the list are arranged in the order of the Devanāgarī alphabet. The list is as follows:

अंग्य लगुन (*agya lagun*) (to confront).

►It is noteworthy that the term *əgya lagun* is not found in use. The most commonly used term synonymous to *əgya lagun* is *buthi lagun*. *əgya* is close to Hindi adverb *āge* and is commonly found used by the Kashmiri speakers of Kashtwar region.◄

अगादि गछुन	(*agādi gačhun*)	(to pester)
खख्र्र दिञ	(*khakhür diñ*)	(to drag)
छित् करुन	(*chtü karun*)	(to disgrace)

►The word for disgrace is 'chitü' and not 'chtü' as given by the author.◄

ज़ीर दिञ (*zīrū diñ*) (to provoke)

►The term is used as 'zīr diñ' and not 'zīrū' as cited by the author.◄

डाल मारुञ (*ḍāl mārüñ*) (to look the other way)

► *ḍāl* ***mārüñ*** is also used as *ḍāl* ***diñ***.◄

ड्यम्बुड्यम्ब् करुन	(*ḍ̃ambüḍ̃amb - karun*)	(to be spongy)
तोथ करुञ	(*toth karüñ*)	(to scold egoistically)

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दाम द्युन	(*dām d̃un*)	(to gulf)
दारिथ द्युन	(*dārith d̃un*)	(to throw away)

▶It is actually *pronounced* as *dārith d̃un.*◀

निन्ˌ युन	(*ninü yun*)	(to be fed up)
न्यूर युन	(*nyūru yun*)	(to come closer)

▶ *-u* at the end of *nyūru* is *misperceived.* The word is pronounced as *nyūr ~ ñūr.*◀

पाय करुन	(*pāy karun*)	(to find a way)
फूह करुन	(*phūh karun*)	(to insight)
फश द्युन	(*phaś d̃un*)	(to caress/sweep clean)
वर गछुन	(*var gačhun*)	(to sulk)
मन मान–करुंञ	(*mān mān karüñ*)	(to be uppity)
रथि खारुन	(*rathi khārun*)	(to add value)
वोंन द्युन	(*vanu d̃un*)	(to look around/prowl)

▶The *actual* term is ***vəñ diñ*** or *vŏn d̃un* and not ***vanu*** *d̃un* as quoted by the author.◀

वंस्य प्योंन	(*vəs̃ p̃ŏn*)	(to fall down)
वोंडाल्ˌ करुन	(*voḍāl karun*)	(to ignore)

▶ voḍāl is *pronounced* as *vəḍāl.*◀

सर्ˌ करुन	(*sar karun*)	(to assess)

▶This *term* is used as ***sarü*** *karun.*◀

सोंर करुन	(*svar karun*)	(to arouse)
हुंक्ˌ युन	(*hükü yun*)	(to appear briskly).

▶The *author* says that accordingly may be understood with other roots (अन्येऽपि यथायोग्यं बोध्याः) and concludes this chapter with these words "(इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे

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कश्मीरशब्दामृते धातुप्रक्रियायाः परिशिष्टे नामधातवः समाप्ताः)
'here ends the addendum of the formation denominative roots in in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'.◀

Chapter 8

Verb Morphology

8.1 Present Tense

8.2 Future Tense

8.3 Past Tense

8.4 Causative Verbs

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8.1
Present Tense[1]

▶As stated in the previous chapter, the verb is discussed in two chapters of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam under the title *Ākhyātaprakriyā*[2]. These are further divided into subchapters. The first chapter is handled over two subchapters. The first subchapter '*Dhātupāṭhah*' is a catalogue of Kashmiri verb roots while as the second sub chapter is the list of compounded verb roots of Kashmiri. The chapter deals with the conjugation of Kashmiri verbs. This chapter is further divided into four sub-chapters viz., '*Vartamānapādah*', '*Bhaviṣyatpādah*', '*Bhūtapādah*' and '*Hetupādah*': The terms *vartamāna*, *bhaviṣyat* and *bhūta* correspond, in English, to three main tenses, viz: the present tense, the future tense and the past tense respectively. The word *'hetu*' means cause and the causative form a verb indicates that some person or object makes or helps something happen as in - *su chu guris pakünāvān*' he makes or causes the horse walk. According to formation, the tenses in Kashmiri can be classified into two categories, i.e., i) simple tenses, and, ii) compound tenses. The simple tenses are expressed by appending the conjugational terminations directly to the verb roots. The compound tenses, on the other hand, are indicated by the participle verbs assisted by auxiliaries conjugated according to various tenses of action. The simple tenses and moods in Kashmiri, are – i) proximate past, ii) aorist/remote past, and, iii) absolute future. The moods such as imperative, potential, indicative, benedictive, subjunctive or conditional and interrogative are also expressed by adding the respective terminations directly to the verb roots. The compound tenses and moods may broadly be classified as i) progressive, and, ii) perfect. These principal compound tenses have

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2 *ākhyātaprakriyāyām vartamānapādah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 180
Formation of verbs : --------- ibid ------- p. 180

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further, according to the time and degree of the completion of the action, three forms each. These are present indefinite/progressive, past progressive; future progressive; present perfect, past perfect and future perfect. The past subjunctive is also expressed by the compound verb. The progressive tense in Kashmiri, whether present, past or future, is indicated by the present participle verb and the auxiliary *ch* associated with present, past or future tense terminations respectively. The examples are- *sɔ* ***chi*** *vuṅ̃kas ~vuṅ̃kas batü ranān* (she is cooking food this time), *sɔ* ***ās*** *tami sātü batü* ***ranān*** (she was cooking food that time), *sɔ* ***āsi*** *tami sātü batü* ***ranān*** (she would be cooking food that time). Similarly, the sentences like *tami* ***chu*** *batü* ***ronümut*** (she has cooked the food), *tami* ***os*** *batü* ***ronümut*** (she had cooked the food), *tami* ***āsi*** *batü* ***ronümut*** (she would have have cooked the food) are examples of present perfect, past perfect and future perfect (expressive of prediction as well) respectively. It is in place to mention that the auxiliaries in Kashmiri are also by themselves capable of being used alone. This chapter deals excusively with the conjugation of verbs in present tense. Conjugation of verbs in other tenses and moods is dealt with in the subsequent sub-chapters.◀

As the title *vartamānapādah* suggests, this sub-chapter is devoted to discription of conjugation of verbs in the present tense. The author begins this chapter with the following sutra:

कालत्रयतद्विशेषक्रियाकर्मकर्त्रवबोधकृदाख्यातः –1[3]. The subject matter of *ākhyāta* is performance and modes of an action in three different periods of time understood as present, past, and future tenses, the subjective and objective phases of verb and the conjugational terminations self expressive of the person, gender and number of the subject or object of action (विभक्तिस्वरूपेष्वप्रयुक्त तच्छब्दादिकर्तृषु-क्रिया कर्त्रोश्चावबोध कृत्सम्यग्बोधकारक आख्यातो विज्ञेयः).

▶The statement विभक्तिस्वरूपेष्वप्रयुक्त..... refers to the pronominal adjuncts which provide information about the person,

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[3] *kālatrayatadviśeṣakriyākarmakartravabodhakRdākhyātah* :
------ ibid ------ 8/1/1 p. 180

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number, gender and case relations of the associated nominal onto the finite element of the action. The use of pronominal suffixes is a special development in Kashmiri and other western speeches like western Punjabi, Sindhi etc. while as it is unknown to most of the cognate modern vernaculars of India. In Kashmiri these pronominal suffixes agree, in number and gender, with the subject of the action in the subjective constructions. In the objective constructions these suffixes take the number and gender of both the doer as well as the receiver of the transitive action which is a unique peculiarity of the Kashmiri language. These pronominal suffixes are, therefore, of two types, i.e., subjective pronominal suffixes and objective pronominal suffixes. The objective pronominal affixes occur in the past tense only. For lucidity given below is a brief description of these suffixes:

i) *Pronominal subjective suffixes added to transitive and intransitive verbs other than the verb √ās (to be):*

Transitive verb √***lekh*** (to write)	Intransitive verb √***as*** (to laugh)
lekhān **chu**/ lekhān **chukh** / lekhān **chus**	asān **chu**/ asān **chukh** / asān **chus**
(III/ II/ I per. sg. is/are/am writing)	(III/II/I per. sg. is/are/am laughing)
lekhān **chi**/lekhān **chivü**/lekhān **chi**	asān **chi**/asān **chivü**/asān **chi**
(III/ II/ I per. are writing)	(III/ II/ I per. plu. are laughing)

i) *Pronominal objective suffixes added to transitive verbs according to number, gender and person of both, the doer as well as the receiver of the action:*

III Person agent:

Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and *mas. sg. object* –
akhübār *ŏnun* (*he/she* brought a *newspaper*);
Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and *mas. plu. object* –
akhübār *əñin* (*he/she* brought *newspapers*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and mas. *sg. object* –
akhübār *ŏnukh* (*they* brought a *newspaper*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and mas. *plu. object* –
akhübār *əñikh* (*they* brought *newspapers*);
Mas./fem. *sg.* doer and fem. *sg. object* –
kitāb *əñin* (*he/she* brought a *book*);

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Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and fem.*sg. object* –
kitāb *əñikh* (*they* brought a *book*);
Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and fem. *plu. object* –
kitābü *əñan* (*he/she* brought *books*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and fem. *plu. object* –
kitābü *əñakh* (*they* brought *books*).

II Person agent:

M./fem. *sg. doer* and mas. *sg. object* –
akhübār *ŏnuth* (*you* brought a *newspaper*);
M/fem. *sg. doer* and mas. *plu. object* –
akhübār *əñith* (*you* brought a *newspapers*);
M/fem. *plu. doer* and mas. *sg. object* –
akhübār *ŏnüvü* (*you* brought a *newspaper*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and mas. *plu. object* –
akhübār *əñivü* (*you* brought *ṇewspapers*);
Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and fem. *sg. object* –
kitāb *əñith* (*you* brought a *book*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and fem. *sg. object* –
kitāb *əñivü* (*you* brought a *book*);
Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and fem. *plu. object* –
kitābü *əñath* (*you* brought *books*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and fem. plu. *object* –
kitābü *əñivü* (*you* brought *books*).

I Person agent:

Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and mas. *sg. object* –
akhübār *ŏnum* (*I* brought a *newspaper*);
Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and mas. *plu. object* –
akhübār *əñim* (*I* brought a *newspapers*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and mas. *sg. object* –
akhübār *ŏn* (*we* brought a *newspaper*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and mas. *plu. object* –
akhübār *əñ* (*we* brought *newspapers*);
Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and fem.sg. *object* –
kitāb *əñim* (*I* brought a *book*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and fem.sg. *object* –

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kitāb *əñ* (*we* brought a *book*);
Mas./fem. *sg. doer* and fem.plu. *object* –
kitābü *əñam* (*I* brought *books*);
Mas./fem. *plu. doer* and fem. *plu. object* –
kitābü *əñi* (*we* brought *books*).◀

आरब्धानारब्धसमापितक्रियाकाला वर्तमानभविष्यद्भूतसंज्ञाः–2[4]. The action which 'has begun', the action which 'has not begun' and the action which 'has been completed' are denoted by the terms *vartamāna*, *bhaviṣyat* and *bhūta* respectively.

▶The Sanskrit terms *vartamāna*, *bhaviṣyat* and *bhūta* employed by the author are, as stated earlier, similar to English present tense, future tense and past tense respectively. The *vartamān* or present tense in Kashmiri is of three types, viz., simple present, present progressive and present perfect. The simple present is usually employed to denote a habitual action or general truths etc. while as present continuous indicates that the action is 'in progress' at the time of speaking. The examples are- *su* ***chu*** *dahi baji daphtar* ***nerān*** (he leaves for office at 10 o'clock), *su* ***chu*** *batü k̃havān* (he is having food). Present perfect indicates completion of action in the immedite past, such as- *su* ***chu*** *vuñ* ***drāmut*** *tati* (he has just left from there). Future and past tenses are also of variou types, such as- absolute future → *sɔ* ***rani*** *batü* (she will cook food), future progressive → *sɔ* ***āsi*** *tami sātü batü ranān* (she would be cooking food that time) and future perfect → *tŏt tām* ***āsi*** *tami batü rŏnümut* (she would have cooked food by then); proximate past → *tami* ***rŏn*** *batü* (she cooked food), past progressive → *sɔ* ***ās*** *batü ranān* (she was cooking food), past perfect → *tami* ***os*** *batü rŏnümut* (she had cooked food), aorist → *tami* ***raño*** *batü* (she did cook food) and remote past → *tami* ***raño*** *t̃e--eli*[5] *batü* (she had cooked food long ago). These are described by the author in the subsequent sub-chapters on conjugation of verbs.◀

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[4] *ārabdhānārabdhasmāpitakriyākālā vartamānabhaviṣyadbhūtasañjñāh* : ——— ibid ——— 8/1/2 p. 180

[5] *-te-- eli* denotes that the sound *–e-* between *t-* and *–l* is protracted or lengthened.

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अश्रोतृश्रोतृवक्तृभेदात्प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः–३[6]. According to this sutra, three types of persons, *uttama*, *madhyama* and *prathama*, come into existence on the basis of classification of the doer of an action in terms of speaker, listener and object of speech respectively.

▶In English grammar, these three persons correspond sequentially to first person, second person and third person.◀

एकानेकाभ्यां द्वे द्वे वचने –४[7]. According to the number of the doers of an action the three persons, first, second and third, are grouped in two classes each, the singular and the plural.

▶In addition to two numbers, each tense shows presence of two genders, the masculine and the feminine gender as well regarding which there is no mention at least in the introductory sutras of this chapter.◀

युगपदुक्तौ वाचकासन्नो मुख्यः –५[8]. If two persons are doers of the same action, the verb occurs in the plural number according to the person closer to the speaker or the commander. The examples are: *su tü **čü** pəriv* (he and you will study), *čü tü **bü** parav* (you and I will study, *su, čü tü **bü** parav* (he, you and I will read) etc.

▶The term वाचकासन्नो as well as the above cited illustrations reveal that in case the doers of same action at the same period of time are two or more persons such as third and second or second and first or even all the three persons, the verb is employed in the plural number in the sequence of first, second and third person. For example - *su tü **čü** pəriv* (let he and you read) and *čü tü su pəriv* (let you and he read) in both these sentences the verb is in the second person plural. Similarly, if the sequence of *su, čü tü **bü** parav* (let he, you and I read) is changed as *bü, čü tü su parav* (let I, you and he read) or *čü, bü tü su parav* (let you, I and he read), there is no change in verb according to the change in the sequence of the doers.◀

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6 *aśrotRśrotRvaktRbhedātprathamamadhyamottmāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/1/3 p. 180

7 *ekānekābhyām dve dve vacane* : -------- ibid -------- 8/1/4 p. 181

8 *yugapaduktau vācakāsanno mukhyah* : --------- ibid ------- 8/1/5 p. 181

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धातोः परे प्रत्ययाः –६[9]. The tense denoting affixes are added after the root of a verb, e.g.- *parān chuh* (reads / is reading), *pŏrun* (read), *pari* (will read).

▶The conjugational terminations, as explained earlier, are directly appended to the root of a verb only in the simple tenses while as in compound tenses the terminations of time and person etc. are added to the auxiliary. The examples are- ***su chu batü k̃kavān*** (he eats/in eating food), ***sɔ chi batü k̃kavān*** (she eats/in eating food), ***čü chukh batü k̃kavān*** (you sg. eat/are eating food), ***bü chus batü k̃kavān*** (I eat/am eating food). The author has, thus, wrongly conceived *chuh*, *chih* and other such conjugated forms of auxiliaries as present tense denoting affixes.◀

तदात्वारब्धे वर्तमाना; नैर्यन्तरारब्धे च; नियमारब्धे च –7/8/9[10]. According to these sutras, an action that takes place at the time of speaking is called *vartamāna* (the present tense) e.g., *pakān chuh* (he walks), *parān chuh* (he reads) etc. The author says (नैर्यन्तरारब्धे च) present tense is also used to express an action that has begun from indefinite periond of time and is still continuing, e.g., *Īśvar zagütas rachān chuh* (the God protects the universe), *pānü pānas rachān chuh* (looks after himself on his own). According to नियमारब्धे च present tense is also used to express a future event which is already fixed or which is a routine matter, e.g., *gaṅgāyi gačhān chuh prath kɔmbas* (journeys to the Ganges during every Kumbha), *vākürun parān chu lɔkuṭ* (the junior reads grammar).

▶The examples quoted in support of the sutra नैर्यन्तरारब्धे च reveal author's intention to convey that present tense is also employed to express a universal truth or a custom. But, the sentenses cited by the author are not compatible with the sentence structure of the Kashmiri language. These are actually word for word translation of the Sanskrit sentences like *Īśvaro* (*Īśvar*) *jagat* (*zagütas*) *rakṣati* the Sanskrit sentences like *Īśvaro* (*Īśvar*) *jagat* (*zagütas*) *rakṣati* (*rachān chuh*); *gaṅgām* (*gaṅgāyi*) *gachati* (*gačhān chuh*) *prati*

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9 *dhātoh pare pratyayāh* : -------- ibid --------- 8/1/6 p. 181

10 *tadātvārabdhe vartamānā ; nairyantarārabdhe ca ; niyamārabdhe ca* : ---------ibid ------ 8/1/-7/8/9 p. 182

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kumbham (*prath kɔmbas*) and, therefore, do not conform to the accepted sentence structure of the Kashmiri language. As a fact, every language generates its own syntactic, morphological or other rules of structure and rules applicable to one language cannot be gratuitously applied to the other language. It is because of the structural variations that languages differ from each other. In Kashmiri, in a present indefinite or present progressive sentence such as *Īśvar zagütas rachān chuh* the accepted order of the constituents is subject (*Īśvar*) – auxiliary (*chu*) – object (*zagütas*) – infinite verb (*rachān*) and not subject (*Īśvar*) – object (*zagütas*) – infinite verb (*rachān*) – auxiliary (*chu*) as given by the author. Similarly, the sentence *gaṅgāyi gačhān chuh prath kɔmbas* is also structurally deformed. The given sentence could be presented in two different ways without any change in meaning, viz., *prath kɔmbas chu gaṅgāyi gačhān* or *gaṅgāyi chu prath kɔmbas gačhān*. The word order in *vākürаn parān chu lɔkuṭ* is quite the reverse of the accepted word–order which is *lɔkuṭ chu vākürаn parān* (the junior reads grammar). Further, the pronunciation of auxiliary is also not correctly conceived by the author. In other words the author uses the term as *–h* ending *chuh* while as the correct form, prevalent among the Kashmiri speakers of the valley, is *chu*.◀

अनेककार्यवित्कर्तृसत्तायां तत्तत्क्रिया धातुभ्यश्च –१०[11]. Present tense is used to denote various skills a living agent is skilled in. The examples are: *kyāh chu jān lekhān, kyāh chu rut ğavān, kyāh chu murčü karān*. It does not apply to the skills of a deceased person. In that situation the verb is employed in the past tense. (कथनसमकालमेव यदि प्रोक्तक्रियाविदो देहपात– स्यात् तदातीतावाप्तिर्भवेन्न तु वर्तमानाप्राप्तिरित्यादिविशेषा बुद्धिमद्भिः स्वयमूह्याः)[12].

▶The author's assertions are clear but the sentences cited by the author as illustrations are not consistent with the sentence structure of Kashmiri. These sentences again are based on the Sanskrit sentences like *kim sādhu likhannasti → kyāh chu jān lekhān; kim sādhu gāyannasti → kyāh chu rut ğavān; kim mūrtīh kurvannasti → kyāh*

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11 *anekakāryavitkartRsattāyām tattatkriyā dhātubhyaśca* : ---------- ibid ----------

12 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 183 8/1/10 p. 182

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chu murčü karān. The use of *kyāh* which, in fact, is a translated form of the Sanskrit word *kim*, is optionally replaced by *kotah* or *kūt*. The word order in the constructions is not followed correctly. In actual use the auxiliary follows the qualifying word rather than preceding it as given by the author. These sentences are employed as *kyah/kotah/kūt jān chu lekhān* (how beautifully he writes), *kyah/kotah/kūt rut chu ğavān* (how beautifully he sings), *kyah/kāčah/kūčah jān murčü chu banāvān* (how beautifully he crafts figures).◀

वर्तमानायां छुह् छिह छुख छिव छुस छिह् पुंसि –११[13]. *chuh, chih, chukh, chiv, chus* and *chih* are used with the masculine agent, such as - *karān chuh* (he is doing), *karān chih* (they are doing), *karān chukh* (you sg. are doing), *karān chiv* (you plu. are doing), *karān chus* (I am doing), *karān chih* (we are doing).

छ्यह छ्यह छ्यख़ छ्यव छ्यस छ्यह स्त्रियाम् –१२[14] . *chyah, chyah, chyakh, chyav, chyas* and *chyah* denote that the agent of action is feminine, such as - *karān chyah* (she is doing), *karān chyah* (they are doing), *karān chyakh* (you sg. are doing), *karān chyav* (you plu. are doing), *karān chyas* (I am doing), *karān chyah* (we are doing).

▶The present tense in Kashmiri, as stated earlier, is grouped as a compound tense and is expressed by employing the auxiliary *ch* associated with the present tense conjugational terminations with the present participle form of verb. The conjugated forms of auxiliary mentioned by the author in the above given sutras clearly indicate that *–ch* is the basic form of the auxiliary to which the present indefinite/progressive conjugational terminations are affixed according to person, number and gender of the subject or object of the action. The author's explanation of the sutra shows that he does not make any distinction between the root *ch* and its conjugated forms capable of being used in the sentences. For more lucidity the present indefinite/progressive terminations and their use with the auxiliary *ch* are as shown as below:

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[13] *vartamānāyām chu chi chukh chiv chus chi pumsi* : -------- ibid ------- - 8/1/11 p. 183

[14] *chi chi chakh chav chas chi striyām* : ------- ibid ------- 8/1/12 p.183

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	Mas.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	-u	-i
	chu	**chi**
	parān chu	parān chi
	(reads/is reading)	(read/are reading)
II	-ukh	-iv
	chukh	**chiv**
	parān chukh	parān chiv
	(read/are reading)	(read/are reading)
I	-us	-i
	chus	**chi**
	parān chus	parān chi
	(read/am reading)	(read/are reading)
	Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	-i	-i
	chi	**chi**
	parān chi	parān chi
	(reads/is reading)	(read/are reading)
II	-akh	-avü
	chakh	**chavü**
	parān chakh	parān chavü
	(read/are reading)	(read/are reading)
I	-as	-i
	chas	**chi**
	parān chas	parān chi
	(read/am reading)	(read/are reading)

The above cited auxiliaries are spelled by the author, either having *–h* at the end (*chuh, chih*) or *ch* combined with *–y* (*chyah, chyakh* etc. ------) while as in reality none of these forms are employed or pronounced as *–h* ending. Similarly, a palatal sound such as *c, ch, j, y* or *ś* does not occur combined with *–y* as conceived by the author (छ्यह छ्यख छ्यव etc.) which shows author's inadequate

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understanding of structure of these forms. In this work the correct forms, shown above, are used in place of the forms which are incorrectly cited by the author.◀

क्रियाऽभावे नपराः; कामप्रवेदने आपराः –13/14[15]. *–na* follows the auxiliary to indicate that the action is not being done while as addition of *-ā* (कामप्रवेदने) denotes one's desire to know about the status of an action. The examples are: *karān chuna* (he is not doing action), *karān china* (they are not doing action), *karān chakhna* (you fem. sg. are not doing action), and, *karān chvā* (is he doing action), *karān chyā* (is she doing action) etc. In his explanation of the sutras the author says that the final *–h* of the auxiliaries is always dropped (छुह् छह् प्रत्ययौ ----- प्रत्ययेषु हलोपः सर्वत्र)[16]; *-vā* and *-yā* of *chyvā* and *chyā* are the result of the coalescence of the final *–u* and *–i* of *chu* and *chi* with termination *-ā* (*chu-ā*, *chi-ā*). *–ti* is also suffixed to the auxiliary and is followed by *-ā* (अतएव निर्देशाद्यथा नकारान्तस्याऽऽप्रत्ययः स्यात्तथा ति प्रत्यया न्तस्यापि बोध्यः)[17] as in *karān chutyā* (if someone is doing an action?), *karon tyā* (if the action was done by someone?)

▶In Kashmiri the particle of negation equivalent to English 'no' or 'not' is *–na* or *-nü*. The main difference between *–na* and *-nü* is that *-nü* is used in the simple declarative sentences while as use of *-na* denotes speaker's desire to know about the status of action and thus, constitutes the negative interrogative sentences. *-nü* usually follows the conjugated form of the verb in a simple tense while as in a compound tense it occurs associated with the conjugated form of the auxiliary, e.g., *təm̃ **pŏr nü*** (he did not study), *su **chunü** parān* (he does not study), *su **osnü** parān* (he was not studying). The sentences *karān chunü*, *karān chanü* or *su chunü parān* cited by the author are, therefore, negative statements of the speaker. Similarly, *karān chā* (is he/she doing the action?) and *karān chinā* etc. are interrogative and negative interrogative statements respectively wherein the Ist person (speaker) wishes to know if someone else is or is not doing an action.

15

16 *kriyāabhāve naparāh; kāmapravedane āparāh* : —— ibid —— 8/1/-13/14 p. 184

17 ——— ibid -------- p. 184

——— ibid -------- p. 185

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karān chvā and *karān chyā* are incorrectly perceived. The assertion regarding addition of termination *-ā* and coalescence of *–u* and *–i* with *-ā* is baseless and incorrect. The term *chyā* is unacceptable as palatal sounds like *c, ch, j, ñ, ś* and *y* do not occur combined with *–y*. The term *chvā* is actually pronounced as *chivā /chavā* which indicate augment of *–v* before *-ā* rather than transformation of *–u* and *-ā* into *–v*. It is in place to mention that *chivā/chavā* is a variant of *chivü/chavü*. The existence of *–h* at the end of *ch* (*chuh*, *chih* - छुह् छिह्.....etc.) is, as explained earlier, misconceived by the author. Accordingly, the statement (प्रत्ययेषु हलोपः सर्वत्र) '*–h* is always dropped' turns out to be without foundation.◀

मध्यमैकत्वादित्रयेऽपरा वा; अपराअयपरा वा स्त्रियां मध्यमे;

उत्तमैत्वेपुंस्त्रियोः क्रमात्; बहुत्वे आ अयपराः –15/16/ 17/18[18]. These sutras are an extension of the previous sutras (13, 14). The author says that *-ā* is optionally employed with the second person singular and plural as well as first person singular forms of auxiliary to express the desire to know the status of an action. The examples are- *karān chukha ~ karān chukhā* (are you sg. doing an action? किं त्वं करोषि[19]), *karān chiva ~ karān chivā* (are you plu. doing an action? किं यूयं कुरुथ[20]), *karān chus ~ karān chusā* (am I doing an action? किं अहं करोमि[21]), *-a* or *-ay* occur optionally with the second person feminine singular and plural denoting auxiliary as in *karān chyakha ~ karān chyakhay* (are you sg. doing an action), *karān chyava ~ karān chyavay* (are you plu. doing an action). *–a* and *-ay* are employed by the first person female singular speaker while addressing a male and female listener respectively. *-ā* and *-ay* are, in sequence, used to denote masculine and feminine plurals e.g. *karān*

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18 *madhyamaikatvāditrayeaparā vā; aparāayaparā vā striyām madhyame; uttamaikatvepumstriyoh kramāt; bahutve ā ayaparāh* :

19 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 185 ----- ibid ---- 8/1/-15/16/17/18 p.185-86

20 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 185

21 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 185

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chā (is /are he / they doing the action सः/सा किं नु करोति[22]), *karān chyā* (is /are she / they doing an action ते/ताः किं नु कुर्वन्ति[23]) etc.

▶The author in these sutras refers to the terms which, in fact, are employed to convert a simple statement into an interrogative expression. Addition of termination *–a* is also not correctly perceived. It is actually *-ü* which is most commonly appended to the conjugated form of an auxiliary or a verb to seek information about present, past or future state of an action. The examples are: *parān chukhü / parān chivü* (are you mas.sg./plu. studying?), *parān chusü* (am I studying?); *pŏrünü* (did he read?), *pŏrüthü* (did you read?), *pŏrümü* (did I read?), *parüvü* (should we read?) etc. *–ay* is optionally used in the interrogative sense with the second person fem.sg./plu. who is/are both, the addressee/s as well as the agent/s of the action, such as- *parān chakhü ~ chakhay / parān chivü ~ parān chivay* (do/are you fem.sg./plu. study/ing?), *pŏrünü ~ pŏrünay* (did she read?) etc. The forms like *chy-a*, *chy-ā*, *chy-asay* have been misunderstood and, thus incorrectly spelled by the author. The adjunct *-ā* is optionally used while addressing the youngsters and people of low social status (see 2/2/27), such as *parān chukh-ü-ā / parān chiv-ü -ā* (do/are you mas.sg./plu. study/ing?).◀

धातोरानागमः; इकारान्ताद्वपूर्वः –19/20[24]. In the present tense *-ān* is added to verb roots. *–v* is included before *-ān* with the verb roots ending in *–i*. The examples are: √*kar* → *karān chu* (does/ is doing an action), √*di* → *divān chu* (gives/is giving), √*ni* → *nivān chu* (takes/is taking away), √*khi* → *khyavān chu* (eats/is eating), √*pi* → *pyavān chu* (falls/is falling down), etc.

▶The present participle verbs of Kashmiri are constituted by addition of affix *-ān* and *-vān* to the consonant and vowel ending verb roots respectively. The examples are: √*par-ān* (reading), √*gačh-ān* (going), √*lekh-ān* (writing), √*čal-ān* (fleeing), √*ni-vān* (carrying), √*khĕ-vān* → *k̃havān* (eating), √*cĕ-vān* → *cavān* (drinking), √*pĕ-vān*

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22 ------- ibid ------- p. 187

23 ------- ibid ------- p. 187

24 *dhātorānāgamah; ikārāntādvapūrvah* : 8/1/-19/20

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→ *p̃avān* (falling down) etc. The illustrations √*khĕ-vān* → *k̃havān* and √*cĕ-vān* → *cavān* indicate that Īśvar Kaul's assertion इकारान्ताद्धपूर्वः '*–vān* is employed only with the roots ending in *–i*' is not correct as the verb roots *khi* (to eat)[25], *ci* (to drink)[26] and *pi* (to fall down), which are understood by the author as ending in *–i* , are actually pronounced as *–ĕ* ending → √*khĕ*, √*cĕ* , √*pĕ* rather than *–i* ending.◄

आसो लोपो धातोश्च; वाक्येष्वडयं प्रयोगो मुख्यः –21/22[27]. *-ān* does not occur with the verb root √*ās* (to exist). According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra the verb root *ās* is dropped (आस धातोश्च लोपः स्यात्)[28]and *chuh /chih* are used in place of *ās* as present tense denoting terminations. Use of *chu* in the sense of 'being' is predominant in all types of sentences. The examples are: *batü chu su khyavān* and *batü su khyavān chu* (he eats/is eating food).

►Īśvar Kaul's assertion that *-ān* does not occur combined with the verb root √*ās* (to exist) is not maintainable. The fact is that √*ās* (to exist, to be available) is an independent verb root and, like other verb roots, it is also conjugated in all tense and moods. In fact, auxiliary *ch* is replaced by the different forms of √*ās* in tenses other than the present indefinite/progressive tense. The below given conjugation of verb √*ās* together with the occurrence of auxiliary *ch* / *ās* according to person, number and gender of the doer will make the statement cogent-

Verb root √*ās* (to exist/to be available):
Present Indefinite / Progressive:

	Mas.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	āsān chu	āsān chi
	gari chu āsān	gari chi āsān
	(he / they is / are available at home)	

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[25] *khi khādane* : -------- ibid ------- p.187

[26] *ci pāne* : --------- ibid ------- p. 187

[27] *āso lopo dhātośca; vākyeṣu ayam prayogo mukhyah* : -------- ibid --------- 8/1/-21/22 p. 188

[28] *āsdhātośca lopah syāt* : -------- ibid -------- p. 188

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II	āsān chukh	āsān chivü
	gari chukh āsān	gari chivü āsān
	(you sg./plu. are available at home)	
I	āsān chus	āsān chi
	gari chus āsān	gari chi āsān
	(I / we am/are available at home)	
	Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	āsān chi	āsān chi
	gari chi āsān	gari chi āsān
	(she / they is / are available at home)	
II	āsān chakh	āsān chavü
	gari chakh ās	āngari chavü āsān
	(you sg./plu. are available at home)	
I	āsān chas	āsān chi
	gari chas āsān	gari chi āsān
	(I / we am/are available at home)	

Past Progressive:

	Mas.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	āsān os	āsān ə̃s̃
	gari os āsān	gari ə̃s̃ āsān
	(he/they used to be available at home)	
II	āsān osukh	āsān əsivü
	gari osukh āsān	gari əsivü āsān
	(you sg./plu.used to be available at home)	
I	āsān osus	āsān ə̃s̃
	gari osus āsān	gari ə̃s̃ āsān
	(I / we used to be available at home)	
	Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	āsān əs	āsān āsü
	gari əs āsān	gari āsü āsān
	(she/they used to be available at home)	

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II	āsān əsükh	āsān āsüvü
	gari əsükh āsān	gari āsüvü āsān
	(you sg./plu.used to be available at home)	
I	āsān əsüs	āsān āsü
	gari əsüs āsān	gari āsü āsān
	(I / we used to be available at home)	

Peoximate Past:

	Mas.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	os	əs̃
	gari os	gari əs̃
	(he/they was / were available at home)	
II	osukh	*āsüvü*/əsivü
	gari osukh	gari əsivü
	(you sg./ plu. were available at home)	
I	osus	əs̃
	gari osus	gari əs̃
	(I/we was / were available at home)	

	Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	əs	āsü
	gari əs	gari āsü
	(she/they was/were available at home)	
II	əsükh	āsüvü
	gari əsükh	gari āsüvü
	(you sg./plu.were available at home)	
I	əsüs	āsü
	gari əsüs	gari āsü
	(I/we was / were available at home)	

Absolute Future:

	Mas./Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.
III	āsi	āsan

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	gari āsi	gari āsan
	(he/she/they would be available at home)	
II	āsakh	āsiv
	gari āsakh	gari āsiv
	(you sg./plu. will be available at home)	
I	āsü	āsav
	gari āsü	gari āsav
	(I will be available at home).◀	

वाक्यारम्भपदात्परो मुख्यः; वाक्यान्ते गौणः -23/24[29]. According to this sutra use of auxiliary *chu* after the initial word of the sentence indicates predominance of verb while as its use at the end of the sentence converts the verb into a subsidiary constituent of the sentence. The illustrations are – ***tavü patü chu*** *āsünas pāṭh bihith pūzā karān*, and, *tavü patü āsünas pāṭh bihith pūzā* ***karān chu***. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that although these two sentences convey the same sense (thereafter on having seated on the prayer mat is praying) yet for the enrichment of the expression the former construction is selected (यद्यपि प्रथमोत्तरेवाक्ये एकार्थके स्तः परं तु वाग्लालित्ये प्रथममेव ज्यायः).

▶The fact is that the sentence *tavü patü chu āsünas pāṭh bihith pūzā karān* is structurally correct while as the construction *tavü patü āsünas pāṭh bihith pūzā karān chu* does not comply with the accepted sentence structure of Kashmiri. In other words, in a complex sentence the conjugated form of auxiliary *ch* is placed before the object of the transitive finite verb as in- *āsünas pāṭh bihith* ***chu/chukh/chus pūzā karān*** (is/are/am praying while seated on the prayer-mat) while as in a simple sentence auxiliary *ch* is employed before the participle form of the transitive or intransitive finite verb as in- *āsünas pāṭh chu/chukh/chus bihān / bihith* (sits/sit/is/are/am sitting / seated on the prayer-mat). What is important to note is that the subject denoting word (*su/čü/bü*) is absent in these sentences and the information about the subject (III/II/I person respectively) is provided

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29 *vākyārambhapadātparo mukhyah; vākyānte gaunah* : ------ ibid ------ 8/1/-23/24 p. 188-189

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by the conjugated form of the auxiliary. If the subject denoting word is also employed in the sentence, in that situation the auxiliary follows the subject such as- *su/čü/bü chu/chukh/chus āsünas p̃aṭh bihān / bihith* (he/you/I sits/sit/is/are/am sitting/ seated on the prayer-mat). It is worthwhile to state that in the pronominal use a verb phrase consists of a finite verb followed by auxiliary while as this order changes in the longer constructions. For example the phrase *parān* ***chukh*** denotes that second person mas. sg. is reading/studying. In *tavü patü āsünas p̃aṭh bihith pūzā karān* ***chu*** use of auxiliary at end has distorted the sentence. The indeclinable *tavü patü* (after that) is a socio-regional variant of *tami patü.*◀

क्रियायाः किमादिशब्दस्वरूपेभ्यो वा सन प्रत्ययः शंकायाम्–25[30]. The term *–san* is necessarily used after the interrogative pronominal words beginning with *k* → *kyah* (what) etc., to express doubt (शंकायाम्) regarding the status of an action. (यत्र वाक्ये सार्वनामिकं ककारादि शब्दस्वरूपं स्यात्तत्रावश्यंतस्मात्पर एव भवति)[31]. The example is *kyāsan k̃hyavān chavā. –san* is also used after the conjugated form of the auxiliary to know the status of an action as in *k̃hyavān chavāsan.*

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions are commented upon as follows:

sənā/sanā is employed to show curiosity (आकांक्षा) or to acquire information regarding the status of an action and not in the sense of doubt (शंकायाम्) as assumed by the author. The actual term to express curiosity is *-sənā/sanā*[32] and not *-san* as given by the author. Use of *sənā/sanā* after the conjugated form of an auxiliary or verb, in case of simple tenses, indicates speaker's curiosity regarding the status of an action, such as- *k̃havān chā sənā/sanā* (is/are III per. sg./plu. eating), *k̃honü sənā/sanā* (did III per. sg. eat), *k̃hěyi sənā /sanā* (will he eat) etc. *sənā/sanā* is used after the interrogative pronominal words, such as- *kyāh sənā/sanā, kus sənā/sanā, kath sənā/sanā* etc. to denote

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30 *kriyāyāh kimādiśabdasvarūpebhyo vā san pratyayah śaṅkāyām :* ------- ibid ----- 8/1/25 p. 189

31 -------- ibid -------- p. 189

32 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 171

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speaker's curiosity to know about some event, object or person respectively. *sānā/sanā* is also used with the adverb of direction- *kapārya* → *kapārya sānā/sanā*, to indicate speaker's curiosity to know the direction of an action or an object. *-sānā/sanā* is used after the indefinite numeral adjectives to know the approximate number of persons or objects, such as- *küt̃ / kəč sānā/sanā naphar* (approximately how many persons), - *küt̃ sānā/sanā lūkh* (approximately how many people). *-sānā/sanā* is placed after *kūt/kotah* to know the approximate quantity of an object, such as- → *kūt/kotah sānā/sanā mŏdürer* (approximately how much sugar). The author is silent about these uses of *sānā/sanā*. The illustrations *kyāsan k̃hyavān chavā* and *k̃hyavān chavāsan* quoted above seem to have been misunderstood by the author.◀

तेभ्यस्ताञ्चताञ्चतौ स्वाज्ञातायाम् –26[33]. According to this sutra the termination *tāñ ~ tāñat* is employed after the interrogative pronominal words to express lack of knowledge, such as- *kyāhtāñ ~ kyāhtāñat vŏnun* (III per. sg. said something), *kartāñ ~ kartāñat āv* (III per. sg. arrived long back), *kūt tāñ ~ kūt tāñat dyutun* (III per. sg. gave some amount).

▶The use of indeclinable *tāñ ~ tāñat/h* conveys speakers indefinite knowledge or uncertainty regarding his information about, as is revealed by the above quoted illustrations, an action, object of action or the extensions of a verb phrase. *tāñ ~ tāñat/h* is also pronounced as *tām ~ tāmat/h.*◀

इयठतिशये पूर्वं च; आपरो वा; माशब्द आदावन्ते वा –27/28/ 29[34].

ḍaṭhü- is used before the interrogative pronominal words to denote 'excess of something' or 'a prolonged action'. The illustrations are- *ḍaṭhü k̃āh* (what so ever), *ḍaṭhü kūt* (how ever so), *ḍaṭhü kar* (when so ever) etc.. The sutra आपरो वा is a continuation of sutra 25 according to which *sānā/sanā* (*–san*) is used after the interrogative

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34 *tebhyastāñtāñatau svajñātāyām* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 8/1/26 p. 190
ḍyaṭhātiśaye pūrvam c; āparo vā; māśabda ādāvante vā :
------- ibid ------- 8/1/-27/28/29 p. 190-191

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pronominal words in the sense of 'insufficient knowledge'. Further, -*ā* is added to *–san* as in- *k̃āhsanā k̃havān chā* (is III per. mas./fem., sg./plu. eating?), *karsanā yiyi* (when III per. sg. is going to come), *katisanā os* (where III per. sg. has been) etc.. According to माशब्द आदावन्ते वा *-mā-* is used before or after the conjugated form of auxiliary or a verb to denote probability of an action, as in- *karān mā chu* (IIIper. sg. might be doing), *mā chu karān* (might be doing), *mā karān chu* (might be doing), *kar̃on mā* (did IIIper. sg. do?), *su mā kari* (he might do), *bü mā karü* (I may do).

▶As mentioned earlier, the termination actually used in discourse is *-sənā* or *–sanā* and not *–san* as assumed by the author. The assumption regarding addition of *-ā* to *–san* is, therefore, arbitrary and uncalled for. The particle *-mā-* is used in various senses according to its place as well as tense of action in a construction. In other words, if *-mā-* is used after the agent and before the verb in the absolute future tense or past participle verb preceded by auxiliary in the past predictive mood, it indicates: **i)** possibility in affirmative sense → ***su mā yiyi*** (he might come), ***su mā āsihe āmut*** (he might have come), **ii)** interrogative sense → ***su mā yiyi*** (will he come?), ***su mā āsi/āsihe āmut*** (would he have come?). Similarly, *-mā-* before verb in the past tense denotes: **i)** interrogative in positive sense → ***su mā āv*** (did he come?), **ii)** interrogative in negative sense → ***su mā āv*** (he didn't come, did he?). *-mā-* preceded by verb in the past or future tense and followed by agent shows curiosity of the speaker → ***āv mā su*** (has he come?), ***yiyi mā su*** (is he likely to come?).◀

वाद्यःपाद्यो वाऽनुप्रासिकशब्दः; तयोरेकतराद्ये तदितरः -30/31[35]. According to these sutras the initial letter of a word is replaced by *v-* or *p-* to form a jingle word (echo word), such as- ***karān varān chu*** (he is doing), ***d̃ār v̄ār əñin*** (he brought money), ***batü vatü k̃hěyin*** (let him eat food), *anüvār vanüvār* (turn/shift). The author further says that in the process of making jingle words the two letters *p-* and *v-* occur as

[35] *vādyah pādyo vā ānuprāsika śabdah ; tayoredatarādye taditarah :*
----- ibid ----- 8/1/-30/31 p. 191-192

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locum tenens of each other, such as- *par var* (read), *põsü võsü* (money); *vāzü pāzü* (cooks), *vãgan pãgan* (brinjals) etc.

▶The forms illustrated above by the author are actually compound words and should have been included in the chapter on formation of compounds.◀

अन्येनापि क्वचित् –३२[36]. Besides *p-* and *v-*, other letters are also substituted for the initial letter of a word to form its echo word. The examples are- ***hŏl kŏl*** (crooked & irregular), ***hŏl vŏl*** (a traditional dress item used to be worn by the Kashmiri Pandit women as a girdle[37] on their apparel), ***ont vont*** (depth etc.), ***nikü sukü*** (thin & slim), *hãz gãz* (boatmen etc.), *phŏl p̃hŏt* (ornaments etc.).

▶It is worthwhile to mention that these sutras show deviation from the main subject because words quoted by the author are actually copulative compounds consisting of two components of which either both the components are meaningful or one component is meaningless and is used merely to jingle with the other. This description is in no way connected with the formation and occurrence of participle verbs. This peculiarity of the language, therefore, could have been discussed at the appropriate place in the chapter on compounds. Besides, it is in place to mention that normally the jingle or echo words are meaningless components. A deeper study of these words reveal that in Kashmiri these are not merely echo words but also indicate a sense and that is 'and' or 'etcetera' such as- *mŏnḍ t̃ŏnḍ* (handful morsel ग्रासादि[38]), ***hŏl kŏl*** (crooked and irregular वक्रादि[39]).◀

तच्छब्दस्यैकत्वेनक्रियासंबन्धेऽस –३३[40]. *–as* is appended to show that the agent does the action for III person, such as- *karān chus* (III per. sg. is doing action for someone), *karān chis* (III per. plu. are doing action for someone), *karān chusas* (I am doing action for someone),

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36

37 *anyenāpi kvacit* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/1/32 p. 192

38 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 258

39 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 192

40 ------- ibid -------- p. 192
tacchabdsyaikatvenakriyāsambandhe as : ------- ibid ------ 8/1/30 p. 192

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karān chis (we are doing action for someone). In his explanation of the sutra the author refers to sutra 8.2.19 and holds that *–as* is added after the masculine singular and plural auxiliaries *chuh, chih* etc. which are employed with *-ān* suffixed verbs and *–h* of *chuh, chih* etc. is dropped (वर्तमानायां प्रथमैकबहुत्वेपुंसि छुह छिह प्रत्ययौ धातोरानागम इति आन। अनेनान्ते अस प्रत्ययः। प्रत्ययेषु हलोपः सर्वत्र[41]).

▶This sutra refers to the dative use of the pronominal suffixes. The pronunciation of forms quoted as illustrations reveal addition of pronominal suffix *–s* (and not*–as*) preceded by a vowel according to person, number and gender of both the doer as well the receiver of the action. It is added after the conjugated form of the auxiliary *ch* in compound tenses. The addition of pronominal suffix causes certain changes in the internal structure of the conjugated form of *ch*, e.g.,

Present Indefinite / Continuous:

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	chu	chi	chi	chi
II	chukh	chivü	chakh	chavü
I	chus	chi	chas	chi

Dative use: Third person *singular* masculine and feminine object-

Consonant ending verb root √*kar* (to do)-

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	*karān chus*	*karān chis*	*karān chas*	*karān chas*
II	*karān chuhās*	*karān chivos*	*karān chühās*	*karān chavos*
I	*karān chusas*	*karān chis*	*karān chasas*	*karān chis*

(III per., II per. and I per. mas. sg./plu. and fem. sg./plu do some action for III per. singular masculine and feminine object) Vowel ending verb root √*di* (to give):

III	*divān chus*	*divān chis*	*divān chas*	*divān chas*
II	*divān chuhas*	*divān chivos*	*divān chühās*	*divān chavos*

41 ---------- ibid -------- p. 193

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I *divān chusas divān chis divān chasas divān chis*

(III per., II per. and I per. mas. sg./plu. and fem. sg./plu give the direct object to III per. singular masculine and feminine, the indirect object of action)

Restatement of प्रत्ययेषु हलोपः सर्वत्र (*-h* at the end is always dropped before a suffix) is, as stated earlier, uncalled for.◀

कर्मण्यन; बहुत्वेनाख –34/35[42]. *–an* is added to the auxiliary to indicate III person singular as object of action while as *–akh* is employed to express that the action is done for III person plural. The agent of the action may be I, II or III person, masculine or feminine, singular or plural. The examples are: *karān chuhan* (II per. sg. do an action on someone), *k̃havān chihan* (II per. sg. eat III per. sg. object); *karān chukh* (II per. sg. do an action), *karān chikh* (III per. plu. do an action on someone), *karān chusakh* (I do an action on III per. plu).

▶These sutras actually refer to the causative and objective use of pronominal suffixes. The illustrations given below indicate that not *–an* and *-akh* but *–n* and *-kh* are employed, after the conjugated form of auxiliary, according to singular and plural number of the indirect receiver of action. *–n* and *-kh* occur preceded by a vowel according to person, and gender of both the doer as well the receiver of the action. *-n* is suffixed, in the causative sense, to the conjugated form of auxiliary to express that I person singular causes III person singular to do the action and the tense of action is present indefinite or present continuous. *-kh* is suffixed if the person made to do an action is III person plural. The below given illustrations will make the statement clear:

√*khĕ* (to eat) - *āv* → √*k̃hāv* (make to eat)

Mas. / Fem.

	Sg.	Plu.
I	k̃hāvān chusa**n**	k̃hāvān chusa**kh**
	(I make III per. sg. to eat)	(I make III per. plu. to eat)
II	k̃hāvān chi**han/ən**	k̃hāvān chi**həkh**
	(you make III per. sg. to eat)	(you make III per. plu. to eat)

[42] *karmaṇyan* ; *bahutvenākh* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/1/-34/35 p. 193

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Suffixes *-n* and *-kh* are employed if the agent of √*vuch* (to see), √*ni* (to take), √*di* (to give), √*trāv* (to throw), √*tul* (to pick up), √*thav* (to keep) and other such verb roots is I or II person masculine or feminine singular and III person singular or plural is directly acted upon by the agent. Below are given a few examples for lucidity-

Mas. / Fem object-

√*vuch* (to see)

Sg.	Plu.
vuchān chu**san**	vuchān chu**sakh**
(I see/watch III per. sg. object)	(I see/watch III per. plu. objects)
vuchān chi**han/ən**	vuchān chi**hākh**
(you see/watch III per. sg. object)	(you see/watch III per. plu. objects)

√*tul* (to pick up)

tulān chu**san**	tulān chu**sakh**
(I pick up III per. sg. object)	(I pick up III per. plu. objects)
tulān chi**han/ən**	tulān chi**hākh**
(you pick up III per. sg. object)	(you pick up III per. plu. objects)

√*di* (to give)

divān chu**san**	divān chu**sakh**
(I giveIII per. sg object)	(I give III per. plu. objects)
divān chi**han/ən**	divān chi**hākh**
(you give III per. sg object)	(you give III per. plu. objects)

If the agent is masculine /feminine plural, the below given terminations are employed:

√*vuch*

vuchān chi**n**	vuchān chi**kh**
(we see/watch III per. sg)	(we see/watch III per. plu.)
vuchān chi**von**	vuchān chi**vokh**
(you see/watch III per. sg)	(you see/watch III per. plu.)

√*tul*

tulān chi**n**	tulān chi**kh**
(we pick up III per. sg)	(we pick up III per. plu.)
tulān chi**von**	tulān chi**vokh**
(you pick up III per. sg)	(you pick up III per. plu.)

√*di* (to give)

divān chi**n**	divān chi**kh**
(we give III per. sg)	(we give III per. plu.)
divān chi**von**	divān chi**vokh**

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(you give III per. sg) (you give III per. plu.)

If the agent is masculine or feminine III person singular or plural and the object is masculine / feminine III person singular or plural, the below given terminations are employed:

tulān	**chus** (he picks III per. sg. up)
tulān	**chukh** (he picks III per. plu.up)
tulān	**chis** (they pick III per. sg. up)
tulān	**chikh** (they pick III per. plu.up).◀

त्वच्छब्दे कर्मणि भूते च; भविष्यद्वर्तमानोत्तमेष्यथ -36/37[43]. In the past tense *–akh* is appended to the verb if the III person pronoun is the receiver of the transitive action while as in the present and future tenses *–ath* is used with the I person agent of the transitive action. The examples are: *kañonakh* (III per. sg. had done for III per. plu.), *karumakh* (I per. sg. did for III per. plu.), *karān chusath* (II per. sg. is acted upon by I per. sg.), *karān chith* (II per. sg. is acted upon by I per. plu.), *karath* (II per. sg. will be acted upon by I per. sg.), *karoth* (II per. sg. will be acted upon by I per. plu.).

▶The simple past tense, in Kashmiri, is of two types viz., i) proximate past, and, ii) aorist/remote past. The terminations employed to denote the past tense are also of two types, i.e., general conjugational terminations and the pronominal affixes. The general conjugational terminations are appended to a verb to show the various forms it assumes to mark voice, mood, tense, number, gender and person. The pronominal terminations, on the other hand, are employed if the receiver of action is a personal pronoun, the agent is not apparent while as the terminations employed indicate the number, gender and person of both, the agent as well as the object of action. The arorist/remote past tense III person masculine singular conjugational affix is *–yo* as in - *√par → təm̃ pañ̃o* (he did study), *√kar → təm̃ kañ̃o* (he did do), *√van → təm̃ vaño* (he did say), *√gačh → su gəyo t̃ěli sŏkūl* (he did go to school long ago). Addition of *–n, th* or *m* after *–yo* also denotes the aorist/remote past of an action and the

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[43] *tvacchabde karmaṇi bhūte ca* ; *bhaviṣyadvartamānottameṣyath* : -------- ibid -- ------ 8/1/-36/37 p. 194

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difference is that *–yo* suffixed forms necessarily require the presence of the agent denoting word in the sentence while as *–yon*, *yoth* and *yom* suffixed forms contain information regarding the doer of the action as well. For example *pañ̃o*, *kañ̃o* or *vaño* require the presence of a noun or pronoun in the instrumental case for the completion of sense as in *ləḍükan vaño* (the boy did say), *ləḍükav vaño* (the boys did say), *təm̃/tami vaño* (he/she did say), *timav vaño* (they mas/fem did say), *śur gəyo sŏkūl* (the child did go to school) etc. On the contrary the forms *pañ̃on* (he had studied), *pañ̃oth* (you had studied) and *pañ̃om* (I had studied) are self expressive of III per., II per. or I per. sg. agent of the action. It is important to note that addition of *–akh* further widens its sense upto the receiver of action, such as- *vañonakh* (III per. sg. did say to III per. plu.), *kañ̃onakh* (III per. sg. did do the action on III per. plu.), *vañomakh* (I per. sg. did say to III per. plu.). Use of *–yo+personal affix+akh* denotes the relation subsisting between cause and effect as in √*van* (to say) *–yo-**n**-akh* → *vañonakh* (he did say to them but---). √*van* (to say) *–yo-**th**-akh* → *vañothakh* (you did say to them but---), √*van* (to say) *–yo-**m**-akh* → *vañomakh* (I did tell them but---) while as *vŏnünakh/ vŏnüthakh/vŏnümakh/* (he/you/I told them) refer to the proximate past. *karumakh* is incorrect and the actual pronunciation is *kŏrmakh.*

The terms *karān chusath*, *karān chith*, *karath* and, *karoth* quoted by author as illustrations are unintelligible and do not occur in normal speech. However, author's assumptions can be understood by adding the given terminations to verb √*vuch* meaning 'to see', such as- *vuchān chus-a-th* (I see/am seeing you); *vuchān ch-i-th* (we see/are seeing you); *vuch-o-th* (we shall see you). These forms clearly reveal that the pronominal suffix *–th* is used, in the present and future tenses, to indicate the second person singular object of transitive action being directly acted upon by the first person singular or plural agent/s. It is noteworthy that a vowel sound is inserted before *–th* to avoid the consonant junction.◀

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प्रत्यये प्रत्ययखकारस्य हः –३८[44]. According to this sutra if *–kh* of the second person singular denoting conjugational suffix (*chukh*), is followed by a pronominal suffix, it is replaced by *–h-*, e.g., *karān chuhas* (you sg. are doing for him/her), *karān chuhakh* (you sg. are doing for them).

▶The illustrations quoted by the author show that addition of the pronominal suffixes (*–s*, *-kh* etc.) cause replacement of *–kh* of *chukh* by *–h*, such as- *vuchān chukh* (you are looking) → *vuchān chuhas /chihas* (you are looking at him), *vuchān chühākh /chihākh* (you are looking at them) (see 8/1/33-35).◀

स्वरादल्लोपः –३९[45]. While explaining this sutra the author says (प्रत्ययस्वरात्परय अकारस्य लोपो भवति[46]) *–a* of *–as* is deleted if it is added after a suffix ending in a vowel sound such as- *karān chus* (he does for him/her), *karān chis* (they do for him/her), *karān chivas* (you plu. do for him/her), *karān chivakh* (you plu. do for them). The author further says that in the first instance *–h* of *chuh* is dropped and this leads to deletion of *–a* of *–as* (प्रथमयोर्हकारस्य लोपे कृते अनेन अकारलोपः[47]).

▶According to author's assertions the auxiliary in Kashmiri has *–h* at the end which is dropped and *-as* is thus suffixed to *chu*. According to (अकारस्य लोपो भवति) *–u* of *chu* causes deletion of *–a* of *–as*. These assertions are not tenable. The fact is that auxiliary in Kashmiri does not have *–h* at the end (see 8/1/-11/12). Accordingly, the statement 'in the first instance *–h* is dropped' (प्रथमयोर्हकारस्य लोपे कृते) turns out to be meaningless. Addition of *–as* and deletion of its initial vowel (*–a*) is also not justifiable. The present tense denoting terminations are actually, as explained earlier (see 8/1/11-12), *-u, -i* → **chu**, chi; *-ukh*, *-iv*, *-akh*, *-avü* → **chukh**, **chiv**, **chakh**, **chavü** and *–us*, *-i*, *-as* → **chus**, chi, **chas**. The prominal affixes are

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45 *pratyaye pratyayakhakārasya hah*: ---------- ibid -------- 8/1/38p. 194

46 *svarādallopah* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/1/39 p. 194

47 ---------- ibid -------- p. 194

---------- ibid -------- p. 195

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usually appended after these conjugated forms of the auxiliary (see sutra 33-35).◄

त्वच्छब्देनाय; युष्मदाऽवः; मच्छब्देनाऽम –40/41/42[48]. The pronominal suffix *–ay* is appended to the first person and second person, singular and plural doer of the action if the action is done to or done for the second person singular, e.g., *karān chuy* (does for you), *karān chiy* (they/we do for you), *karān chusath* (I do for you). The action done on or done for the second person plural by the third person or first person agent is expressed by employing *-av*, such as- *karān chuv* (he does for you plu.), *karān chiv* (they/we do for you plu.), *karān chusav* (I do for you plu.). If the receiver of action is first person singular, *-am* is used to denote the third person and second person agent as in- *karān chum* (he does for me), *karān chim* (they do for me), *karān chuham* (you sg. do for me), *karān chivom* (you plu. do for me).

►It noteworthy that *-th~ath* is used with the first person singular agent only when the second person singular is the direct receiver of the action as in *garān chusath* (I shape you), *vuchān chusath* (I see you). If second person singular is indirect object or beneficiary in that sense *-y~ay* is employed to show that the third person singular/plural or first person singular/plural is the agent of the action. For example *divān chusay / chuy* (I/he give/s some object for you) indicates that the first/third person sg. agent gives some thing, the direct object of verb √*di* (to give), to the second person sg., the beneficiary or the indirect object of √*di*. The form *divān chusath* shows that second person sg. is the direct object of √*di* which is given by first person sg. agent to someone else. If the agent is third person singular or plural and the object acted upon is second person singular or plural, *-y* is employed in that sense also, e.g., *vuchān chuy* (he looks at you), *vuchān chiy* (they look at you). *–m* is employed if the object acted upon is first person singular, such as- *vuchān chum* (he looks at me), *vuchān chim* (they look at me).

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[48] *tvacchabdenāy; yuṣmadāvah; macchabdenām:* -------ibid------- 8/1/-40/41/42 p. 195

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The illustrations like *vuchān chuy*, *vuchān chiy*, *vuchān chuv*, *vuchān chiv*, *vuchān chum*, *vuchān chim* etc. as well as those given by the author make it perspicuous that the pronominal suffixes stated by the author are actually *–y, -v* and *-m* rather than *–ay*, *-av* and *–am*. In addition, vowel *–o-* is inserted before *–y, -v* and *–m* to avoid consonant junction, such as- *vuchān chivom* (you plu. look at me).◀

कर्मण्यस भूते –43[49]. According to this sutra if first person singular is the object of transitive action, the past tense denoting pronominal suffix *–as* is used to express third person singular as agent of the action, such as- *karyonas*, *karyothas* etc.

▶The illustrations quoted by the author indicate that the suffix employed is actually *–nas/ –thas* and not only *–as* as assumed by the author. Besides, if first person singular is the object of action, the pronominal affixes employed to denote the doer of past tense action are of two types viz,: i) *–nas*, *–thas*, and, ii) *–nam*. Affixes *-nas* and *–thas* are used if first person singular is the direct object of action and the doers are, in order, third person singular and second person singular. The examples are: √*vuch* (to see) → *vuchünas* (he/she saw me), *vuchüthas* (you sg. saw me), √*kar* (to do) → *tang kŏrünas* (he/she troubled me), *tang kŏrüthas* (you sg. troubled me) etc. If first person singular is beneficiary or indirect object of action in that sense *-nas* and *–thas* are replaced by *-nam* and *–tham* respectively, such as: √*di* (to give) → *d̃utünam* (he/she gave me mas. sg. object), *d̃utütham* (you gave me mas. sg. object), √*pruch* (to ask) → *savālü pruchünam* (he/she asked me a question), *savālü pruchütham* (you sg. asked me a question). The forms *karyonas* and *karyothas* refer the relation between the cause and the effect.◀

बहुत्वेऽस्मत्प्रयोगसंबन्ध एव च –44[50]. If first person plural is the object of action, it may precede or follow the verb, such as- *karān chu asi* (he does for us), *asi karān chukh* (you do for us), *karān chi asi* (they do for us).

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[49] *karmaṇyas bhūte* : --------- ibid ------- 8/1/43 p. 196

[50] *bahutveasmatprayogasambandh eva ca*: ---------- ibid ---------- 8/1/44 p . 196

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▶The first person plural in the above quoted illustrations is in the oblique (objective) case and the verb is in the present tense according to number, gender and person of the subject. It is also to be noted that the change in the word order causes a slight change of meaning as well. In other words in *karān chu asi* stress is on the verb *karān* while as in *asi chu karān* the stress is shifted from action to the object of action *asi*.◀

चरफोॅशफ्हमर्चवुचफिच्यां नित्यं संबन्धप्रत्ययाः -45[51]. The verb roots like *čar* (rattle), *phɔś* (anger), *phüh* (burning sensation), *marüč* (angry), *vuč* (to show bitterness), and, *phič* (slip in action) are feminine forms and the conjugational suffixes used with these bases are also feminine terminations such as- *čarān* ***chas*** (he is rattled), *phɔśān* ***chas*** (he is angry), *marüčān* ***chas*** (he is aggrieved), *vučān* ***chas*** (something is brewing in his mind), *phičān* ***chas*** (he slips in his actions).

▶It is important to note that the verb roots of the above cited bases except *vuč*, are actually *čərinay*, *phŏśinay*, *phühinay*, and, *phičinay* and not *čar*, *phɔś*, *phüh*, *marüč* and, *phič* as given by the author.◀

षष्ठी कर्तरि सर्वत्र -46[52]. The agent of the verbs *čar*, *phɔś*, *phüh*, *marüč*, *vuč*, and *phič* occur in the genitive case such as- *təmis čarān chi* (he has internal anger/he is angry).

▶This sutra is a continuation of the preceding sutra. The illustration quoted in support of the sutra shows contravention in word order and also does not indicate the doer in the genitive case. The fact is that this rule prevails in Sanskrit and the illustration *təmis čarān chi* is actually word for word translation of the Sanskrit sentence तस्य अन्तःकोपोऽस्ति and, therefore, does not bear congruency with the sentence structure of Kashmiri. The auxiliary in Kashmiri, as explained earlier, is used after the agent and before the participle verb *təmis* ***chi*** *čarān/phɔśān/marüčān* rather than after the

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[51] *čarphɔśphühmarüčvučphiŏām nityam sambandhapratyayah* : ------- ibid ------ 8/1/45 p. 196

[52] *şaşthī kartari sarvatra* : -------- ibid -------- 8/1/46 p. 197

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participle verb *təmis čarān/phɔśān/marüčān* ***chi*** as employed by the author. The subject of these verbs is used in the oblique case rather than in the genitive case as assumed by the author.◀

गछोऽपि योग्यार्थेत्र –47[53]. According to author's explanation of this sutra the agent of √*gačh* is put in the genitive case if it is used in the sense of ability (गछ गतौ सामंजस्ये। इत्यस्य योग्यार्थविषये अत्र षष्ठी कर्तरि भवति।). The example is *təmis gačhān chu zi parühə*. According to author the meaning of this illustration is तस्याभीष्टमहं योग्योऽस्मि पठेयमिति 'he wishes he could study as he is competent'.

▶The word योग्यार्थ is not approperiate. The reason is that the above cited illustration *təmis gačhān chu zi parühə* denotes 'a wish or a desire' (he wishes he could study) and does not contain any such word which imparts the sense 'capability or competence'. It seems that the word अभीष्टार्थ would have been appropriate over योग्यार्थ. It is important to note that in Kashmiri, unlike Sanskrit तस्याभीष्टं, the agent of the wish *su* (he) is put in the oblique case → *təmis* rather than in the genitive case *tasund/təmsund* as given by the author. Besides, the word-order *təmis gačhān chu zi parühə* is also disturbed. The accepted word-order is → *təmis chu gačhān zi parühə*.◀

प्रथमैकानेकत्वे च –48[54]. In his explanation of the sutra the author says 'तस्यैव धातोरत्र वर्तमानविभक्तौ नित्यं प्रथमपुरुषस्य एकत्वबहुवचनप्रत्ययावेव भवतः न तु मध्यमपुरुषादयः। किंतु ते संबन्धिप्रत्ययैर्विविच्यन्ते' with the given verb are always used present tense third person singular and plural conjugational suffixes while as pronominal affixes are used to express first and second person pronouns. The examples are: *gačhan chus, gạčhan chukh, gačhan chuy, gačhan chuvü, gačhan chum, gačhan chu.*

▶This sutra is an extension of the previous sutra. The illustrations quoted in this regard neither make the statement clear nor support the authors view point because all illustrated words reveal application of same rule i.e., addition of pronominal suffixes, e.g., *gačhan chus* (he wishes), *gačhan chukh* (they wish), *gačhan chuy* (you wish), *gačhan*

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53 *gačhoapi yogyārthetra* : -------- ibid -------- 8/1/47 p. 197

54 *prathmaikānekatve ca* : ------ ibid ------ 8/1/48 p. 198

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chuvü (you wish), *gačhan* ***chum*** (I wish), *gačhan* ***chu*** (we wish). None of these words show addition of general conjugational suffixes. However, if subject denoting pronominal word is used, the pronominal suffixes are automatically replaced by the general conjugational terminations and the agent is put in the oblique case, such as: ***təmis chu*** *manas gačhān ~ manas* ***chus*** *gačhān*; ***timan chu*** *manas gačhān ~ manas* ***chukh*** *gačhān*; ***čě chuy*** *manas gačhān ~ manas* ***chuy*** *gačhān*; ***təhi chuvü*** *manas gačhān ~ manas* ***chuvü*** *gačhān*; ***mě chu*** *manas gačhān ~ manas* ***chum*** *gačhān*; ***asi chu*** *manas gačhān ~ manas* ***chu*** *gačhān.*◀

सर्वत्रानः सकर्मकेभ्यः कर्मकर्तरि; पूर्वे परे वा यिधातुरूपतः
–49/50[55].

In the subjective use of objects *–an* is always added (सर्वत्र) to transitive verbs (सकर्मकेभ्यः) in all tenses (सर्वेषु कालेषु). The author further says that in a sentence *–an* suffixed verb is placed before or after √*yi* (to come) in the tense of its occurrence and after that is used the subjective object, such- *rananü yivān chu batü* or *batü chu rananü yivān*, and, *pānay chu yivān karan*. According to author in the first sentence *–an* suffixed √*ran* (to cook) → *ranan* is followed by *yivān* while as in the subsequent sentence *yivān* is followed by *ranan*. In the second example *yivān* precedes *karan*.

▶In Kashmiri the intransitive verb √*yi* (to come) in the present participle form is employed in combination with a transitive verb in the objective constructions to denote the sense 'being'. In addition, *–nü ~ -ünü* , is added to the transitive verb such as- ***ranünü***, ***vanünü***, ***karünü***, ***chalünü*** etc. and the auxiliary *ch* occurs according to number, gender and person of the direct receiver of the transitive verb. Addition of *–an*, as assumed by the author, is not correct. The statement पूर्वे परे वा यिधातु is veracious but the word order stated by the author such as *ranünü yivān chu batü* is not correct. The accepted word order is actually *batü* ***chu yivān ranünü*** or *batü* ***chu ranünü yivān*** (food is being cooked), *palav* ***chi yivān chalünü*** or *palav chi*

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[55] *sartrānah sakarmakebhyah karmakartari ; pūrve pare vā yidhāturūpatah :*
------ ibid ---- 8/1/-49/50 p. 198

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chalünü yivān (the clothes are being washed), *kath chi yivān vanünü* or *kath chi vanünü yivān* (the story is being narrated).◄

वाऽकर्मकेभ्यः −51[56]. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that the use of intransitive √*yi* is optional and accordingly the conjugational terminations also shift according to subjective and objective use of the object of transitive verbs. The examples are: *zotān chu* or *zotünü yivān chu*; *dazān chu* or *dazünü yivān chu*.

►According to this sutra √*yi* occurs associated with the transitive verbs only in the objective constructions. The illustrations *zotān chu* (glows/ is glowing) and *dazān chu* (burns/is burning) are subjective constructions. But, use of –*yi* converts these and other such subjective sentences into objective or causative ones. Accordingly, the conjugational terminations also shift according to the subject or subject denoting object in the subjective and objective/causative constructions respectively. For example in ***su chu palav chalān*** (he washes clothes) ***chalān chu*** is connected with the subject (*su*) while as in → ***palav chi chalünü yivān*** (the clothes are being washed) the object (*palav*) has taken the place of subject, the present participle termination is added to √*yi* and the auxiliary has coordination with *palav*. The illustration *zotān chu* (shines/is shining) and *dazān chu* (burns/is burning) are subjective constructions. But, *zotünü yivān chu* or *dazünü yivān chu* are erroneous constructions. The objective transformation of *dazān chu* is *zālünü chu yivān* (is being burnt) and *zotān chu* is *prazülāvünü chu yivān* (is being made resplendent).

बोजः कर्मकर्ता चाक्षुषज्ञान एव नित्यम् −52[57]. The transitive verb √*boz* means 'to listen or to hear'. But, in the passive use √*boz*, associated with verb √*yi*, denotes 'visual experience or knowledge', such as- *bozünü āv* (became visible), *bozünü yivān chu* (is quite visible) etc. But, if the intransitive verb √*yi* is separated, the verb √*boz* occurs only in the sense of 'perception through the ear'. The example is- *bozān chu* (is listening).

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56 *vāakarmakebhyah* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/1/51 p. 199

57 *bozah karmakartā cākṣuṣajñāna eva nityam* : ------ ibid ----- 8/1/52 p. 199

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▶It is in place to mention that the transitive verb √*boz* is primarily used in the sense 'perception through the ear' and is used subjectively as well as objectively. In its subjective use the doer occurs in the nominative case and the verb or auxiliary in the present or past indefinite/continuous tense, has coordination with the doer in number, gender and person as in- ***su chu/os*** *radio bozan* (he is/was listening to radio), ***čü chukh/osukh*** *radio bozan* (you are/were listening to radio), ***bü chus/osus*** *radio bozan* (I am/was listening to radio). In its passiive use the agent is put in the instrumental case and the verb in the past tense takes the number and gender of the object of action as in- *təm̃* ***būz dəlīl*** (he listened the story), *təm̃* ***bozü dəlīlü*** (he listened the stories). But, *-nü* suffixed √*boz* →***bozünü*** associated with the intransitive verb √*yi* in the passive use, denotes 'visual perception' instead of 'perception through ear'. In this phase the agent is placed in the oblique case and verb √*yi* in the present, past or future tense has coordination with the object of √*boz*. The examples are: *mě* ***chu su*** *yivān bozünü* (he is visible to me/I can see him), *mě* ***chi sɔ*** *yivān bozünü* (she is visible to me), *mě* ***chukh čü*** *yivān bozünü* (you sg. are visible to me),), *mě* ***chivü tŏhya*** *yivān bozünü* (you plu. are visible to me). It is also noteworthy that a little change in the order of words, without destroying its sense, is also possible here, e.g., *mě* ***chu*** *yivān* ***su*** *bozünü* or ***su chu*** *yivān mě bozünü* or even *bozünü* ***chu*** *yivān mě* ***su.***◀

गरः काठिन्ये च –5३[58]. In its objective use the verb √*gar* is used in the sense 'to obstinate' as well. For example *garünü yivan chu* refers to both i.e., 'shaping of an object' and to be obstinate (कठिनीभवति घटितं च भवति).

▶The verb √*gar* is used in the sense of 'to make, to shape'. The illustration quoted by the author reveals that in its subjective use the verb √*gar* is used only in the sense 'to make or to shape' such as- *ṭhāṭhur chu bānü garān* (the brazier makes / shapes the utensils), *bü chus pěnsalü garān* (I am sharpening the pencil) etc. In its passive use √*gar* associated with √*yi* occurs in the sense of 'to make or shape'

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[58] *garah kāṭhinye ca* : --------- ibid -------- 8/1/53 p. 199

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such as- ***bānü chu garünu yivān*** (the utensil is being made/shaped). In the sense of 'obstinacy or insistence' √*gar* associated with √*yi* occurs subjectively, e.g., ***śur chu*** *kuñi sātü garünu yivān* (the child sometimes becomes stubborn), ***śuṟ chi*** *kuñi sātü garünu yivān* (the children sometimes become obstinate).◀

ड्देषोऽनोलोपो द्रेन्ठादेशश्च –54[59]. √*ḍes* means 'to see' (ड्देष प्रक्षणे). – *an* is separated and *ḍeṣ* is converted into *drenṭh* meaning 'to be visible', such as- *drenṭh yivān chu. ḍeṣan yivān chu* is not correct.

▶It is worthwhile to mention that the verb √*ḍeṣ* is actually pronounced as √*ḍeś* because the alveolar *ṣ* does not exist in Kashmiri. Besides denoting visual perception, √*ḍeś* is expressive of mental perception of agony as well, such as- *čĕ mā ḍūśthan su* (did you saw him?), *təmis chu k̃ahtām ḍeśun* (he may face some adversity). Combination of √*yi* with √*ḍeś* converts the sentence from subjective to objective. √*drenṭh* is a different verb and is especially used with green vegetables in the sense of 'to become dry and hard' such as- *yi sabzi chi drenṭhĕmüč* (this vegetable has become dry and hard). √*gačh* (to go) used combined with √*drenṭh* denotes 'to come in sight'. Combination of √*gačh* with √*drenṭh* is more commonly used in speech than combination of √*yi* with √*drenṭh* such as- *če chuyi su z̃āh drīn̆ṭh gačhān* (do you ever see him). अनो लोपः i.e., deletion of *–an* is also irrelevant because, as stated earlier (see 8/1/39), assertion regarding addition of *–an* is irrelevant.◀

नेश्चांचल्येऽपि; हेर्बन्धनेऽपि –55/56[60]. √*ni* (to take/carry/lead) in association with √*yi* denotes, besides its literal meaning, 'to be perplexed or to feel troubled' as in- *ninü yivān chu* (he feels irked). √*hĕ* (to buy/purchase) accompanied by √*yi*, becomes, in addition to its basic meaning, expressive of 'entanglement' *hyanü yivān chu* (gets entangled).

▶It is important to note that the basic meaning of √*ni* and √*hĕ* does not change even if these two verbs occur associated with √*yi*. The examples are: as *kitāb* ***nini / hĕni*** *āv* (came to take the book / to

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59 *deśo anolopo drenṭhādeśaśca* : ------- ibid ------- 8/1/54 p. 200.

60 *neścāñcalyeapi ; herbandhaneapi* : ------ ibid ------- 8/1/-55/56 p. 200

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buy the book). The words expressive of perplexity and entanglement are actually *ninü* and *ẽanü* respectively which occur unchanged in the constructions and in no way seem to be derived from √*ni* (to take/carry/lead) and √*hĕ* (to buy/purchase). These are actually indeclinable terms which are usually followed by √*yi* such as- *ninü āv* (he got perplexed) *hyanü āv* (he got entangled).◀

भावशब्देभ्यो हेर्भूतप्रयोगा वर्तमानबोधकाः −57[61]. If √*hĕ* (to hold) in the past tense is used before or after an abstract noun it refers to the present tense of an action. For example *karun hŏtun*; *hŏtukh parun* etc. indicate that the action is done at the present time.

▶The past tense of √*hĕ* is *hŏt*. If *hŏt* is used before or after a participle verb, it denotes 'start or beginning of an activity which is expected to continue further or which will be in progress till its completion', such as- *təm̃ hŏt makānü banāvun* (he has started construction of house).◀

ज्ञानो भविष्यन्त्याश्च −58[62]. √*zān* means 'to know'. √*zān* in the future tense employed before or after the primary nominal stem or an indeclinable imparts the sense of present tense such as- *karun zāni*, *parun zāni*, *lekhun zāni*, *zenun zāni*, *šaṭhāh zāni*, *vĕdyā zāni* etc.. In the similar manner in certain constructions a verb in the past tense imparts future tense meaning such as- *təmis lūkhuth son namaskār*.

▶In the above illustrations the future tense denoting *zāni* preceded by the primary stems *parun*, *lekhun*, *zenun* etc. denote the sense of present tense, e.g., *parun zāni* (can read), *lekhun zāni* (can write), *zenun zāni*, (can earn). Besides, *zāni* preceded by nouns, pronouns or adjectives is expressive of the present tense, such as- *šaṭhāh zāni* (knows much), *mĕ zāni* (knows me) etc. Similarly, *vŏnuth* (you said) is past tense second person singular form but in *təmis vŏnuth zi əš chis prārān* (do tell him that we are waiting) *vŏnuth* is expressive of future tense.◀

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[61] *bhāvaśabdebhyo herbhūtaprayogā vartamānabodhakāh*: ——ibid—— 8/1/57 p. 200

[62] *zāno bhaviṣyantyaśca* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/1/58 p. 201

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पाथो नित्यम् –59[63]. The future tense of √*pāth* (to have kind feelings) is always used in the sense of present tense as its present and past indefinite forms do not exist. The examples are- *pāthi* (he is virtuous), *pāthan* (they are virtuous), *pāthakh* (you are virtuous), *pāthiv* (you are virtuous), *pāthü* (I am virtuous), *pāthav* (we arevirtuous), *pāthi* (he is virtuous). The past imperfect forms are- *pāthihe* (was), *pāthühān* (were), *pāthühākh* (were), *pāthihīv* (were), and *pāthihehay*.[64]

▶The word *pāth* does not exist in Kashmiri spoken by the people of the valley. This must be a word of some regional dialect known to the author or with which the author must have remained associated.◀

▶This is the last sutra of the sub chapter on conjugation of verbs in the present tense. The author has given a systematic and detailed account of the subject. In the beginning of the chapter is given the definition of verb, phases of verb, types of doers in terms of speaker, listener and the object of conversation, classification of number, types of tenses and scope of the present tense. The present tense denoting affixes are classified into two groups, viz., i) the general conjugational affixes which necessarily require the presence of subject denoting word in the sentence, and, ii) the pronominal affixes which provide information about the person, number and gender of both, the doer of action as well as direct and indirect receivers of action. In Kashmiri the present tense action is expressed by appending present tense affixes (*–u, -i; -ukh, -ivü; -us, -i*) to auxiliary *ch* (*chu, chi*; *chukh, chivü*; *chus, chi*) while as the present tense affixes given by the author indicate that he does not differentiate between the root word *ch* and its conjugated forms expressive of the number, gender and person of the agent or object of action. In addition, the conjugated forms auxiliaries given by the author have been listed as ending in *–h* (see sutras 11-12). It indicates that the author has misconceived the phonological and morphological peculiarities of Kashmiri. Some of the illustrated sentences given by the author are mostly word for word translation of the Sanskrit

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63

64 *pātho nityam* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/1/59 p. 201
---------- ibid ------ p. 201

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sentences and therefore, do not bear conformity with the sentence structure of Kashmiri. The sentences, constituted by the author in support of his statements, are also erroneously framed (see sutras 7-10 & 23-24, 49-50). The verbs ending in mid front vowel *-ĕ* -√*kĕ*, √*cĕ*, √*pĕ* have been wrongly conceived as ending in high front vowel *-i*-√*ki*, √*ci*, √*pi* etc. (see sutra 20). The author has also included in this chapter, the formation of echo words which actually are compound words and thus, should have been discussed at appropriate place in the chapter on compounds. The author does not make any distinction between high central, mid central and low central vowels (see sutra 49).◀

The author has concluded the chapter on conjugation of verbs in present tense with these words: (इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते आख्यातप्रक्रियायां वर्तमानपादः प्रथमः) 'here ends the conjugation of verbs in the present tense, the first part of verb morphology in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'.

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8.2
Future Tense[1]

This sub-chapter of *ākhyātaprakriyāyā* throws light on the conjugation of verbs in future tense. The first sutra of this chapter is:

अनारब्धाक्रिया भविष्यत्कालः –1[2]. The action which has not been initiated is the subject of future tense. In his definition of the future tense the author says that (वर्तमानासन्नोत्तरकालादुत्तरः सर्वःकालः भविष्यत्कालसंज्ञो भवति) the time or period soon after the present and onwards is known as the future tense and the actions pertaining to this period are always uninitiated or yet to be initiated.

विध्याशीर्भविष्यन्त्यपूर्णभूतार्थभेदाच्चतुर्विधः –2[3]. The sutra outlines Potential (विधि), Benediction (आशीः), Future (भविष्यन्ती) and conditional (अपूर्णभूतार्था नाम क्रियातिपत्तिः) as four categories of the future tense (इति भेदतश्चतुष्प्रकारो भवति)[4]. The conditional may be past imperfect as well because it denotes imperfection of an action (क्रियातिपत्तेरत्रापूर्णभूतार्थकथनादतीतकालेऽपि भवति)[5].

►Potential, imperative, interrogative, benediction and conditional are actually five moods of verb. The author in this sutra has clubbed these with the future tense which indicates that he does not consider the time of an action (tense) and the manner in which an action is done (mood) as distinct from each other. The moods of verb should rather have been discussed separately.◄

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1 *ākhyātaprakriyāyām bhaviṣyatpādah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 203

2 *anārabdhākriyā bhaviṣyatkālah* : -------- ibid ------- 8/2/1 p. 203

3 *vidhyāśīrbhaviṣyantyapūrṇabhūtārthbhedāccaturvidhah*:
-------ibid------ 8/2/2 p. 203

4 -------- ibid -------- p. 203

5 -------- ibid -------- p. 203

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आसन्नदूराभ्यां विधिर्द्विविधः –3[6]. Potential is of two types viz., i) proximate potential and ii) distant potential. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that the proximate potential denotes future action proximal to the present tense (वर्तमानकालान्निकटकाला– सन्निविधिः) while as action of a distant future is distant potential (दूरकालोदूरविधिः). The first person is the speaker hence, the potential does not occur in the first person. The potential mood therefore, has only four terminations to express second and third person, singular and plural numbers.

मुख्यगौणाभ्यां निकटविधिर्द्विधा –4[7]. Primary and secondary are two types of the proximate potential. The author further states that obligatory or inevitable commands are primary proximate potentials and the remaining constitute the secondary category of the proximate potential (अवश्यं करणीयाज्ञा मुख्यनिकटविधिः तदितरो गौणनिकटविधिरिति द्विप्रकारो भवति[8]).

निकटविधौ इन इन हि इव प्रत्ययाः; व्यंजनान्ताद्धलोपः –5/6[9]. *–in, -in, -hi, -iv* are conjugational affixes of the proximate potential. The examples are: *karin* (let him do), *karin tim* (let them do), *kar* (you sg.do), *kariv* (you plu. do). According to व्यंजनान्ताद्धलोपः *–h* of *–hi* is dropped in second person singular of the consonant ending roots and only *–i* is left for enunciation (हि प्रत्ययस्य इकार उच्चारणार्थः[10]). The example is second person singular of √*kar* (to do) → *kar* (you do). This does not apply to vowel ending roots *dih* (give) and *nih* (take).

▶The assertion regarding use of *–hi* suffix, deletion of *–h* of *–hi* and use of only *–i* is neither correct nor supported by the form √*kar* (to do) → *kar* (you sg. do) cited by the author. The verbs *dih, nih* are actually pronounced as √*di* (to give) → *divān* (participle), *diyi* (III

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6 *āsannadūrābhyām vidirdvividhah* : -------- ibid ------ 8/2/3 p. 203

7 *mukhyagauṇābhyām nikaṭvidhirdvidhā* : ------- ibid ------- 8/2/4 p. 203

8 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 203

9 *nikaṭvidhau in in hi iv pratyayāh ; vyañjnāntā:ddhalopah:*
---------ibid-------- 8/2/-5/6 p. 204

10 -------- ibid -------- p. 204

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per. will give), *d̃utun* (III per. gave), *diyin* (let him/her/them give), and, √*ni* (to take) → *nivān* (present participle), *niyi* (III per. will take), *ñūn* (III per. took), *niyin* (let him/her/them take). Thus, addition of *–hi* and deletion of *–h* comes across as an imaginary and futile exercise.

In fact the proximate potential or the Imperative Mood in Kashmiri is used to express:

i) A command as in- ***vɔth tü ner*** (stand up and leave), *panüñ **kām kar*** (mind your own business),

ii) An exhortation such as- *panüni sehatuk **thav** khayāl* (take care of your health), and,

iii) An entreaty and benediction e.g.- *dayi*! *asi p̃aṭh **kar** dayā* (God! be kind to us); ***čü nav tü phɔl*** (you be blessed).

In Sanskrit the technical names for these three moods are *loṭ lakāra*, *vidhiliṅ* and *āśīrliṅ* respectively. In Kashmiri these three senses are expressed by the same set of terminations. Īśvar Kaul has combined and discussed these three forms as potential mood (विधि[11]). The *nikaṭa* or *āsanna-vidhi* refers to the Imperative Mood as commands (to be carried out actions) are usually proximal to the time of speech. It is most commonly employed in the second person as the person commanded is the person spoken to, such as- ***pathar běh tü par*** (sit down and study), ***vɔlü yūr̃*** (come here) etc. In the third person a like sense is expressed by the addition of third person pronominal suffixes to the root, such as- ***su bihin*** (let him sit), ***tim bihin*** (let them sit). An exhortation as also instruction is denoted by the potential mood (विधिलिङ्)[12] and is used in the second and third persons, such as- *h̃as **thəviv** zi kãh ñeri nü batü k̃hanay* (you mas. plu. ensure that nobody leaves without having food), *h̃as **thəvin** zi kãh ñeri nü batü k̃hanay* (he / they should make sure that nobody leaves without having food). Similarly, *day **būzin** tü čü **tar** ath imtihānas* (May God

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11 ---------- ibid --------- p. 203 - 204

12 Pāṇini : 3.3.161 – Ref. Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini – Translation by Sumitra M. Katre : p. 317

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answer our prayers and may you clear this examination) shows benediction or invocation.

Further, it is worthwhile to mention that the terminations mentioned in the above sutra are employed with the consonant ending roots while as with the vowel ending roots *–y-* is inserted before the given terminations. The following set of affixes and their use with the verb roots substantiates the observation:

	Consonant ending roots √*par* Mas./Fem.		*Vowel ending roots* √*di* Mas./Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
II	bare root par	-iv pəriv	bare root di	-y-iv diyiv
III	-in pərin	-in pərin	-y-in diyin	-y-in diyin

Further, it is important to mention that Kashmiri possesses the conditional mood as well. The conditional mood is called *kriyātipatti* in Sanskrit and is expressed by the *lRṅ lakāra* (लिङ्निमित्ते लृङ्क्रियातिपत्तौ[13]). The conditional mood is employed when one action is cause and the other an effect provided that the action, which is the effect or the result, does not actually materialize. The conditional mood in Kashmiri is of two types, viz., the past conditional, and, the future conditional. The past conditional is expressed by the past participle form of a verb associated with the auxiliary √*ās* bearing the past conditional terminations. The future conditional is indicated by adding the future conditional terminations directly to the verb root with the aid of a short vowel *-i* or *-ü*. For perspicuity these terminations are as shown below:

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[13] Pāṇini : 3.3.139 – Ref. Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini – Translation by Sumitra M. Katre : p. 310

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Active &Passive Past Conditional:
√gačh / √par - √ās

	Mas./Fem. Sg.	Plu.
III	-ihe /	ühən /ihe
	go**mut/müč āsihe**	**gəmüt̃/müčü āsühən**
	(had he ~ she/ they gone)	
	pŏrü**mut āsihe**	pŏrümut **āsihe**
	(had he / they studied)	
II	-ühəkh / -iheth	-ihīv /-ihevü
	gomut /müč āsühəkh	**gəmüt̃ əsihīv**
	(had you sg./plu. gone)	
	pŏrü**mut āsiheth**	pŏrümut **āsihevü**
	(had you sg./plu. studied)	
I	-ühə / -ihe	-ühəv/ -ihe
	gomut/müč āsühə	**gəmüt̃/müčü āsühəv**
	(had I / we gone)	
	pŏrü**mut āsihe**	pŏrümut **āsihe**
	(had I / we studied)	

Future Conditional:

	Mas./Fem. Sg.	Plu.
III	-ihe	-ühən
	gačh**ihe**	gačh**ühən**
	(could it be that he/they would go)	
	par**ihe**	par**ühən**
	(could it be that she/they would study)	
II	-ühəkh	-ihīv
	gačh**ühəkh**	gəčh**ihīv**
	(could it be that you sg./plu. would go)	
	par**ühəkh**	pər**ihīv**
	(could it be that you sg./plu. would read)	

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I	-ühə	-ühəv
	gačh**ühə**	gačh**ühəv**
	(could it be that I / we would go)	
	par**ühə**	par**ühəv**
	(could it be that I/we would study)	

The past conditional forms cited above can be converted into pronominal terms by further addition of pronominal termination after the conjugated form of the auxiliary √*ās*, such as- *pŏrümut āsihen* (had he/she studied), *pŏrümut āsihekh* (had they studied), *pŏrümut āsihem* (had I studied) etc.

The conjunctions *yĕli*, *hay* and *agar* are also employed in this process, such as- ***yĕli/agar tami~tami hay batü rŏnümut āsihe tĕli k̃hamühəv*** (had he/she cooked the food then we would eat). There is no mention regarding the use of these and other such conjunction in the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam.◀

ओदेदुपधाया उदीतौ –7[14]. According to this sutra *–o* and *–e* in the medial position of the verb root convert into *–ū* and *–ī* respectively. The examples are- √*roz* → *rūzin*, √*tol* → *tūlin*, √*poṭh* → *pūṭhin*, √*ner* → *nīrin*, √*śẽk* → *śĩkiv*, √*peḍ* → *pīḍin*.

▶It is important to note that *o-* and *e-* are not always replaced by *ū-* and *ī-*. These are actually replaced by *ū* and *ī* only when the potential pronominal suffixes ***–in, -iv*** etc. are directly appended to the verb root. The examples are- √*roz* (to stay) *-in* → *rūzin* (let him/them stay), √*tol* (to measure) *-in* → *tūlin* (let him/them weigh), √*poṭh* (to be robust/strong) *-in* → *pūṭhin* (let it/him/them be strong), √*ner* (to leave) *-in* → *nīrin*, (let him/them leave). √*śẽk* (to doubt) *-iv* →, *śĩkiv* (let you plu. doubt), √*peḍ* (to spread especially oily substance) *-in* → *pīḍin* (let it spread). In the simple future tense *o-* and *e-* are not replaced by any other sound, e.g., √*roz –av* → *rozav* (let us stay), *–i* → *rozi* (he will stay), √*tol –an/–av* → *tolan/tolav* (they will/let us weigh), *–i* → *toli* (he will measure), √*ner –av* → *nerav*, (let us leave), *–i* → *neri*, (he will leave), √*śẽk –an*→ *śẽkan* (they will doubt), *–i* →

[14] *odedupadhāyā udītau* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 8/2/7 p. 204

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śẽki (he will doubt), √*peḍ* –*akh* → *peḍakh* (you will spread), –*i* → *peḍi*, (it will spread) etc. Īśvar Kaul is silent about this peculiarity of the inflectional morphology of Kashmiri verbs.◀

न हौ –८[15]. The author says that *o*- and *e*- are not replaced by *ū* and *ī* before the suffix –*hi*. The illustrations cited in support of the sutra are- *roz* (stay), *tol* (weigh), *ner* (leave), *śẽk* (doubt/ feel uncertain).

▶These assertions are not correct as the words quoted by the author as examples do not reveal addition or presence of –*hi* or any other suffix. These words are rather bear roots which also function as the second person singular forms of the imperative mood. The concept of suffix –*hi* is, as stated earlier, imaginary and confusing.◀

चरादीनामिन्प्रत्ययसंबन्धप्रत्ययैर्विधिः –९[16]. The third person singular suffix–*in* is primarily added to √*čar* (to be angry) and other roots of this category. The *sambandh* and other affixes are appended after –*in* as in- *čərinas* (let him be angry), *čərinakh* (let them be angry), *čərinay* (let you be angry).

▶The word संबन्धप्रत्यय and the examples quoted above refer to the occurrence of pronominal suffixes which are appended after the addition of –*in* to the root. Consideration of √*čar* as a verb root does not seem correct because use of *čü čar* as imperative second person singular is unintelligible. The word चरादीनाम् means √*čar* and the verb roots of this category. Here it is important to note that *čarun* being an intransitive base occurs impersonally such as- *čĕ čərinay* (you be resentful) while as the rule under discussion applies to the transitive verbs as well. The exception is that -*in* is added to transitive roots only if the subject of the verb is third person masculine or feminine, singular or plural and the object may be first, second or third person. These examples given below will make the statement clear:

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15 *na hau* : ———— ibid ——— 8/2/8 p. 205

16 *carādīnāminpratyayasambandhapratyayairvidhih* : ——— ibid ——— 8/2/9 p. 205.

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√*vuch* (to see) → *vuchinay* (let him/her/them see you sg.), *vuchinakh* (let him/her/them see them), *vuchinas* (let him/her/them see him/her), *vuchinam* (let him/her/them see me) etc.◄

स्वरान्ताद्यागम इकारे –१०[17]. *–y* is augmented with the vowel *–i* ending roots such as- *diyiv*, *niyiv*.

►*-y* is not used only with the vowel *–i* ending roots. Its augment is seen, as stated earlier (see 8/2/5-6), with other vowel ending roots as well. The examples are: √*pĕ* (to fall down) → *pĕyin*, *pĕyiv*, √*cĕ* (to drink) → *cĕyiv*, √ *khĕ* (to eat) → *khĕyiv* etc.◄

सर्वत्राकारागमो निदियिवर्जितात् –११[18]. *–a* is added to all vowel ending verb roots except √*ni*, √*di* and √*yi*. The author further says that addition of termination *–hi* causes augment of *–a* with the verb roots √*hi* (to buy/purchase/hold), √*khi* (to eat) and √*ci* (to drink). The collision of two dissimilar vowels i.e., *i* of the root and the augmented *a*, results in the transformation of these two letters into *-y* and thus, *hi*, *khi* and *ci* become *hyah*, *khyah* and *cyah*[19] respectively.

►These assertions are not maintainable. The verb roots used in the sense 'to buy', 'to eat' and 'to drink' are pronounced as √*hĕ*[20], √*khĕ*[21] and √*cĕ*[22] respectively and not as √*hi*, √*khi*, √*ci*[23] as held by the author. The second person singular of the imperative mood of the given verbs is thus, *hĕ*, *khĕ* and *cĕ*. Assumption regarding termination *–hi* is not only imaginary but also involves the reader in the intricate and futile exercises of deletion and conversion of sounds. The forms *hyah*, *khyah* and *cyah* are incomprehensible and do not exist in Kashmiri.

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17 *svarāntādyāgama ikāre* : -------- ibid ------- 8/2/10 p. 205

18 *sarvatrākārāgamo nidiyivarjitāt* : -------- ibid ------- 8/2/11 p. 205

19 -------- ibid -------- p. 205

20 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 289

21 -------- ibid ------ vol. v, p. 277

22 -------- ibid ------ vol iii, p 111.

23 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : p. 205

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Similarly, *nih*, *dih* and *yih*[24] are incorrect and meaningless terms. These are actually pronounced as *ni* (to take), *di* (to give) and *yi* (to come) respectively.◀

येर्व्वलादेशो वा −१ २[25]. √*yi* means 'to come'. According to this sutra √*vval* is optionally employed in place of √*yi* to denote the second person singular of the imperative mood, e.g., *vvalin* (let him come), *vvaliv* (you plu. come).

▶The word is actually pronounced as *vɔlü*[26] (come) and its second person plural is *vəliv*. The term *vəlin* is not acceptable and the term *yiyin* is used to express 'let him come'. In fact the term *vɔlü* most commonly occurs in combination with other verb roots like √*yi*, √*běh* etc. without causing any addition or alteration in the meaning as in- *vɔlü yi*, *vɔlü běh*. It may also be preceded or followed by the adverb *yūr̃* → *yūr̃ vɔlü* or *vɔlü yūr̃* (come here). In a sentence such as *vɔlü cakürас gačhav* (let us go for a walk or recreation) *vɔlü* denotes a suggestion as well as a wish.◀

ब्वव इनि यो वा −१ ३[27]. √*bvav* denotes 'to grow' or 'to be produced'. The addition of *–in*, to express benediction, causes optional replacement of *–v-* by *–y-* such as- *bvavin* ~ *bvayin*.

▶This verb root is pronounced as √*bɔv*[28]. The terms *boin* or *bŏyin* / *bəyin* are also used as *bŏvin* or *bəvin* and the selection is choice based.◀

गौणे प्रत्ययस्वरात्तः −१ ३[29]. According to this sutra'*-t-*' is infixed after the vowel component of the conjugational terminations such as- √*kar* → *kəritan* / *kəritav* (III sg./plu./II plu. may do), √*khār* (to take upwards) → *khāritan* (III sg./plu. may bring up), √*vāl* (to bring down) → *vālitan* (III sg./plu. may bring down). In his explanation of the

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24 ------- ibid -------- p. 206

25 *yervvalādeśo vā* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/2/12 p. 206

26 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 228

27 *bvava ini yo vā* : KaśmīraśabdāmrRam : 8/2/13 p. 206

28 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 332

29 *gauṇe pratyayasvarāttah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/2/14 p. 206

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sutra the author further says that the secondary proximate potential is also of two types. One which indicates negligibility or indifference, and, two which indicates condemnation (गौणविधिरपि द्विविध एक उपेक्ष्याज्ञापनं द्वितीय आक्षेपतः कथनम्[30]).

▶The forms quoted by the author as illustrations in fact reveal that *–tan* is actually employed according to person, number and gender of the doer to express the secondary proximate potential, e.g.,

	Transitive action √par Mas/Fem		*Intransitive action √čal* Mas/Fem	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	pərt̃an	pərt̃an / *or* pəritan	čəl̃tan *or*	čəl̃tan čəlitan
	(let him/them read/study)		(let him/them flee)	
II	partü	pərt̃av / *or* pəritav	čaltü *or*	čəl̃tav čəlitav /
	(let you sg./plu. read/study)		(let you sg./plu. flee)	

The above cited illustrations indicate that the addition of the secondary potential suffix causes the low central vowel, long or short, preceding the final consonant of the root, to be replaced by its corresponding mid central vowel such as- *√čal* (to run away) → *čəlitan*; *√čāl* (to bear) → *čālitan*. *-e-* preceding the final consonant converts into *-ī* which is also used in the form of palatalisation of the ending consonant of the base, such as- *√ner* (to leave) *nīritan* or *nīr̃tan* etc.◀

हौ धातोरेव –15[31]. *–t* is directly appended to the root after the termination *–hi* as in *√di* (to give) → *dita*. According to author *–h* of *–hi* → *dih* is dropped according to 8.2.5 and *–t* is, thus, directly attached to verb root *√di* (*dita*). The author further says that this rule

30 ---------- ibid --------- p. 206

31 *hau dhātoreva* : --------- ibid --------- 8/2/15 p. 207

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is in accordance with the Pāṇini's sutra "प्रत्ययलक्षणाद्[32].....(अनेन कर दि इत्याभ्यां परस्तकारागमः)[33].

►These assertions are not tenable mainly because of inapplicability of Pāṇini's rule to Kashmiri which is out of place and uncalled for. Pāṇini's sutra प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्[34] lays down that when an affix is replaced by θ (zero), operations conditioned by it still operate as if the affix were still present. The repetition of the word प्रत्यय in this rule when it was already employed in its preceding sutra प्रत्ययस्यलुक्श्लुपः[35] emphasizes the fact that the operations conditioned by replacement of an affix by θ (zero) take place only when the whole affix is replaced by θ. In non conformity with this rule Īśvar Kaul holds that only *–h* of *–hi* is dropped to denote the proximate potential. The addition of *–hi* according to 8/2/5, is also, as discussed earlier, a figment of author's imagination and does not exist in reality. Besides, every language has its own peculiarities which are conditioned by the socio-cultural and religious situations of the society in which a given language is spoken. The geographical conditions and the time factor also impact the development of a language. Thus, it can be concluded that application of the above discussed Panini's sutra to Kashmiri is ill conceived.◄

व्यंजनान्तात्संबन्धप्रत्ययादेरुकारः –16[36]. The initial vowel of the pronominal causative suffix is replaced by *–u* with the consonant ending verb root which is also employed as second person singular of the imperative mood, e.g., *karus* (do for him), *karukh* (do for them), *karum* (do for me). This does not apply to the vowel ending roots such as- *dis* (give to him), *nis* (take from him) etc. The author says

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32 Pandey, Gopaldutt (Edtr) : Vyākaraṇa Siddhāntakaumudi : p. 292

33 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam : p. 207

34 Pāṇini 1/1/62 : Pandey, Gopaldutt (Edtr) : Vyākaraṇa Siddhāntakaumudi : p. 292

35 Pāṇini 1/1/6 : --------- ibid ------- p. 291

36 *vyañjanāntātsambandhapratyayāderukārah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam : 8/2/16 p. 207

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that *–hi* is added to the vowel ending roots of which *–h* is dropped as laid down by the sutra 4/131 (प्रत्ययेषु हलोपः सर्वत्र), and only *–i* is pronounced (इकार उच्चारनार्थः[37]). Addition of *–as* to *dih*, *nih* etc. causes deletion of *-h* and according to 8/1/39 *–a* of *–as* is also dropped. By this process are formed *kartas* (let you do for him/her), *partas* (let you read out for him/her) etc.

▶The author's above explanation seems irrelevant and uncalled for. The various processes like replacement of initial vowel of the pronominal suffix by-*u* → *kar - karus*, *karukh*, *karum*; addition of *–hi* → *dih*, *nih*; deletion of *–h* → *di*, *ni*; addition of *–as* → *di-as*, *ni-as*; deletion of *–a* of *–as* → *dis*, *nis* etc. are merely shallow attempts made by the author to superficially follow Pāṇini's methodology without understanding linguistic peculiarities of Kashmiri. The fact is that *–us*, *–ukh* and *–us* are pronominal suffixes denoting the agent in the second person and the receiver in the third person singular, plural and first person singular respectively. Suffix *–hi* does not exist and accordingly deletion of *–h* is irrelevant. The forms *dis* and *nis* simply reveal addition of *–s* with the vowel ending roots.◀

वकारात्सपूर्व ऊकारः –17[38]. The close contact of the initial vowel of the pronominal suffix *-as* with the preceding *-v* of the base converts into-*ū* as in- *kəriv* → *kəryūs*, *diyiv* → *diyūs*.

▶The second person singular is generally considered as the root of a verb and the same procedure is seen followed by Īśvar Kaul as well. But, the examples quoted by the author in support of the above sutra reveal that here the second person plural of √*kar* (you sg. do) → *kəriv* (you plu. do) has been considered as the verb root. Considering second person singular *kar* as the verb root the terms *kəryūs*, *diyūs* etc. clearly reveal the addition of the pronominal plural suffix *–yūs* to express that the action is to be done by the second person plural for the third person singular. In fact *–us/s* → *parus/dis* (read/give for/to him/her) is pronominal suffix which indicates both i.e., the second

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[37] -------- ibid -------- p. 207

[38] *vakārātsapūrva ūkārah* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/2/17 p. 208

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person singular doer as well as third person singular indirect receiver of the action. Similary,*–ukh/kh → parukh/dikh* (read/give to them) denotes second person singular doer and third person plural indirect receiver of the action. Augment of *–y* before *–us/uh* and lengthening of the initial *–u* of *–us → yūs/yūkh → pəryūs/diyūs* and *pəryūkh/diyūkh* signify second person plural doer and third person singular and plural as indirect receiver/s of the of action. The below given description may make the statement lucid:

Consonant ending roots

II person sg. doer & III person sg./plu. indirect object:

√*par*

Mas./Fem.

Sg.	Plu.
-us	-ukh
parus	parukh
(read out for him/her)	(read out for them)

II person plu. doer & III person sg./plu. indirect object:

-yūs	-yūkh
pəryūs	pəryūkh
(read out for him/her)	(read out for them)

II person sg. doer & I person sg. indirect object of action:

-um → parum (read out for me)

II person plu. doer & I person sg. indirect object of action:

-yūm → pəryūm (read out for me)

Vowel ending roots

II person sg. doer & III person sg./plu. indirect object:

√*di*

Mas./Fem.

Sg.	Plu.
-s	-kh
dis	dikh
(give to him/her)	(give to them)

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II person plu. doer & III person sg./plu. indirect object:

-yūs	-yūkh
diyūs	diyūkh
(give to him/her)	(give to them)

II person sg. doer & I person sg. indirect object of action:

-m → dim (give me)

II person plu. doer & I person sg. indirect object of action:

-yūm → diyūm (give to me).◀

तकारादोकारः −१ ४[39]. *–t* causes *–v* to change into *–o* as in *kəritos*, *kəritokh*, *kəritom*.

▶These assertions are not clear. However, the illustrated pronominal terms are expressive of the indicative or potential mood. Besides, a suggestion such as *sāl kəritos* (you plu. may invite III sg. to a feast) is also expressed by these terms. Thus, considering *kar* and *di* as the verb roots, the below given affixes are employed as indicative/suggestive pronominal terminations:

II person sg. doer & III person *sg./plu. receiver*:

Consonant ending roots

√*kar*

Mas./Fem.

Sg.	Plu.
-tas	-takh
kartas	kartakh

(let you sg. do for him/her/them)

II person plu. doer & III person *sg./plu. receiver*:

Mas./Fem.

tos	-tokh
kəritos	kəritokh

(let you plu. do for him/her/them)

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[39] *takārādokārah* : --------- ibid ------- 8/2/18 p. 208

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II person plu. doer & I person *sg./plu. receiver*:

Mas./Fem	
-tom	-tav
kəritom	kəritav

(let you sg./plu. do for me/us)

II person sg. doer & III person *sg./plu. receiver*:

Vowel ending roots

√*di*

Mas./Fem.

Sg.	Plu.
-tas	-takh
ditas	ditakh

(let you sg. give to him/her/them)

II person plu. doer & III person sg./plu. receiver:

Mas./Fem.

Sg.	*Plu.*
-yitos	-yitokh
diyitos	diyitokh

(let you plu. give for him/her/them)

II person plu. doer & I person sg./plu. receiver:

Mas./Fem	
-tom	-tav
diyitom	diyitav

(let you sg./plu. give for me/us).◀

मो निषेधार्थोऽत्रैव –19[40]. The author while explaining the sutra says that *–ma* is used in the prohibitive sense only in the imperative/optional and invocative moods. It is put before or after the conjugated form of a verb, such as- *ma kərin* (let him/them not do), *ma kar/kəriv* (don't do). In case of other tenses and moods *–ma* is employed to express 'doubt' while as *–na/nü* denotes 'negation' and is put after the conjugated form of the verb such as- *karān chunü*

[40] *monişedhārthoatraiva* : ——— ibid ——— 8/2/19 p. 209

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(does/is not do/ing) *kŏrun nü* (III sg. didn't do), *kari nü* (III sg. will not do), *kərizyan nü* (you should not do that) etc.

▶Īśvar Kaul's assertions that *–ma* expresses 'doubt' in tenses and moods other than in potential and invocative moods (शेषे विभक्तिसमुदाये माशब्द आशंकार्थो भवति) may be amplified with the example such as- ***su ma/mā vāti az yor*** (he is expected to arrive here today). In this sentence *ma/mā* indicates 'doubt or uncertainty'.◀

संबुद्धिगौणप्रत्यया मात्परा अपि –20[41]. According to this sutra the personal vocative terminations mentioned in the chapter on declension of nouns as well as the secondary potential terminations should be used after *ma* (मकारात्पराः प्रयोज्याः).

▶This sutra is a continuation of the previous sutra. The use of अपि in the sutra denotes that the secondary potential terms can be used after the negative marker as well. The examples are: *mā kar ~ mabā kar ~ masā kar* (don't do). Indicative/suggestive '*-t*' is also used after *ma* such as- *matü kartü* (let you not do), *matü kəritan* (let him not do), *matü kəritav* (let you plu. not do), *matübā kartü* (please don't do) etc.◀

विधितदतिपत्तिभेदाद्दूरविधिर्द्विविधः –21[42]. The distant potential is of two types viz., i) that which induces an action in the near future, and, ii) that which denotes imperfection of an action.

दूरविधौ ज़िप्रत्ययः सर्वेषु –22[43].–*zi* is suffixed in the similar form in both the numbers (सर्वेषु वचनेषु ज़ि प्रत्यय एक एव ज्ञेयः) to express the distant potential. According to author's explanation of the sutra, it changes when it comes in contact with the pronominal affixes attached to verbs.

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41 *sambuddhigauṇapratyayā mātparā api* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/2/20 p. 209

42 *vidhitanatipattibhedāddūrvidhirdvividhah* : ---------- ibid --------- 8/2/21 p. 210

43 *dūravidhau zipratyayah sarveṣu* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/2/22 p. 210

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तदतिपत्तौ हेपरः −23[44]. If *–he* is affixed after *–zi* it denotes imperfection of an action. *–he* used with the second person of √*čar* and other verbs refers to the past imperfect of an action as well.

▶The term अतिपत्तौ refers to the conditional mood. The conditional terminations are introduced when the action refers to the future time provided that the future action is the effect of a previous action and which does not attain completion. It also refers to an action done in the past without attaining perfection, e.g., *rūd āsihe põmut bü behmühā garas manz* (had it rained I would have stayed at home).The terminations of the conditional mood have already been discussed under 8/2/6. Further, it is worthwhile to mention that the pronominal affixes are appended after the conditional terminations, such as- *mĕ āsihe pŏrümut* (had I studied), *tɔhi āsihevü pŏrümut* (had you plu. studied); Pronominal use - *pŏrümut āsihem* (had I studied), *pŏrümut āsihevü* .etc. But, the addition of *–zi* before the conditional terminations, such as- *čü pərizihe* (you ought to have studied), *čü vənizihe* (you ought to have said), simply denotes imperfection of an action which is not the result of any previous action◀

व्यंजनान्तादिचागमो जौ −24[45]. *–ic* is augmented before *–zi* with the consonant ending roots. The author further says that *–c* of *–ic* is deleted as in *kar-ic-zi* → *kərizi*.

▶Augment of *–ic* and deletion of final consonant (*-c*) is illogical and meaningless. It is a mere replication of Panini's concept of the *-it* marker (इत् संज्ञा). *–it*, according to Aṣṭādhyāyī, is a consonant occurring at the end of an element (हलन्त्यम्)[46] when it is first introduced in the grammatical instruction and तस्य लोपः[47] mandates deletion of the *-it* marker. Īśvar Kaul has arbitrarily and randomly applied Panini's rules without taking into account their applicability and relevance to the Kashmiri language. It is simply augment of *–i*,

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44 *tadatipattau he prah* : --------- ibid ------- 8/2/23 p. 210

45 *vyañjanāntādicāgamo zau* : --------- ibid ------- 8/2/24 p. 210

46 Paṇini: 1.3.3– Ref. Vyākaraṇa Siddhāntakaumudi – Edtr. Gopaldutt Pandey p. 8

47 Paṇini: 1.3.9 - ---------- ibid ------- p. 91

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rather than *–ic*, which is infixed in the root to which *–zi* is to be appended. This process causes change of low central vowel of the initial syllable into mid central vowel, e.g., √*kar –i –zi* → *kərizi* (do perform), √*vuch –i –zi* → *vuchizi* (do see). *–yi* is optionally used in place of *–i* with the vowel ending roots such as- √*di –yi –zi* → *diyizi* ~ *dizi* (do give); √*pĕ –yi –zi* → *pĕyizi* ~ *pĕzi* (do fall down) etc.

It is noteworthy that the distant potential occurs only in the second and third persons. *–zi* is replaced by *–in* with third person singular and plural such as- *su kərin / pərin* (let him do/study), *tim kərin / pərin* (let them do/read). In constructions like *su kərizi* and *tim kərizi* the terms *su* and *tim* are objects of proposed action and not the agents of action as given by the author (*su kərizi* स कुर्यात् *tim kərizi* ते कुर्युः). In the given constructions the agent of √*kar* is, as indicated by *kərizi*, second person singular. The examples, such as- *su sabakh pərizi* (do go through that lesson), *tim kāmi kərizi katüm* (do finish those tasks) further support this statement. ◀

नासमोर्लोपो ज़ेः –25[48]. The author says that the addition of *–zi* does not cause deletion of *–a* of *–as* and *-am* as advocated by the sutra स्वरादल्लोपः 8/1/39. The examples are- *kərizyam*, *kəriziy*, *kərizihes* etc.

▶The illustrations quoted by the author refer to the pronominal use of the potential mood which is expressed by addition of the pronominal affix *–as* or *–am* after *–zi*. The addition of *–as/-am* causes certain morphophonemic changes within the internal structure of word such as- √*par* → *pərizi* → *pərizas* (should/must read out for him/her), *pərizam* (should/must read out for me) etc. The form *kəriziy* semantically does not match with the sutra. ◀

आशिषि यन यन यख इव प्रत्ययाः –26[49]. *–yan*, *–yan*, *–yakh* and *-iv* are suffixed to denote benediction. The author, while elucidating the sutra, says that the sutras regarding formation of term ending in the above cited terminations are not discribed here as these are not

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[48] *nāsamorlopo zeh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 8/2/25 p. 211

[49] *āśiṣi yan yan yakh iv pratyayāh* : -------- ibid -------- 8/2/26 p. 211

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very commonly used in speech (तत्रास्या विभक्तेर्लोकेऽत्यल्पप्रसिद्धतया तत्स्वरूपसाधनसूत्राणि नाभिहितानि[50]). However, rules applicable to past perfect tense are considered, by the learned, as applicable here also (पूर्णभूतेये ये आदेशा वक्ष्यन्ते तेऽत्रापि धीमद्भिरवधार्याः[51]). The forms which are prevalent in speech are quoted as examples, such as - *karyan*, *laśyan*, *ranyan*, *zenyan* etc. The ending *–s* of √*las* and √*ās* is seen converted into *ś* → *laśyan*, *āśyan* (अत्रैव सकारान्तस्य शकारो दृश्यते[52]).

▶The forms quoted by author as examples in support of his assertions are not employed as benedictive terms by the Kashmiri speakers of the valley. Conversion of *s* into *ś* is irrelevant and the forms derived thereby do not exist in speech. As stated earlier, a command, an exhortation, a benediction and an invocation are expressed by the same set of conjugational terminations (see 8/2/5-6). Thus, the benedictive forms of the above cited roots are-

	Mas./Fem.		Mas./Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
II	bare root	-iv	bare root	-y-iv
	las	ləsiv	zen	zīniv
	(may you sg/plu live long)		(may you sg/plu win)	
III	-in	-in	-y-in	-y-in
	ləsin	ləsin	zīnin	zīnin
	(may he/they live long)		(may he/they win)	

Similarly, *day **kərin** asi p̃aṭh dayā* (may God be kind to us). *–ay* is appended after the bendictive form to convert the stem into the pronominal term such as- *ləsinay* (may III per. sg. live long for II per. sg.), *pūśinay* (may III per. sg. last forever for II per. sg) etc.◀

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51 ---------- ibid --------- p. 211

52 ---------- ibid --------- p. 211

---------- ibid --------- p. 211

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छावो यखि यो वा –27[53]. √*chāv* means 'to enjoy'. Addition of –*yakh* to √*chāv* leads to optional change of –*v* of *chāv* into –*y*, such as- *chāyyakh* ~ *chāvyakh*, meaning 'to settle in a home'.

▶This statement is not correct. The word *chāv* is a verb used in the sense 'to enjoy what one possesses or acquires' such as house, car and clothes etc. while as *chāyakh* is a felicitation expressing term. It is specifically used by women to congratulate each other after putting on a new dress on the auspicious occasions of a ceremony, marriage; yajñopavīt etc. It is always followed by the auxiliary *ch* associated with singular or plural termination, such as *chāyakh chuy / chuvü* (may be auspicious to you sg./plu). *chāyakh* is also pronounced as *chekh* by some speakers. *chāvakh* or *chāvyakh* meaning 'you will enjoy the object' is, on the other hand, future tense denoting term of √*chāv* and not of *chāyakh* as assumed by the author. *chāyakh* also does not mean 'to settle in a home'(निर्विश्याः[54]) as given by the author.◀

भविष्यन्ती इ अन अख इव अ अव प्रत्ययाः –28[55]. *–i, -an,-akh, -iv, -a* and *–av* are future tense denoting suffixes such as- *kari, karan, karakh, kəriv, karü, karav.*

▶This sutra very clearly refers to the terminations employed to denote the absolute future tense in Kashmiri. It is notable that these affixes are used with the consonant ending roots while as *–yi, -n, kh, -yiv, -mü* and *–mav* are employed with the vowel ending roots. These may be more clearly understood by the conjugated forms given below:

√*par* (to read)

Mas./Fem.

Sg. Plu.

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53 *chāvo yakhi yo vā* ------- ibid ------- 8/2/27 p. 212

54 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 212

55 *bhaviṣyantīi an akh iv a av pratyayāh* : ---------- ibid --------8/2/28 p. 212

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III	*-i*	*-an*
	su/sɔ pari	tim/timü paran
	(he/she will read/study)	(they will read/study)
II	*-akh*	*-iv*
	čü parakh	tŏhya pəriv
	(you will read/study)	(you will read/study)
I	*-ü*	*-av*
	bü parü	əs̃ parav
	(I will read/study)	(we will read/study)

√*di* (to give)

	Mas./Fem. Sg.	Plu.
III	*-yi*	*-n*
	su/sɔ diyi	tim/timü din
	(he/she will give)	(they will give)
II	*-kh*	*-yiv*
	čü dikh	tŏhya diyiv
	(you will give)	(you will give)
I	*-mü*	*-mav*
	bü dimü	əs̃ dimav
	(I will give)	(we will give).◀

स्वरान्तानामुत्तमे मागमः −29[56]. This sutra is a continuation of the previous sutra. According to this sutra *–m* is augmented before the Ist person terminations with the vowel ending roots such as- *dimü* (I will give), *dimav* (we will give). The author further says that as stated earlier (8/2/10) *–y* is augmented before *–i* with the vowel ending roots, such as- *diyi* (he/she will give).

▶It is a peculiarity of the Kashmiri language that two vowel sounds do not occur combined together. The author is silent about the deletion of either initial vowel of terminations *–an*, *–akh* or final vowel of vowel ending roots or conversion of the final vowel of the

[56] *svarāntānāmuttame māgamah* : -------- ibid ------- 8/2/29 p. 212

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root into *-y* which finally occurs in the form of palatalization consonant preceding the vowel especially *–ĕ* like √*pĕ* , √*khĕ* etc. The examples are- √*di* (to give) *–an/-akh* → *din / dikh* (they/you will give); √*cĕ* (to drink) *–an/-akh* → *can /cakh* (they/you will drink); √*pĕ* (to fall) *–an/-akh* → *p̃an / p̃akh* (they/you will fall).◀

अपराः प्रत्ययाः संप्रश्ने; प्रथमोत्तमैकत्वे दीर्घः –३०/३१[57]. In the interrogative sense *–a* is appended after the future tense termination. This *–a* is lengthened in the third person and first person singulars.

▶It is actually *–ü* and not *–a* which is added after the conjugational termination in the interrogative sense. Besides, *-a* of *-an/-akh/av* is also converted into *–ü*, such as- *paran* (they will read) → *parünü* (will they read), *parakh* (you will read) → *parükhü* (will you read), *parav* (we will read) → *parüvü* (shall we read); *pəriv* (you will read) → *pərivü* (will you read) etc. *-ā*, which sounds as followed by slight aspiration, is used with third person and first person singulars such as- *pari* (he/she will read) → *pañālh* (will he/she read); *parü* (I will read) → *parā/h* (should I read).◀

क्रियातिपत्तिः इहे अहान अहाख इहीव अहा अहाव प्रत्ययाः –३२[58]. Imperfection of an action is denoted by terminations *–ihe*, *-ahān*, *-ahākh*, *-ihīv*, *-ahā* and *-ahāv*.

▶As stated earlier (see 8/2/6) the Sanskrit term क्रियातिपत्ति refers to the conditional mood. The conditional terminations are employed when the action refers to the future time provided that the future action is the effect of a previous action and which does not attain completion or a past action does not attain perfection. The terminations of the conditional mood have already been described in detail under 8/2/6.

कौतुके सर्वे प्रत्ययाः ह्यपराः –३३[59]. *–hay* is put after all affixes to show curiosity such as- *karihe hay* (if he would do).

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[57] *aparāh pratyayāh sampraśne; prathmottamaikatve dīrghah* :
---------- ibid ------- 8/2/-30/31 p. 213

[58] *kriyātipattih ihe ahān ahākh ihīv ahā ahāv pratyayāh* :
--------- ibid -------- 8/2/32 p. 214

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►*-hay* is basically a particle usually used after a noun or a pronoun to denote imperfection or improbability of an action in the past or future tenses respectively, such as- *rūd hay p̃omut asihe nü su āsihe āmut* (he would have come if it had not rained), *rūd hay rukihe tü bü gačhühə bāzar* (if rain stops I would go to market). However, in the pronominal use *-hay* is placed after the conjugated form of the verb, such as- *parühākh hay tü jān gəyo* (it would be better if you study). These illustrations also denote that *–hay* is usually followed by conjunction *–tü* for completion of the sense.◄

आक्षेपेऽपि नयपराः –३४[60]. *–nay* used after the subjunctive term denotes criticism such as- *karihe nay* (had he not done).

►*-nay* is basically a refusal denoting or negativity indicating word which if used after the subjunctive term points towards the previous action which is or becomes the cause of an undesired present or future result, such as- *vanühākh nay tü gačhan nārāzü* (had I not told them they would have become angry).◄

कर्तुः परौ वा –३५[61]. *–hay* and *–nay* are used after the agent also, such as- *su hay karihe* (if he would do), *tim hay karühən* (if they would do), *tim nay karühən* (had they not done) etc.

►The study of this chapter shows that the author has discussed future tense in terms imperative, potential, benediction and conditional moods and their types. This approach of author indicates that he does not consider the time of an action (tense) and the manner in which an action is done (mood) as different from each other. In fact the future tense in Kashmiri is of two types, viz., i) future progressive, and, ii) absolute future. The future progressive is expressed by the compound verb consisting of auxiliary *ās* associated with the future tense terminations and followed by the present participle form of the verb, such as- *yěli əs̃ vātav tor, sɔ* ***āsi batü ranān*** (when we reach there, she would be cooking food). The

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59 *kautuke sarve pratyayāh hay parāh* : -------- ibid -------- 8/2/33 p. 214

60 *ākṣepeapi nayparāh* : -------- ibid -------- 8/2/34 p. 215

61 *kartuh parau vā* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/2/35 p. 215

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absolute future is indicated by appending the future tense denoting terminations directly to the verb roots, such as- *sɔ* ***rani*** *batü* (she will cook food). As a result the main subject (i.e., future tense) has been discussed very briefly in a few concluding sutras of the chapter. There is no reference to the future progressive or indefinite future tense in this chapter. Besides, the examples quoted by the author reveal his propensity towards the use of pronominal suffixes rather than the general conjugational terminations.◀

The author has concluded the chapter on conjugation of verbs in future tense with the words (इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते आख्यातप्रक्रियायां भविष्यत्पादो द्वितीयः) 'here ends the conjugation of verbs in the future tense, the second part of verb morphology in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'.

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8.3
Past Tense[1]

The present sub-chapter of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam is a description of the conjugation of verbs in the past tense. In the beginning of the chapter the author says:

समापितक्रियाकालो भूतकालः –1[2]. The tense which indicates that the time of the action has past is called *Bhutakāla.*

भूतसामान्यपूर्णापूर्णभेदाच्चतुर्विधः–2[3]. *bhūta, sāmānya, apūrṇa,* and *pūrṇa* are four categories of the past tense.

►The classification of past tense made by the author are translated in this study as proximate past, aorist, past imperfect and past perfect respectively.◄

भावकर्मिणां भूते उन उख उथ उव उम उ प्रत्ययाः –3[4]. The suffixes *–un, –ukh, –uth, –uv, –um* and *–u* are used to express past impersonal and objective use of intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. While explaining the sutra the author says that the verb roots which occur impersonally in the past tense have been classed as impersonal roots in the list of verb roots. In the impersonal use the agent is put in the third case while as in the objective use the doer occurs in the third case, object is put in the first case and the verb occurs according to its object. The above cited *–un* etc. affixes are employed to denote both, the impersonal as well as objective use. This study of grammatical structure of Kashmiri (शब्दशास्त्र) shows that the verbs in the past tense do not occur subjectively in the impersonal and objective constructions (अत्र शब्दशास्त्रे भावकर्मिणां धातूनामतीतकाले कर्तृप्रयोगाभावः[5]). The intransitive verbs do not

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1
2 *ākhyātaprakriyāyām bhūtapādah*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 216
3 *samāpitakriyākālo bhūtakālah* : ------ ibid ------- 8/3/1 p. 216
4 *bhūtasāmānyapūrṇāpūrṇabhedāccaturvidhah* : -------- ibid ------ 8/3/2 p. 216
5 *bhāvakarmiṇām bhūte un ukh uth uv um u pratyayāh* : ------- ibid ------ p. 216
---------- ibid -------- p. 216

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occur objectively. In the subjective use the agent occurs in the first case. The examples of impersonal use are- *asun* (III per. sg. laughed), *načun* (III per. sg. danced), *časun* (III per. sg. smiled). *karun* (III per. sg. did an action), *karukh* (III per. plu. did an action), *karuth* (II per. sg. did an action), *karuv* (II per. plu. did an action), *karum* (I per. sg. did an action), *karu* (I per. plu. did an action).

▶The above sutra actually refers to the past tense denoting pronominal affixes which, as discussed earlier (see 8.1.1), provide information about the person, number and gender of the agent of the intransitive actions. In case of the transitive verbs these suffixes indicate the person, number and gender of both i.e., the doer as well as the receiver of the transitive action which is a distinct peculiarity of the Kashmiri language. These pronominal suffixes are, thus, of two types, viz; *subjective pronominal suffixes* and *objective pronominal suffixes* (see 8.1.1). To make the statement clear, given below is a brief description of the use of the above cited pronominal affixes in Kashmiri:

i) Subjective suffixes added to the intransitive verbs:
Intransitive verb √***nač*** (to dance)

nŏčun / nŏčuth / nŏčum	(III/ II/ I per. sg. danced)
nŏčukh / nŏčüvü / nŏč	(III/ II/ I per. plu. danced)

ii) Subjective and objective suffixes added to transitive verbs:
Transitive verb √*par* (to read/study)

Mas./Fem. Subject & **Mas. sg.** Object	Mas./Fem. Subject & **Mas. plu**. Object
pŏrun / pŏruth / pŏrum	pərin / pərith / pərim
(III/ II/ I per. sg. studied)	(III/ II/ I per. mas.sg. studied)
pŏrukh / pŏrüvü / pŏr	pərikh / pərivü / pə̃r
(III/ II/ I per. plu. studied)	(III/ II/ I per. plu. studied)
Mas./Fem. *Subject* & **Fem. sg.** *Object*	Mas./Fem. *Subject* & **Fem. plu.** *Object*
pərün / pərüth / pərüm	pə̃ran / pə̃rath / pari
(III/ II/ I per. mas.sg. read)	(III/ II/ I per. mas.sg. read)
pərükh / pərüvü / pər	pə̃rakh / parivü / pari
(III/ II/ I per. plu. read)	(III/ II/ I per. plu. read)

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These illustrations clearly indicate that the affixes *–un, –ukh, –uth* etc. quoted by the author are actually pronominal affixes denoting perfection of action in the proximate past. The verbs assisted by these affixes do not require the presence of a subject denoting word according to which a given construction could be classified as subjective, objective or impersonal. The use of a subject denoting word causes deletion of these affixes. In other words *təm̃ nŏčun, mĕ nŏčum, təm̃ pŏrun* are incorrect constructions and are automatically rejected by a Kashmiri speaker in his speech. However, these may be converted into transitive, intransitive and impersonal sentences by appending the simple or proximate past tense denoting general conjugational suffixes to the verb roots, such as-

Intransitive (active)	Transitive (passive)	Impersonal
su gav sŏkūl (he went to school)	təm̃/tami/timav **pŏr akhübār** (he/she/they went through a newspaper)	**təm̃** nŏč (he danced)
sɔ gəyi sŏkūl (she went to school)	təm̃/tami/timav **pər kitāb** (he/she/they went through a book)	**tami** nŏč (she danced)
tim gəyi sŏkūl (they mas.went to school)	təm̃ /tami/timav **pər̃ akhübār** (he/she/they went through the newspapers)	**timav** nŏč (they mas./ fem. danced)
timü gəyi sŏkūl (they fem.went to school)	təm̃/tami/timav **pari kitābü** (he/she/they went through the books)	

Further, the words *karun* (करुन), *karukh* (करुख), *načun* (नचुन), *časun* (चसुन) etc. cited above by the author as illustrations have been incorrectly spelled which indicates that the author has misperceived the pronunciation of these forms. These words are actually pronounced as *kŏrun* (कोरुन), *kŏrukh* (कोरुख), *nŏčun* (नोचुन) and *čŏsun* (चोसुन) respectively.◄

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कर्मणि पुंबहुत्वे इदाद्यदिस्वरस्य –4[6]. The initial vowel of the affixes added to the transitive verbs becomes *-ī* in the masculine plural, such as- *līkhin* (he wrote plu.), *līkhikh* (they wrote plu.), *līkhith* (you sg. Wrote plu.), *līkhiv* (you plu. wrote plu.), *līkhim* (I wrote plu.), *līkhi* (we wrote plu.). The author further says that according to the preceding sutra *–un* etc. (उन आदिप्रत्ययाः) is added to √*lekh* which leads to the replacement of initial vowel of the affix by*–i* and according to sutra 21 यूदीतौ *–e* of the root becomes *-ī*.

►Iśvar Kaul's approach to establish the conversion of initial vowel of the affixes into *-i* or *-ī* is intricate for the following reasons- The addition of past tense denoting terminations to the verb roots, the proximate past is denoted also by replacing the medial vowel of consonant ending roots. The transitive verb in the first and third persons is employed according to the number and gender of the object of action and the agent is put in the instrumental case. In the second person the verb takes, as explained earlier (see sutra 2-3), the number and gender of both i.e., the doer as well as the receiver of the action, such as- √*par* (to read) → *təm̃/tami pŏr* ***akhübār*** (he/she read the newspaper), *təm̃/tami pər* ***kitāb*** (he/she read the book) *čĕ* ***pŏruth akhübār*** (you sg. read the newspaper), *tɔhi* ***pŏrüvü akhübār*** (you plu. read the newspaper) *čĕ* ***pərith akhübār*** (you sg. read the newspapers), *tɔhi* ***pərivü akhübār*** (you plu. read the newspapers). Similarly, the proximate past tense denoting conjugated forms of √*tol* (to weigh) and √*śer* (to set right) are → *tūl*, *tūl̃*, *tūluth*, ***tūlith***, ***tūlüvü*** , *tūlivü*, and *śūr*, *śūr̃*, *śūruth*, ***śūrith***, ***śūrüvü*** , *śūrivü* respectively. These illustrated forms especially the conjugated forms of √*tol* and √*śer* clearly reveal that *-o* following the initial consonant of the root becomes *-ū* while as *–e* irregularly converts into *-ū* and *-ī*. The final consonant of the root is palatalized in the first and third persons according to plural number of the object such as- *mĕ/asi* ***l̃ūkh sabakh*** (I/we wrote the lesson), *təm̃/tami/timav* ***l̃ūkh sabakh*** (he/she/they wrote the lesson); *asi / timav* ***līkh̃*** *sabakh* (he/she/they wrote the lesson). The second person singular and plural terminations are *-uth* (mas.) /*-üth* (fem.) - *čĕ* ***pŏruth akhübār***, *čĕ* ***pərüth kitāb***; *–ith*

[6] *karmaṇi pumbahutve idādyasvarasya* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/4 p. 217

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(mas.)/*ath* preceded by palatalization of the final consonant of the base - *čě pərith* ***akhübār***, *čě pa̰rath* ***kitābü***; and *–uvü* (mas.) / *-ivü* (fem.) - *tɔhi pŏrüvü* ***akhübār***, *tɔhi pərüvü* ***kitāb***, *-ivü* (mas./fem.) *tɔhi pərivü* ***akhübār*** / *tɔhi parivü* ***kitābü***. There is no difference between the past tense denoting second person general conjugational affixes and pronominal terminations. *-un*, *-in*, *-ukh*, *-um* are, as stated above, pronominal masculine terminations rather than general conjugational affixes. The assertion regarding conversion of initial vowel into *–i* due to the addition of *–un* and other pronominal affixes mentioned in the above sutra and replacement of *–e* by *-ī* thus, proves to be inapt.◄ स्त्रियां यत् –5[7]. In the transitive constructions the initial *–u* of the affix becomes *–y* with the feminine plurals (उन उख प्रत्ययौ अनेन उकारस्य यत्वम्[8]), such as- *karyan*, *karyakh*, *lechyan*, *rachyan*. The author further says that according to sutra 23 *-ī* becomes *–e*.

►The words cited by the author as examples are pronominal forms containing the information regarding the person and number of the agent and number and gender of the object of action. For example: *paryan* (~ *pa̰ran*) denotes that third person mas./fem. sg. went through the fem. plu. objects (books/letters etc.), *lecham* indicates that the receiver of first person mas./fem. sg. doer's action (wrote) is fem. plu. (letters etc.). These forms indicate that the use of pronominal affixes result either in palatalization of the final consonant of the root, such as- √***par*** (to read) *-an* → *pa̰ran*, √***van*** (to tell)-*an* →***va̰ñan*** (stories etc.), or in conversion of the final consonant of the root into a palatal consonant (*c*, *ch*, *j* etc.), such as- ***lekh*** (to write) → ***lechakh***, ***lechath***, ***lecham***, ***lechan*** and so on. Obviously, this does not apply to roots which have already a palatal sound at the end, such as- √***vuch*** (to see/observe), √***tach*** (to scratch) etc. The author's statement regarding conversion of initial *–u* of *–un*, *-ukh* affixes (उन उख प्रत्ययौ अनेन उकारस्य यत्वम्) into *–y* is not correct. The above illustrated forms show that the initial *–u* of these affixes is rather replaced by *–a* and addition of

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7 striyām yat : ---------- ibid ------- 8/3/5 p. 217

8 ---------- ibid --------- p. 217

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affixes make the final consonant of the root palatalized or convert into a palatal sound.◀

इकारान्तादेकत्वेऽपि –६[9]. According to this sutra, in the feminine singular the initial vowel of the affix changes into *–y* after the verb root ending in *-i*, such as- *khyyan* (he/she ate feminine object), *cyyan* (he/she drank feminine object), *niyan* (he/she took feminine object/s). The author in his explanation of the sutra says that *–u* of *–un* is converted into *–y* and according to 8/2/11 *–a* is augmented with *–i* ending roots except *ni*, *di* and *yi*.

▶The illustrations quoted in support of the sutra do not match with the sutra. In the sutra, the author refers to the verb roots which end in *–i* (इकारान्त.....) while as the verb roots for eating (√*khĕ*) and drinking (√*cĕ*) have *–ĕ* at the end and not *–i* as assumed by the author. The terms *khi* and *ci* are incorrect and unintelligible and accordingly cannot be included in the list of illustrations in support of the sutra under discussion. In the pronominal use a transitive verb occurs, as described earlier (see 8/1/1), according to the number, gender and person of both i.e; the doer as well as the receiver of the action. In view of this peculiarity of Kashmiri as well as the structure of the forms conjugated by appending the pronominal terminations it is clear that Kashmiri possesses different sets of pronominal objective terminations to indicate the number, and person of the masculine or feminine agent and feminine receiver of the transitive action. These terminations begin with *y-* with the vowel ending verb roots except √*di* and √*hĕ*. For the lucidity of the statement these terminations are given as below :

	Fem. III per. sg. *object* Mas./Fem. *subject*		Fem. III per. plu. *object* Mas./Fem. *subject*	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	-y-an	-y-akh	-y-an	-y-akh
II	-y-ath	-y-ivü	-y-ath	-y-ivü
I	-y-am	-y-i	-y-am	-y-i

These terminations occur as- *čŏṭ khĕyan* (III per. sg. ate fem. sg. one bread), *čɔci khĕyan* (III per. sg. ate fem. plu. two or more breads),

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[9] *ikārāntādekatveapi* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/6 p. 218

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čŏṭ khěyath (II per. sg. ate fem. one bread), *čɔci khěyath* (II per. sg. ate fem. two or more breads), *čŏṭ khěyam* (I per. ate fem. one bread), *čɔci khěyam* (I per. sg. ate fem. two or more breads). Similarly, *čŏṭ khěyakh* (III per. plu. ate fem. one bread), *čɔci khěyakh* (III per. plu. ate fem. two or more breads), *čŏṭ khěyivü* (II per. plu. ate fem. one bread), *čɔci khěyivü* (II per. plu. ate fem. two or more breads), *čŏṭ khěyi* (I per. plu. ate fem. one bread), *čɔci khěyi* (I per. plu. ate fem. two or more breads). *-č* is employed in place of *–y* with √*di* (to give) → *dičan*, *dičath*, *dičam* and √*hě* (to buy/purchase, to observe) → *h̃ačan*, *h̃ačath*, *h̃ačam* etc..The above cited forms further strengthen the view that conversion of initial *–u* of *–un*, *-ukh* affixes into *–y* is not appropriate. These affixes are actually *–an*, *-akh*, *-ath*, *-am* rather than *–un*, *-ukh*, *-am*, *-um* as assumed by the author (see sutra 5).◄

हिद्योरत; एकत्वे ऊमात्रादेशः –7/8[10]. If the object of √*hi* (to buy/purchase, to observe) and √*di* (to give) is feminine plural, the initial vowel of suffix *–un* becomes *–a*. This rule does not apply if the object of these verbs is feminine singular. According to 8/3/32 *–t* is augmented with √*hi* and √*di* and according to 8/3/72 *–t* is converted into *–č* - *h̃ačan*, *dičan* etc. If the object of the transitive verb is feminine singular, the initial vowel of suffix becomes *-ū* which according to 2/1/7 converts into *aprasiddha* letter such as- *kar –un* → *karün* (did), *mār –uth* →*mārüth* (you killed fem. object), *khār –um* → *khārüm* (I pulled up/lifted up).

►As stated above, Kashmiri possesses different sets of pronominal objective terminations beginning with *y-/-č* employed with the vowel ending verb roots. If the receiver of action is feminine singular the initial low central vowel (*-a*) in the medial position of a verb root (as in √*par*) as well as the initial *–a* of the suffix are converted into their corresponding mid and high central vowels *-ə-* and *–ü-* (as in *par* → *pərün*). Augment of *–t* and then its conversion

[10] *hidyorat ; ekatve ūmātrādeśah* : -------- ibid -------- 8/3/-7/8 p. 218-219

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into –*č* does not bear any sense except to make the description lengthy, intricate and incomprehensible. As explained earlier, these terminations begin with *y*- with the vowel ending verb roots except √*di* and √*hě* and -*č* is employed in place of –*y* with √*di* and √*hě*. Given below is the occurrence of these affixes for elucidation of the statement-

	√*di* (to give)		√*hě* (to buy/purchase; to observe)	
	Singular doer-			
	Receiver (Feminine III person)		*Receiver* (Feminine III person)	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	dičün	dičan	h̃əčün	h̃ačan
II	dičüth	dičath	h̃əčüth	h̃ačath
I	dičüm	dičam	h̃əčüm	h̃ačam

	√*kar* (to do)		√*mār* (to beat/kill)	
	Singular doer-			
	Receiver (Feminine III person)		*Receiver* (Feminine III person)	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	kərün	karyan~ kar̃an	mārün	māryan~ mār̃an
II	kərüth	karyath~ kar̃ath	mārüth	māryath~ mār̃ath
I	kərüm	karyam~ kar̃am	mārüm	māryam~ mār̃am

In view of these examples it is evident that the terms *karün*, *mārüth*, *khārüm* or *karün*, *mārüth*, *khārüm* quoted as examples by the author as illustrations are irrelevant and incorrect. This ad libitum process adopted by the author for forming and describing words has rendered the simple descriptions intricate and incomprehensible. ◀

चुवमोरवय्योर्नित्यम् –9[11]. If the receiver of √*čuv* (to quarrel) and √*morav* (to bear pain) is singular, the initial vowel of the suffix converts into -*ū* such as- *čuvūn* (he quarreled), *morvūn* (he writhed). Their plurals are *čuvyan* and *morvyan* respectively.

The author has repeated the same approach as described in the previous sutras. The forms *čuvūn* and *morvūn* are not correct. These are rather used as-

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[11] *čuvmorvayornityam* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/9 p. 219

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√*čuv* (to quarrel) or between palms) Mas./Fem Sg. doer

√*mūr* (to writhe in pain/to crush with finger tips)

	Receiver (Feminine III person)		*Receiver* (Feminine III person)	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	čuvün	čuvyan~ čuv̐an	mūrün	mūryan~ mūr̐an
II	čuvüth	čuvyath~ čuv̐ath	mūrüth	mūryath~ mūr̐ath
I	čuvüm	čuvyam~ čuv̐am	mūrüm	mūryam~ mūr̐am

It is to be noted that the word *morav* given by the author is not found in use. ◀

पुंकर्तृप्रत्ययोकारस्य स्त्रियां –10[12]. *–u* of subjective masculine suffix becomes *ū* to denote past tense feminine subjective, such as- *votu* (he arrived) *vāčū* (she arrived).

▶ Author's statement that *–u* changes into *-ū* is not correct. Even the words cited by author as examples do not match with the forms used or pronounced by the Kashmiri speakers. The third person mas./fem. singulars of √*vāt* (to arrive) are actually pronounced as *vot* and *vāč* respectively. It is thus obvious that third person mas./fem. singular and plural of proximate past tense are formed by making some phonemic alterations in the root, such as- √*vāt* → *vot/vāč* - *vāt̃/vāčü*. In addition to these alterations, the terminations *–ukh / –ükh*, *-i/ü-vü* and *–us / -üs* are added to express second person singular, plural and first person singular respectively. The sounds like *–t* and *–l* at the end of the roots become *–č* and *–j* respectively in the feminine forms. The conjugated forms given below will make this explanation clear:

Intransitive consonant ending verb √*vāt* (to arrive)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vot	vāt̃	vāč	vāčü
II	votukh	vātivü	vāčükh	vāčüvü
I	votus	vāt̃	vāčüs	vāčü

12 *pumkartRpratyayokārasya striyām* : -------- ibid -------- 8/3/10 p. 220

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The proximate past tense denoting terminations added to consonant ending transitive verbs are:

	Masculine singular object		Feminine singular object	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vowel change	vowel change	vowel change	vowel change
II	uth	uvü	uth	üvü
I	vowel change	vowel change	vowel change	vowel change

Occurrence:

Transitive consonant ending verb √*par* (to read)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	pŏr	pŏr	pər	pər
I	pŏruth	pŏruvü	pərüth	pərüvü
I	pŏr	pŏr	pər	pər◀

इकारस्य यत् −11[13]. *–i* of masculine subjective suffix converts into *–y* in feminine forms, such as- *thaki / thacya* (became tired).

▶In the proximate past the intransitive verb √*thak* is conjugated on the pattern of other intransitive verbs like √*vāt* etc. For more lucidity the conjugation of √*thak* (to be tired) is shown as follows:

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	thŏk	thə̃k	thəc	thaci
II	thŏkukh	thəkivü	thəcükh	thacüvü
I	thŏkus	thə̃k	thəcüs	thaci

None of these conjugated forms show presence of *–i* in the masculine forms. Its conversion into *–y* to form its feminine form, therefore, does not have any relevance. It shows author's misperceptions regarding the conjugational terminations of Kashmiri.◀

अप्रसिद्धचवर्गादिकारः −12[14]. According to author's explanation of the sutra, *–y* of masculine subjective suffix becomes *–a* in the feminine forms ending in dental affricates (*č, čh, z*), such as- *vāča, khəča, dəza.*

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[13] *ikārasya yat* : ---------- ibid ------ 8/3/11 p. 220

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▶The conjugation of verb √*vāt* (to reach, to arrive) given earlier (see sutra 10) clearly indicates that the third person masculine plural of this and similar other intransitive verbs is formed by addition of palatalization to the final consonant. In addition, the vowel in the medial position of the root is also changed, such as- √vāt → **və̃t.** The feminine plural suffix is *–ü*. The dental stops are replaced by the corresponding dental affricates (see 4/50). The feminine plural is thus, formed by addition of suffix *–ü* and replacing *–t* by *–č* such as- √**vāt** → **vāčü.** Similarly, √*khas* (climb) → ***khŏt / khə̃t*** (he/they climbed), ***khəč / khačü*** (she/they climbed); √*daz* (to burn) → ***dŏd / də̃d*** (he/they burnt), ***dəz / dazü*** (she/they burnt) etc. Replacement of *–y* by *–a*, therefore, turns out to be by imaginary.◀

सकाराच्च −१३[15]. If the final consonant of the verb root is *–s* it also causes change of *–y* into *–a* such as- *āsa* (they were), *losa* (they are exhausted), *bəs* (they lived).

▶It is noteworthy that the intransitive verbs √*ās* (to be) and √*los* (to be exhausted/worn out) also take the same affixes as are added to √*vāt* etc. such as-

√*ās* (to be)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	os	ə̄s̃	ə̄s	**āsü**
II	**osukh**	**ə̄sivü**	**ə̄sükh**	**āsüvü**
I	**osus**	ə̄s̃	ə̄süs	**āsü**

√*los* (to be exhausted)

III	**lūs**	**lūs̃**	**lūs**	**losü**
II	**lūsukh**	**lūsivü**	**lūsükh**	**losüvü**
I	lūsus	lūs̃	lūsüs	losü

The term *bəs* is not found in use.◀

सामान्य भूते ओन ओख ओथ ओव ओम ओव प्रत्ययाः पुंसि −१४[16]. The *sāmānya bhūt* masculine singular and plural suffixes are

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15 *aprasiddhačavargādakārah* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/3/12 p. 220
sakārācca : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/13 p. 220

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–on, -okh, -oth, -ov, -om, -ov, such as- *karyon, karyokh, karyoth, karyon, karyom, karyov.*

►The term *sāmānya bhūt* literally refers to the simple past tense where as the affixes stated in the above given sutra are actually aorist denoting pronominal objective suffixes which do not require presence of the subject denoting word in the construction. The forms ending in the above cited suffixes simply express past action without further information regarding its completion or effect. These suffixes actually begin with *–y → –yon, -yokh, -yoth, -yov, -yom, -yov* (see sutra 6) which, when added to the verb root, usually results in the palatalization of the final consonant of the root. The examples are: √*kar* (to do) *–yon/yoth/yokh →kañon, kañoth, kañokh* etc., √*par* (to read/study) *–yon/yov/yom → pañon, pañov, pañom,* √*van* (to say) *- yon/yom/yoth→ vañon, vañom, vañoth.* This does not apply to verb roots ending in a palatal sound or a vowel as in- √*khě* (to eat) *–yon → khěyon,* √*cě* (to drink) *–yon → cěyon,* √*ni* (to take) *–yon → niyon* etc. The use of a subject denoting word, noun or pronoun, causes deletion of the final letter of these suffixes except in the second person singular and plural such as: ***təm̃ pañ̃o akhübār → akhübār pañ̃on*** (he did go through the newspaper), ***mě pañ̃o akhübār → akhübār pañ̃om*** (I did go through the newspaper); ***təm̃ niyo akhübār → akhübār niyon*** (he did take the newspaper), ***cě pañ̃oth akhübār → akhübār pañ̃oth*** (you sg.did go through the newspaper), etc.◄

बहुत्वे एकारः –15[17]. If the object of an action is masculine plural in that case the initial vowel of the suffix is replaced by *–e*, such as- *kañ̃en, kañ̃ekh, kañ̃eth, kañ̃ev, kañ̃em, kañ̃e.*

►The words cited above as examples show presence of palatal sound after the last consonant of the root which further supports the assertion that the suffixes mentioned in the previous sutra begin with *–y –yon, -yokh, -yoth, -yov, -yom, -yov.* It is thus obvious that *–o* in the medial of the above cited suffixes converts into *-e* (*–yen, -yekh, -*

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[16] sāmānya bhūte on okh oth ov om ov pratyayāh pumsi : -------- ibid ------ 8/3/14 p.221

[17] *bahutve ekārāgamah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/15 p. 221

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yeth, *-yev*, *-yem*, *-yev*) and *–y* before *–e* is optionally dropped to express the masculine plural object of action. The below given examples will further make the assertion clear:

təm̃ pare akhübār → akhübār **paren** (he did go through the newspapers).

čĕ pareth akhübār → akhübār **pareth**; (you did go through the newspapers);

timav niye akhübār → akhübār **niyekh** (they did take the newspapers) etc.◀

स्त्रियामेयादेशः सर्वत्र –१६[18]. According to this sutra if the receiver of transitive action is feminine singular or plural object, the initial vowel of *–on*, *-okh* and other above mentioned suffixes is always converted into *–ey* to express aorist and past perfect (सर्वत्र सामान्यपूर्णभूते), such as- *kareyan*, *kareyakh* etc.

▶In view of the present spoken form of Kashmiri *–ey* is optionally employed in place of *–e* in the first and third person. For example ***təm̃ pare*** *kitāb / kitābü* and ***təm̃ parey*** *kitāb / kitābü*, both are equally found in use in the normal discourse. Semantically also both these constructions convey the same sense (he did go through the book/s) i.e., past action without assurance regarding its completion or definiteness of its effect. *paren*, *parekh* etc. are pronominal forms. *–e* or *–ey* is used according to person and number of the subject as well as object of the verb such as- ***čĕ pareth ~ parеyath*** *kitāb / kitābü* (you sg. did read the book/s) and ***təhi parevü ~ parеyü*** *kitāb / kitābü* (you plu. did read the book/s). Augment of *–y* before the suffix (*pareyakh*) is optional.

Īśvar Kaul's statement सर्वत्र सामान्यपूर्णभूते indicates that the author does not consider aorist and past perfect as two different tenses of action. In other words aorist refers to past action without assurance regarding its completion while as the past perfect tense indicates perfection of an action in the past before something else happened. The past perfect tense in Kashmiri is expressed by the participle verb

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18 striyāmeyādeśah sarvatra : ---------- ibid ------ 8/3/16 p. 222

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ending in–*mut* and assisted by auxiliary in the past tense form, such as- *tami os batü ronümut* (she had cooked the food). In the pronominal use the person, number and gender denoting pronominal markers (*-un/-ukh*, *-uth/-uv* and *-m*) are added after the past tense form of auxiliary, such as- *batü osun ronümut* (III per. mas./fem. sg. had cooked the food), *batü osukh ronümut* (III per. mas./fem. plu. had cooked the food), *batü osum ronümut* (I per. mas./fem. sg. had cooked the food) and so on.◀

अप्रसिद्धचवर्गादायः –17[19]. If the final letter of the verb root is a dental affricate, the initial vowel of the suffix changes into *-āy* in the aorist and past perfect tenses to constitute feminine forms as in- *ñačāyan* (he did purchase/observe), *dičāyan* (he did give). While explaining this sutra the author says that according to हिद्योस्तकारागमः[20] *-t* is augmented with √*hĕ* and √*di* and according to (तवर्गस्याप्रसिद्धता[21]) *-t* is replaced by *-č*. As provided by the above sutra, *- āy* is added after *–č* as in *marčāyan*. *-āy* is optionally employed with intransitive roots, e.g., *śročāy* ~ *śročey* (she did become pure), *tezāy* ~ *tezey* (she did become sharp), *bāvüzāy* ~ *bāvüzey* (she did get liked) etc. Other examples are- *khočāy* (she did get frightened), *pačāy* (she did trust), *ročāy* (she did get liked), *vɔčhāy* (she did come down), *vačhāy* (she did get up), *khačhāy* (she did go up) etc.

▶The author's explanation of the above sutra and the illustrations cited in support of his assertions indicate that the author is describing structure of some regional variant of Kashmiri which most probably might have been the mother tongue of the author or with which the author might have been acquainted. The reason is that the terms *śročāy*, *tezāy*, *bāvüzāy*, *khočāy*, *pačāy*, *ročāy*, *vɔčhāy*, *vačhāy*, *khačhāy*[22] etc. are not used in speech at least by the speakers of Srinagar and its adjoining areas. These forms are not even listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary. Further, conversion of a dental stop, which

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19 *aprasiddhačvargādāyah* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/17 p. 222

20 ------- ibid -------- 8/3/32 p. 222

21 ------- ibid -------- 8/3/72 p. 222

22 ------- ibid ------- (manuscript) p. 269

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exists at the end of the base, into a corresponding affricate or augment of *–č* under certain conditions (see 8/3/8) is tenable. But, augment of *–t* and its conversion into *–č* is gratuitous. For lucidity the conjugation of a few verbs in aorist is given below:

Intransitive verb √*khoč* (to fear)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	khoc̆o/	khočeyi	khočeyi	khočeyi
II	khoc̆okh	khočevü	khočeyakh	khočevü
I	khoc̆os	khočeyi	khočeyas	khočeyi
	Transitive verb √*di* (to give)			
III	dičo	diče/yi	diče/yi	diče/yi
II	dičoth	dičevü	dičeth	dičevü
I	dičom	diče/yi	dičem	diče/yi ◄

एयश्च पुंसि –18[23]. *–ey* is converted into *-ā* after *–č* in the masculine also, such as- √*las* (to live long) *lāčhāy* (he did live long), *khačhāy* (he did go up).

►The word *lāčhāy* is not found in use while as *khačḥāy* is actually used as khačo/ *khačo/khačāyi* khače.◄

इदुदूद्युतानां पूर्ववर्णस्वराप्रसिद्धता –19[24]. If a vowel is followed by a letter associated with *i*, *u* or *ū*, that vowel converts into *aprasiddha* vowel, such as- *vāti* (arrived), *tārin* (carried them/us across), *paku* (walked), *vāčū* (she arrived), *mārūn* (killed her). The author further says that √*vāt* means 'to arrive'. According to sutra 39 of this chapter *–ey* is suffixed to intransitive verbs to express proximate past tense. The sutra वातस्तात् (see 8/3/86) provides addition of present tense denoting suffixes *–chah/-chih* etc. after the roots which have *–t* at the end to constitute their aorist and past perfect forms. The preceding *–t* causes deletion of the consonant parts of *-chah/-chih*. *–un* is used with √*tār* (to make to cross over). √*pak* means to walk and its past tense is *paku* (walked). *–u* is replaced by *–i* in masculine plural → *paki* (they

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[23] *eyaśca pumsi* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/18 p. 223

[24] idudūdyutānām pūrvavarṇasvarāprasiddhatā : -------- ibid ------- 8/3/19 p. 224

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walked). This further causes conversion of common vowels into uncommon letters. The Sutra 72 of this chapter prescribes conversion of dental stops into the corresponding dental affricates and *prasiddha vowels* (common) become *aprasiddha* (uncommon) *varṇa*. *–un* is added to √*mār* meaning to beat or to kill. *–u* becomes *-ū* and *prasiddha varṇa -ā* becomes *aprasiddha varṇa*.

▶Iśvar Kaul's approach to prove the formation of a conjugated word in the proximate, aorist and past perfect tenses is intricate and unwarranted. It is beyond one's understanding why the author is unnecessarily complicating the otherwise simple descriptions.

The author's statement- 'present tense denoting suffix *–chah/-chih* is added and its *–ch* and *–h* (छह्) are dropped (छकारहकारयोर्लोपः[25])' is not tenable. The reason is *-cha* is an auxiliary and not a suffix as assumed by the author. The present tense, simple or continuous, is expressed not only by appending *-cha*. As explained earlier (see sub-chapter 8.1), the present tense in Kashmiri is denoted by the present participle verb assisted by auxiliary *-ch* conjugated according to person, number and gender of the doer in the active constructions. The present participle verb assisted by auxiliary *ās* in accordance with the grammatical form of the agent of action denotes a past continuous or past imperfect action, such as- *su os asān* (he was laughing), *sɔ ās asān* (she was laughing). The past participle verb ending in *–mut* (*/-müč/müt̃/müčü*) and supported by auxiliary *ās* in accordance with the grammatical form of the subject or object of action denotes perfection of action in the past. The author's assumption regarding deletion of *-ch* and *-h* is, therefore, not maintainable.

In order to show the formation of objective plural terms *tārin* and *mārin* (carried them/us across, and, killed them/us) the author, in disregard of the grammatical procedure, derives them from the pronominal terms *torun* and *morun* instead of drawing them directly from the respective verb roots (तार तारणे उन प्रत्ययः, कर्मणि पुंबहुत्वे....इत्युकारस्य इकारः.... अनेन पूर्ववर्णस्वरस्याप्रसिद्धता; मार

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25 ------- ibid -------- p. 224

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मारणे उन प्रत्ययः, एकत्वे ऊमात्रादेशः, अनेन उपधाया अप्रसिद्धता[26]). As stated earlier, Kashmiri has different sets of conjugational terminations containing masculine, feminine, singular, plural, subjective, objective and pronominal affixes. It therefore, does not make any sense to draw one suffix from the other by the process of additions, subtractions and replacement of sounds.

The words cited above as examples by the author refer to pronominal terminations of the proximate past tense. The masculine third person singular and plural and first person plural subjective proximate past tense of intransitive verbs is formed simply by changing the vowel preceding the final consonant of the root while as second person singular, plural and first person singular are formed, besides the vowel change, by addition of suffixes. In addition to vowel change, palatalization is added to the final consonant in masculine third person and first person plurals. To make this statement clear and comprehensible shown below is the proximate past tense conjugation of a few intransitive verbs:

Intransitive consonant ending verb √*pakh* (to walk)

	Mas. agent		Fem. agent	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	pŏk	pə̃k	pəc	paci
II	pŏk**ukh**	pəkivü	pəcikh	pacivü
I	pŏk**us**	pə̃k	pəcis	paci

√*vɔth* (to get up/stand up)

III	vŏth	və̃th	vəč	vačhü
II	vŏth**ukh**	vəthivü	vəčükh	vačhüvü
I	vŏth**us**	və̃th	vəčhüs	vačhü

Transitive verb √mār (to beat/kill) → objective use

Singular subject, singular and plural third person object

	Mas. object		Fem. object	
III	mor	mə̃r	mār	māri
II	morüth/an	mārith/akh	mārüth/an	mārith/akh

26 -------- ibid ---------- p. 224

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I	mor	mār̃	mār	māri

Pronominaluse: Singular subject, singular and plural third person object

	Mas. object		Fem. object	
III	**morun**	**mārin**	**mārün**	**māṟan**
II	**morüthan**	**mārithakh**	**mārüthan**	**mārithakh**
I	**morum**	**mārim**	**mārüm**	**māṟam.**◄

उद्युतस्योपधाया आत ओत्वम् –२०[27]. The meaning of this sutra is that a suffix associated with *–u* changes *–a / -ā* preceding the final consonant into *-o* such as √*tār* (to carry across) *–un* → *torun* (cerried someone across), √*vāt* (to arrive/reach) *vot* (reached/arrived). The author, in his explanation of the sutra, says that *-ā* of *tār* changes into *–o* because of *–u* of *–un*. *–ov* is added to intransitive verbs (वातप्रापणे अकर्मिणामिति ओव[28]). *–chuh* is added to *vāt*, *-ch* and *–h* of *chuh* are dropped, the remaining *–u* combines with *–t* (of √*vāt*) which causes *-ā* of *vāt* to change into *–o* → *vot* (वातस्तात छुह् आदेशः छहोर्लोपश्च तकारस्य उकारान्तत्वेसिद्धे अनेन उपधाकारस्यो– कारः[29]). Similarly, √*ās* (to be) occurs as *os* (was).

►These assertions of the author are faulty for the reasons that *torun* is a pronominal term formed by addition of *–un*. According to author conversion of *ā* of *tār* into *–o* of *torun* is the result of its contact with *–u* of *–un* which is not correct. The proximate past of *tār* is *tor* which is not the result of any suffixation or collision of final letter of root with *–u* (of *un* or *chuh*) as stated by the author in his explanation of the sutra. Euphonic change occurs when two speech sounds come in close contact or collide with each other. In √*vāt –un* and √*tār –un -ā* and *–u* are separated by *–t* and *-r* respectively due to which euphonic junction (sandhi) of *-ā* and *–u* is not possible. The fact is that in Kashmiri the proximate past of transitive verbs is formed either by converting low central vowels (*a*,*ā*) into corresponding mid central (*ə*,*ə̄*) or high back (*u*,*ū*) vowels or by

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27 *udyutasyopdhāyā āt otvam* : ---------- ibid --------- 8/3/20 p. 225

28 --------- ibid --------- p. 225

29 --------- ibid --------- p. 225

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changing the vowel sound preceding the final consonant plus addition of conjugational suffixes. For perspicuity the conjugation of √*tār* in the proximate past tense is shown below:

Termination √*tār* (to carry across)			Occurrence	
	Masculine singular object			
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vowel change	vowel change	**tor**	**tor**
II	uth	üvü	**toruth**	**torüvü**
I	vowel change	vowel change	**tor**	**tor**
	Masculine plural object			
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vowel change	vowel change	**tər̃**	**tər̃**
II	ith	ivü	**tərith**	**tərivü**
I	vowel change	vowel change	**tər̃**	**tər̃**
	Feminine singular object			
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vowel change	vowel change	**tər**	**tər**
II	üath	üvü	**tərüth**	**tərüvü**
I	vowel change	vowel change	**tər**	**tər**
	Feminine plural object			
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	i	i	**tāri**	**tāri**
II	yath	ivü	**tār̃ath**	**tārivü**
I	i	i	**tār̃i**	**tāri**

Similarly, addition of *–ov* to intransitive verbs like *vāt* and *ās* etc., addition of *chuh*, subtraction of *ch* and *h* is also pointless.◀

पुंस्येकारस्य यूदीतौ कर्मैकत्वानेकत्वे –21[30]. In the proximate past *–e* of the root changes into *-yū* and *-ī* according to singular and plural number of the masculine object of action, such as-√*lekh* (to write) → *lyūkhun*, *līkhin*, √*čeṭ* (to pestle) → *čyūṭun*, *čīṭin*. In his explanation of

30 pumsyekārasya yūdītau karmaikatvānekatve : ------ ibid -------- 8/3/21 p. 225

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the sutra the author says, '*čeṭ* means to pound. *-un* is added to it to denote masculine plural object of *čeṭ*. *–u* becomes *–e* which in turn makes the vowel proximate to final consonant to change into *-yū* and *-ī* respectively (चेट कुट्टने उन कर्मणि पुंबहुत्वे इत्यादिना उकारस्येकारः अनेन क्रमादुपधाया यूकार ईकारौ[31])'.

▶ *lyūkhun*, *līkhin* and *čyūṭun*, *čīṭin* are pronominal terms. In the objective use these two verbs are conjugated on the pattern of other transitive verbs such as √*par*, √*tār* (as described above) etc. The addition of conjugational affixes results in the replacement of the vowel preceding the final consonant of the root by some other vowel, such as- *par* → *pŏr*, *pŏruth*, *pərin*; *tār* → *tor*, *toruth*, *tārin* etc. Similarly, *e-* or *ĕ-* before the final consonant converts into *–i/ī* or is replaced by *-yū*. *–y* of *-yū* usually blends with in the form of palatalization of the consonant proximal to it, such as- *lekh* → *l̃ūkh*, *l̃ūkhuth*, *līkhin*, *čeṭ* → *čūṭ*, *čūṭuth*, *čīṭin* etc.◀

फेरब्यहमेलां च –22[32]. *–e/ĕ* of the intransitive roots like √*pher* (to wander/to turn/around- over/to putrify especially cooked food items), √*bĕh* (to sit) and √*mel* (to meet) becomes *-yū* and *-ī* in the past tense masculine singular and plural respectively, such as- *pher* → *phyūr* ~ *p̃hūr* (he wandered), *phīr*~(they wandered/ turned over); *bĕh* → *byūṭh* (he sat down/stayed), *bīṭhya* (they sat down/stayed); *mel* → *myūl* (he met/ something mixed with-), *mīlya* (they met). The author further says that this does not apply to verbs like √*meṭh* (to become sweet), √*peḍ* (to spread) and √*breṭh* (to be boorish).

▶As explained earlier, *-y* of *–yu* blends with the consonant preceding it and the terms cited above as examples are pronounced as *bĕh* → *būṭh*, *bīṭh*; *mel* → *m̃ūl*, *mīl̃*. The conversion of *–e/ĕ* into *–yu* does not apply to verbs like √*meṭh*, √*peḍ* and √*breṭh*. The conjugated forms of these verbs, e.g., *meṭh* → *meṭ̃hav*, *meṭ̃hokh*, *mīṭhin*; *peḍ* → *peḍ̃av*, *peḍ̃okh*, *pīḍin*; *breṭh* → *breṭ̃hav*, *breṭ̃hokh*, *brīṭhin*, clearly show that the consonant proximate to the conjugational termination is also pronounced as palatalized. *–e* proximal to the initial consonant

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31 ---------- ibid--------- p. 225

32 *pherbyahmelām ca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/3/22 p. 226

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remains unchanged except in the distant potential where it is replaced by *-ī*. The past tense masculine denoting terminations added to √*meṭh*, √*peḍ* and √*breṭh* are shown as blow:

	√*meṭh* (to become sweet)		√*pher* (to wander)	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	meṭ̃**hav**	meṭ̃**heyi**	p̃**hūr**	**phīr̃**
II	meṭ̃**hokh**	meṭ̃**hevü**	p̃**hūrukh**	**phīrivü**
I	meṭ̃**hos**	meṭ̃**heyi**	p̃**hūrus**	**phīr̃**◀

स्त्रियामीदेतौ सर्वत्र −23[33]. In the subjective as well as objective use the vowel preceding the final consonant becomes *-ī* and *–e* in feminine singular and plural respectively and *–ṭ* at the end of the root converts into *–c* in the feminine plural. The examples are:

√*čeṭ* (to pound/crush)		√*pher* (to wander)	
Fem.			
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
čīṭ̃ün	čecan	phīr	pheri;
√*běh* (to sit)		√*mel* (to meet)	
bīṭ̃h	**bechi;**	mīj	meji

▶The procedure followed by the author "चेट कुट्टने उन। एकत्वे ऊमात्रादेशः। अपरत्र स्त्रियांयत् इति उकारस्य यकारः।..... अनेन क्रमात् ईदीतौ।" (*–un* is added to *čeṭ*. It converts into *-ū* in the singular and *–u* is replaced by *–y* to make the feminine form) is not workable. Similarly, the assertions regarding formation of masculine subjective terms by addition of *–au* and *–ey*, addition of *chuh*, *chih*, deletion of *ch* and *h*, replacement of masculine subjective suffix *–o* by *-ū* in the feminine forms and change of *–i* into *–y* (पुंकर्तरि इति ओव एय। पूर्ववत छुह छिह आदेशः छ्होर्लोपः। पुंकर्तृप्रत्ययोकारस्य स्त्रियांच इति एकत्र ऊमात्रादेशः। अपरत्र इकारस्य यत्।) are also not applicable.◀

ओकारस्योकारः सादेशपुंकर्तरि च −24[34]. *–o* before the final consonant of the verb root becomes *-ū* to express masculine singular

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33 *stryāmīdītau sarvatra* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/23 p. 227

34 *okārasyokārah sādeśpumkartari* : -------- ibid -------- 8/3/24 p.228

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and plural subject as well as object of action, such as- √*boz* (to listen/hear) → *būzun* (listened/heard), √*bol* (to speak/utter) → *būlun* (spoke), √*roś* (sulk) → *rūṭh* (sulked), √*poṭh* (to become robust) → *poṭhav* (became robust).

►It is in place to state that the object of the transitive verb √*boz* is usually a feminine term except the English loan words which are employed as masculine terms. In other words *kath/dəlil* (story/statement/matter/argument) and *kathü* (discourse) occur as feminine nouns while as *lěkhcar* (lecture), *prográm / purūgrām* (program) etc. are used as masculine terms. √*bol* is an intransitive verb and thus, occurs subjectively only. The conjugation of these roots in the past tense given below will make the statement clear.

√*boz* (to listen)

	Masculine singular object		*Feminine singular object*	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	būz	būz	būz	būz
II	**būzuth**	būzüvü	**būzüth**	būzüvü
I	**būz**	būz	**būz**	būz
	Masculine plural object		*Feminine plural object*	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	būž	būž	**bozü**	bozü
II	**būzith**	būzivü	**bozath**	**bozüvü**
I	**būž**	būž	**bozü**	bozü

Intransitive verbs:

	√*bol* (to speak) Mas.		√*poṭh* (to become robust) Mas.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	būl	būl	**poṭ̃hav**	**poṭheyi**
II	**būluth**	būlüvü	**poṭ̃hokh**	poṭhevü
I	**būl**	būl	**poṭ̃hos**	**poṭheyi**

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√*roś* (to sulk)

	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	**rūṭh**	**rūṭ̃h**	**rūṭh**	**rośi**
II	**rūṭhukh**	**rūṭhivü**	**rūṭhükh**	**rośivü**
I	**rūṭhus**	**rūṭ̃h**	**rūṭhüs**	**rośi**

The above given conjugation of verbs shows that *–o* is replaced by *-ū* in the past tense only if the object of action is masculine singular or plural. If the object of action is feminine plural *-o* of √*boz* does not undergo any change in the past tense. *–o* of √*boz* and √*bol* becomes *-ū* in the past tense and potential mood (*būzin-* let him/them listen, *būlin-* let him/them speak) while as in present and future tenses it remains unchanged such as- *bozān chu*, *bozi*, *bozan* and *bolān chu*, *boli*, *bolan* etc. Similarly, *–o* of √*poṭh* converts into *-ū* only in the benedictive third person singular, plural and second person plural such as- *pūṭhin* (let him/them be strong), *pūṭhiv* (let you plu. be robust). Addition of *–un/-uth/-ukh* etc. to √*boz* and √*bol* constitutes pronominal terms, e.g. *būzun/ būzuth/ būzukh* and *būlun/ būluth/ būlukh*. The suggested process involving addition of *chuh*, *chih*, and deletion of *–ch*, *-h* etc. is futile. The third person singular and plural denoting suffixes used with √*poṭh* are pronounced as *–av* and *–eyi* respectively and not *–ov* and *–ey* as perceived by the author. *–ś* at the end of verb root √*roś* (to sulk) is irregularly replaced by the alveolar sound *ṭh* → *rūṭh* ~ *rūś* (sulked). Conversion of *-ṭh* of *rūṭh* into *–ch* → *rochi* is not found in use.◀

स्त्रियामूदोतौ –25[35]. *-o* of the verb root becomes *-ū* or *–o* if the subject or object of action is feminine singular or plural सर्वस्मिन्नेकत्वबहुत्वे कर्मणि प्रत्ययादेशयुते एकत्वबहुत्वे स्त्रीकर्तरि च उपधाभूतस्य ओकारस्य ऊकार–ओकारौ भवमः भूतविषय, such as- √*boz* → *būzün* (listened fem. sg. object), *bozan* (listened fem. plu. object); *rūṭh* (she sulked), *rochya* (they sulked).

▶Change of *–o* into *-ū* is understandable but replacement of *–o* by *–o* is unthinkable. The words cited above as examples are actually pronominal terms. The past tense conjugation of √*boz* and √*roś* has

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35 *striyāmūdotau* : -------- ibid -------- 8/3/25 p. 228

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already been shown in detail while explaining the previous sutra. *–ṭh* of *rūṭh* is generally found replaced by *-ś → roś*i.◀

मरश्च पुंसि –26[36]. *–a* of √*mar* (to die) changes into *-ū* in the past tense masculine singular and plural, e.g., *mūd* (third person singular died), *mūdi* (third person plural died). *–r* at the end of the root converts into *–d*.

▶In his explanation of the sutra the author repeats the irrelevant argument regarding addition of *chuh, chih* and subtraction of *ch, h* etc. ad libitum which, as stated at umpteen places, does not bear any relationship with the formation of past tense denoting terms.*–a* in the medial position of the root changes into *-ɔ* in feminine sg. and plu. For clarity, given below is the conjugation of √*mar* in the proximate past tense.

√*mar*

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	**mūd**	**mūd̃**	**mɔyi**	**mɔyi**
II	**mūdukh**	**mūdivü**	**mɔyakh**	**mɔyivü**
I	**mūdus**	**mūd̃**	**mɔyas**	**mɔyi**.◀

लसश्च –27[37]. This applies to *las* also i.e., *–a* of *las* (blessed living) is replaced by *-ū* in the masculine singular while as in the plural it converts into the uncommon vowel (लस सम्यग्जीवने इत्यस्य पुंलिंगे उपधाया ऊकारो भवति। तत्रैकत्वे ख्यातो बहुत्वे अप्रसिद्ध इति ज्ञेयम्[38]), e.g., *lūstu, lūsti, lūstukh, lūstiv, lūstum, lūsti*[39].

▶The blessing-conveying term *-las* is most commonly used in the benedictive mood in the second and third person singular and plural, such as- *las/ləsiv* (may you mas./fem.sg./plu. live a blessed life), *ləsin* (may he/she/they live a blessed life). The forms cited above as examples indicate that the author has wrongly perceived these terms. Consequently, these terms have been incorrectly spelled which has

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36 *maraśca pumsi* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/26 p. 229
37 *lasaśca* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/27 p. 229
38 -------- ibid -------- p. 229
39 -------- ibid -------- (manuscript) p. 278 - 79

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made them incomprehensible. A non Kashmiri speaker will not be able to locate these forms even in the Kashmiri Dictionary. Therefore, this sutra is bereft of purpose.◀

स्त्रियामेकत्वानेकत्वे ऊदातावप्रसिद्धौ –२८[40]. According to this sutra, in feminine singular and plural *–a* of √*las* transmutes into uncommon *-ū* and *-ā* respectively (क्रमात् उपधाया अप्रसिद्धौ ऊकार–आकारौ भवतः), such as- *lūčh* (she lived), *ləčh* (they lived), *lūčhükh* (you sg. lived), *lūčhüv* (you plu. lived), *lūčhüs* (I lived), *ləčh* (we lived).

▶This sutra in essence is a continuation of the previous sutra. The words cited as examples are extraneous and do not exist in discourse. The use of *–čh* in place of *–s* of √*las* → ***lüčh***, ***ləčh*** etc. is not in use at least in the standard form of Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar and its surrounding areas. This again supports the view that the author might have not been a Kashmiri speaker of the Kashmir valley.◀

सामान्यपूर्णयोरन्तिमः सर्वत्र –२९[41]. In aorist and past perfect tenses the conversion of final consonant of the root (√*las*) into uncommon consonant causes the vowel before the final letter of the root to change into uncommon vowel in masculine, feminine, singular and plural, such as- *lāčhov* (he had lived), *lāčhāy* (they had lived), *ləčhāv* (she had lived), *ləčhāy* (they had lived)[42].

▶According to this sutra *–s* at the final position of √*las* converts into *–čh* in the aorist and past perfect tenses. These assertions are not correct for two reasons. One, the forms cited above by the author as examples in support of his assertions are unintelligible and do not exist in speech. These terms are not even available in the Kashmiri Dictionary. Two, the verb √*las* in the past perfect forms like *lŏsmut*, *ləsmüč*, *ləšmüt̃* etc. are very rarely employed in speech. Its conjugation in the aorist is shown as below:

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40 *striyāmekatvānekatve ūdātāvaprasiddhau* : --------- ibid -------- 8/3/28 p. 230

41 *sāmānyapūrṇayorantimah sarvatra* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/29 p. 231

42 --------- ibid -------- (manuscript) p. 280

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Intransitive verb √las (to live a blessed life)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	lašo	laseyi	laseyi	laseyi
II	laseyokh	lasevü	laseyakh	lasevü
I	lašos	laseyi	laseyas	laseyi.◀

मरो वकारः; स्त्रियां भूतेऽपि –30/31[43]. The medial vowel of √*mar* (to die) becomes –*v* in the aorist and past perfect masculine, feminine, singular and plural, such as- *mvayov* (he died), *mvayāv* (he had died), *mvayey* (they had died), *mvayāy* (they had died), *mvayey* (she had died), *mvayāy* (she had died). –*v* occurs in place of the medial vowel to express feminine past indefinite as well, e.g., *mvayi* (she died).

▶These assertions are not accurate. The low central vowel sound before the final letter of √*mar* actually converts into the low back vowel -*ɔ* and not –*v* as given by the author. Besides, -*r* of *mar* converts into –*d* and –*y* to constitute the proximate past masculine and feminine forms respectively. For the clarity of the statement see conjugation of √*mar* in the proximate past tense given in the discussion on sutra 26. The past perfect is expressed, as elucidated earlier, by –*mut* suffixed participle verb supported by the auxiliary in the past tense. In the aorist and remote past the given verb conjugates as given below:

The intransitive root √*mar (*to die)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	mɔyo	mɔye	mɔye	mɔye
II	mɔyokh	mɔyevü	mɔyekh	mɔyevü
I	mɔyos	mɔye	mɔyes	mɔye

The terms *mvayāv* (he had died), *mvayāy* (she/they had died) are actually regional variants of *mɔyo* and *mɔye* respectively. It is also noteworthy that the affixes employed to denote the remote past are also used to refer to a past action which does not attain completion (aorist), e.g., *mɔyo* (he narrowly escaped death), *mɔye* (she/ they

[43] *maro vakārah ; striyām bhūteapi* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/-30/31 p. 231-232

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narrowly escaped death), *məyokh / məyekh* (you mas./fem. sg. narrowly escaped death), *məyevü* (you plu. narrowly escaped death), *məyos / məyes* (I mas./fem. narrowly escaped death) *məye* (we narrowly escaped death).◀

हिद्योस्तकारागमः -32^{44}. *–t* is augmented before past tense suffix with √*hi* (to observe; to purchase) and √*di* (to give) which is converted into *–č* in the aorist. The examples are:- *hyatun* (purchased/ observed), *ditun* (gave); *hyačān* (had purchased), *dičān* (had given).

▶The verb root used in the sense of 'to buy/purchase and to observe' is √*hĕ* and not √*hi* as assumed by the author. The terms *hŏtun* and *ditun* are pronominal forms. These two verb roots are conjugated in the proximate past as shown below:

Agent: Masculine / feminine *singular*

Receiver: Masculine III person *singular* and *plural*

	√*hĕ*		√*di*	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	ɦŏt	ɦĕt̃	d̃ut	dit̃
II	ɦŏtuth	ɦĕtith	d̃ututh	ditith
I	ɦŏt	ɦĕt̃	d̃ut	dit̃

Receiver: Feminine III person singular and plural

III	ɦəč	ɦačü	dič	dičü
II	ɦəč üth	ɦačath	dičüth	dičath
I	ɦəč	ɦačü	dič	dičü

The conjugation of √*hĕ* and √*di* given above indicates several changes caused in these two roots by the addition of the conjugational terminations such as- *-t* is converted into *–č* if the object of action is feminine singular or plural. Palatalization is added to *h-* of √*hĕ* in both genders and numbers. Palatalization is added to *d-* of √*di* only if the receiver of action is masculine singular. The augmented *–t* is palatalized (*hĕt*) if the object is III person masculine or feminine plural. *–ĕ* is usually replaced by *-ə* and *–a* (*ɦəč / ɦačü*) to denote the feminine singular and plural object respectively and by *–ŏ* to express

[44] *hidyostakārāgamah* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/3/32 p: 232

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the masculine singular (*hŏt*) object. Masculine plural object is denoted by addition of palatalization to the final consonant The initial letter of the root √*di* is palatalized only if the object of action is masculine singular.

hyačon (did purchase) and *dičon* (did give) are aorist denoting pronominal forms. The conjugation of √*di* in the past without confirmation of its completion has already been discussed (see 8/3/17). √*hĕ* also conjugates on the similar pattern such as:

III	**hĕčo**	**hĕče/yi**	hĕče/yi	hĕče/yi
II	**hĕčoth**	**hĕčeth**	hĕčeth	hĕčevn̈
I	**hĕčo**	**hĕče/yi**	hĕčem	hĕče/yi

The author has used the terms *hyačān* and *dičān* which are actually regional variants of *hyačon* and *dičon* respectively.◀

लसश्च पुंभूते -३३[45] .–*t* is augmented with the masculine forms of √*las* used in the sense of 'to live a blessed life' such as- *lūstü* (he lived), *lūsti* (they lived). The feminine term is *lūčh* (she lived).

►As explained earlier (see sutra 27-29), these terms are neither found in use nor are listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary and, therefore, do not merit any detailed comment.◀

नेरुदीतौ प्रत्ययोकारेकारयोः -३४[46]. Addition of past tense terminations to √*ni*, meaning 'to take', cause –*u* and –*i* change into –*ū* and -*ī* respectively. The examples are: *nyūn* (III per. sg. took mas. sg. object), *nīn* (III per. sg. took mas. plu. objects). In his explanation of the sutra the author says that –*un* is added to √*ni* to indicate the masculine object of the action and according to 8/3/4 –*u* of –*un* usually changes into –*i* (निधातोः उन। कर्मणि पुम् इत्यादिना अपत्रोकारस्य इकारः। अनेन ऊकार ईकारौ कमात्[47]) and according to this sutra the initial –*u* and –*i* become –*ū* and -*ī* respectively. The examples are: *nyūn* (III per. sg. took mas. sg. object) and *nīn* (III per. sg. took mas. plu. object).

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45 *lasaśca pumbhūte* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/33 p. 232

46 *nerūdītau pratyayokārekārayoh* : -------- ibid -------- 8/3/34 p. 233

47 ---------- ibid --------- p. 233

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▶The examples quoted above by the author denote past tense pronominal use of √*ni*. It is beyond one's ken as to why the author does not show the formation of a conjugated form directly from the verb root by the process of affixation rather than employing the lengthy, intricate and above all unjustifiable procedure of deriving them from the pronominal terms which is not the correct linguistic or grammatical approach. In simple words, a conjugated form is derived directly from the root and not from the pronominal term of the root as has been usually done by the author. For easy understanding listed below are the past tense denoting conjugational terminations employed with √*ni*:

Proximate Past

Agent: Masculine / feminine *singular*

Receiver- Masculine / feminine III person *singular* and *plural*

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	-v	-yi	-yi	-yi
II	-ūth	-īth	-yath	-yithakh
I	-v	-yi	-yi	-yi

Aorist

Agent: Masculine / feminine *singular agent*

Receiver- Masculine / feminine III person singular and plural

	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	-yo	-ye	-ye	-ye
II	-yoth	-yeth	-yeth/an	-yeth/akh
I	-yo	-ye	-ye	-ye

Occurrence:

Proximate Past:

	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	niv	niyi	niyi	niyi
II	ñūth	nīth	niyath	niyithakh
I	niv	niyi	niyi	niyi

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Aorist

	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	niyo	niye	niye	niye
II	niyoth	niyeth	niyethan	niyethakh
I	niyo	niye	niye	niye

None of these conjugated forms show conversion of any initial vowel into *-ū* or *-ī*. The terminations mentioned above are employed according to grammatical category of the object of action. These forms necessarily require the presence of the agent denoting word for the completion of sense. The pronominal terms, on the other hand, do not allow the presence of the subject denoting word as these terms contain information regarding the number, gender and person of both, the doer as well as the receiver of the action, such as- *ñūn* (he/she took mas.sg. object), *ñūkh* (they took mas.sg. object), *ñūth* (you sg. took mas.sg. object), *nūth* (you sg. took mas.plu. object), *ñum* (I took mas.sg. object), *niyi* (I/we took mas./fem.plu. objects).◀

पूर्णभूते आन आख आथ आव आम आव प्रत्ययाः पुमेकत्वे –35[48]. If the object of action is masculine singular, the suffixes *-ān -ākh -āth -āv -ām* and *-āv* are employed to express the past perfect tense of action, such as- *bozān* (he had heard), *bozākh* (they had heard), *bozāth* (you sg. had heard), *bozāv* (you plu. had heard), *bozām* (I had heard), *bozāv* (we had heard). The author further says that according to sutra 8/3/46 *–y* is augmented with all the forms of past perfect and sutra 8/3/47 recommends deletion of *–y* with the dental affricate (*č, čh, z*) sounds.

▶The words cited above as examples do not refer to perfection of action as stated (पूर्णभूते) by the author. The fact is that the terminations cited in the sutra refer to past action without any information regarding its completion, continuance or repetition. Besides, these terminations are usually found in use in the Kashmiri spoken by the speakers of south Kashmir while as in the standard form of Kashmiri these terminations are in order replaced by *–yon* →

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[48] pūrṇabhūte ān ākh āth āv ām āv pratyayāh pumekatve : -------- ibid -------- 8/3/35 p. 233

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bozyon, *–yokh* → *bozyokh*, *–yoth*→ *bozyoth*, *–yovü* → *bozyovü*, *–yom* -→ *bozyom* and *-yo* → *bozyo*. These terminations are employed to constitute the pronominal terms. The past perfect (पूर्णभूत) is expressed by *–mut* suffixed participle verb associated with auxiliary in the past tense, such as- *su os tati drāmut* (he had left that place).◀

धातोरे बहुत्वे –३६[49]. According to this sutra *–e* is employed after the root to denote the plural object of the past perfect tense of action, such as- *kareyen*, *kareyekh*, *kareyeth*, *kareyev*, *kareyem*, *kareyey*.

▶The past perfect tense denotes the perfection of action in the past. The forms *kareyen* (he did do), *kareyekh* (they did do), *kareyeth* (you sg. did do), *kareyev* (you plu. did do), *kareyem* (I did do) and *kareyey* (we did do) cited above by the author denote the completion of an action as the cause of the other, the result, which does not actually happen. The past perfect (पूर्णभूत) of √*kar* is expressed by–*mut* (according to grammatical form of agent as well as object of the action) suffixed participle verb associated with the auxiliary in the past tense, such as *təm̃ ās* ***kām*** *kərümüč* (he had done the work), *təm̃ āsü* ***kāmi*** *karimüčü*. The author's statement पूर्णभूते बहुत्वे कर्मणि सति धातो परे एकारः प्रयोज्यः[50] is, therefore, fallacious.◀

अप्रसिद्धचवर्गादा –३७[51]. According to this sutra if a verb root ends in a dental affricate, *-ə̄* is added before the suffix, such as- *bozāyen* (he/she did hear), *h̃ačāyen* (he/she did purchase).

▶The pronominal terms *bozāyen*, *h̃ačāyen* cited above by the author as examples are usually pronounced as *bozeyon ~ bozon* and *h̃ečeyon*, *h̃ečon* respectively. It is noteworthy that these terms, besides expressing the aorist, also indicate the incompletion of the effect of a previously done action.◀

सामान्यवत्स्त्रीकर्मणि –३८[52]. If the object of action is feminine singular or plural, the past perfect tense of a verb is expressed by employing the same conjugational suffixes which are used to denote

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49

50 *dhātore bahutve* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/36 p. 234

51 ---------- ibid ------- p. 234

52 *aprasiddhčavargāndā* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/37 p. 234
sāmānyavatstrīkarmaṇi : --------- ibid -------- 8/3/38 p. 234

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the aorist (पूर्णभूते स्त्रीलिंगस्य एकत्वादिके कर्मणि सति सामान्यभूतवत्स्वरूपाणि भवन्ति).

▶The aorist refers to past action without assurance regarding its completion while as the past perfect tense indicates perfection of an action in the past before something else happened (see sutra 16). To express these two different tenses by the same set of termination is, therefore, not possible. As explained earlier, the past perfect tense is denoted by the participle verb ending in–*mut*/-*müč* and supported by the auxiliary in the past tense form, such as- *tami* ***os*** *batü ronümut* (she had cooked the food). In the pronominal use the person, number and gender denoting marker is appended to the conjugated form of the auxiliary, such as- *batü* ***osun*** *ronümut* (III per. mas./fem. had cooked food).◀

पुंकर्तरि ओव एय ओख एव ओस एय भूते प्रत्ययाः -३९[53]. The past tense denoting affixes –*ov*, -*ey*, -*okh*, -*ev*, -*os*, -*ey* are used if the doer of the action is masculine singular or plural. The author further says that –*ov* is optionally used as –*au* (ओव प्रत्ययस्य क्वचित् औव इति च व्यवह्रियत इति ज्ञेयम्). The examples are: *vuphyov* or *vuphyau* (III per. sg. flew), *vuphyey* (III per. plu. flew), *īryokh* (you sg. floated), *īryevü* (you plu. floated), *gwabyos* (I per. sg. became heavy/burdensome), *prāryey* (I per. plu. waited). According to author these suffixes are appended to the intransitive roots to indicate that the doer of the proximate past action is masculine (अतीतकाले कर्तरिनियतानां धातूनां पुंल्लिंगे कर्तरि सति भूते ओव आदयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः).

▶The proximate past tense subjective affixes, besides denoting the time of action, provide information about the person, number and gender of the doer as well. In other words the proximate past tense denoting affixes employed with the intransitive verbs also discharge the function of the pronominal affixes, such as- *su drāv tati* (he left that place) or *drāv tati* (III per. mas. sg. left that place), *čü drākh tati* (you left that place) or *drāyakh tati* (II per. fem. sg. left that place) etc.

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[53] pumkartari ov ey okhev os ey bhūte pratyayāh: -------- ibid ------- 8/3/39 p. 234

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The subjective affixes mentioned in the above given sutra are used with a limited number of intransitive roots like √*vuph* (to fly), √*prār* (to wait), √*yīr* ~ *īr* (to float) etc. In addition these affixes are employed especially with the verbal stems which are derived from the qualitative adjectives such as- *mɔkul* (free) → √*mɔkal* (to be free), *ŏdur* (wet) → √*ədar* (to become wet), *vɔzul* (red) → √*vɔzal* (to turn red) etc. These suffixes usually begin with *–y* (यागमः[54]) which, when collides with the final consonant of the root, causes palatalisation of that consonant. *–y* is not prefixed if the affix begins with *–e*. For clear understanding of this statement shown below are these terminations and their use with verbal stems. The palataization of the consonant is dropped if the affix begins with *-e*

Affix		*Occurrence*	
Masculine subject		√*vɔzal (to turn red)*	
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III -y-av	-eyi	vɔzü̃**lav**	vɔzü**leyi**
II -y-okh	-evü	vɔzü̃**lokh**	vɔzü**levü**
I -y-os	-eyi	vɔzü̃**los**	vɔzü**leyi**
Similarly, √prār (to wait)		√yīr/īr (to float)	
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III prār̃**av**	prārеyi	y/īr̃**av**	y/īr**eyi**
II prār̃**okh**	prārevü	y/īr̃**okh**	y/īr**evü**
I prār̃**os**	prāreyi	y/īr̃os	y/īr**eyi** ◀

सामान्यपूर्णयोः आव आय आख आव आस आय प्रत्ययाः –40[55].- *āv, -āy, -ākh, -āv, -ās, -āy* are employed with the intransitive verbs to express the aorist and past perfect tenses provided that the subject of the action is masculine, singular or plural. The examples of aorist are *vuphyāv* (he did fly), *vuphyey* (they did fly) etc. while as *mɔkliyāv* (he is done with), *mɔkliyey* (they are done with), *mɔkliyākh* (you sg. are done with), *mɔkliyāv* (you plu. are done with) and *mɔkliyās* (I am done with) denote perfection of action.

54

55 ---------- ibid -------- p. 235

sāmānyapūrṇayoh āv āy ākh āv ās āy pratyayāh: ------- ibid ------ 8/3/40 p. 235

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▶It has been sufficiently explained in the foregoing sutras that aorist (सामान्य-) and past perfect (सामान्यपूर्णयोः) refer to two different tenses of action and, therefore, cannot be expressed by the same set of terminations as given by the author. Besides, in sutra 35 the author says that (पूर्णभूते आन आख आथ आव आम आव प्रत्ययाः पुमेकत्वे) *–ān, –ākh, –āth, –āv, –ām* and *–āv* are past perfect denoting suffixes while as in the present sutra he refers to a different set of suffixes to express the same time of action i.e., the past perfect tense in addition to the aorist. The fact is that neither of these two different sets of suffixes is employed at least by the speakers of Kashmiri language in Srinagar and its surrounding areas which enjoys the prestige of being the standard form used in literature and the mass media (see sutra 34-35).◀

संबन्धिप्रत्ययेषु वयोर्लोपः –41[56]. If the doer of a transitive verb is masculine, singular or plural, addition of aorist and past perfect denoting pronominal suffix leads to deletion of *–y* and *–v*. This applies only to the consonant ending roots and not to roots which have a vowel sound at the end (स च सस्वरस्य न विज्ञेयः किन्तु व्यंजनयोर्वयोरेव[57]). The examples cited by the author are: *kumülyos* (III per. sg. became compassionate), *kumülyes* (III per. plu. became compassionate). The author further explains that the verb √*kumal* means 'to melt/become soft'. According to 8/3/39 *–ov* and *–ey* are added as masculine subject denoting affixes. 8/1/33 provides for addition of *–as* and augment of *–y* and finally deletion of *–y* and *–v* as in *ās* (III per. sg./plu came/arrived), *āhəs* (II per. sg. came/arrived), *āsas* (I per. sg. came/arrived), *ās* (I per. plu. came/arrived).

▶The sutra refers to pronominal use of the action in the proximate past. Besides, the examples given by the author indicate that the intransitive action ends with the doer for the sake of someone else, such as- *kumülyos* (III per. mas.sg. became soft/melted for III per. mas.sg.), and *kumülyes* (III per. mas.plu. became soft/melted for III per. mas.sg.), *ās* (III per. sg./plu came/arrived for someone), *āhās*

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[56] *sambandhipratyayeṣu vayorlopah* : --------- ibid --------- 8/3/41 p. 236

[57] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 236

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(II per. sg. came/arrivedfor someone), *āsas* (I per. sg. came/arrived for someome), *ās* (I per. plu. came/arrived for someone). These forms do not show deletion of any *-y* or *–v*. These rather indicate augment of *–y* prefixed to the pronominal suffixes which blends with the final consonant of the root in the form of palatalization of the letter. It seems that the author derives these pronominal forms from the proximate past denoting conjugated terms by the process of addition, augment and subtraction rather than forming them by appending the appropriate pronominal affixes directly to the root. Given below are the affixes and their occurrence with the verb root to impart clarity to this reasoning:

Affix		*Occurrence*	
Masculine sg./plu. subject		*√kumal* (to melt/ to be compassionate/soft)	
Set **a)**			
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III -y-av	-eyi	kumũ**lav**	kumũ**leyi**
II -y-okh	-evü	kumũ**lokh**	kumũ**levü**
I -y-os	-eyi	kumũ**los**	kumũ**leyi**
Set **b)**			
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III -y-os	-es	kumũ**los**	kumũ**les**
II -y-ohas	-evos	kumũ**lohas**	kumũ**levos**
I -y-osas	-es	kumũ**losas**	kumũ**les**

The affixes and their occurrence with *√kumal* shown above clearly indicate that the affixes given in set *a)* convey that the action of melting or becoming compassionate ends with the agent itself without any effect. The pronominal affixes listed in set *b)* denote that the action ends with the agent or agents for the sake of someone else, who is not even the receiver of the action.◀

तयोः पूर्वाकार ओदप्रसिद्धत्वे; ओदतौ वत्त्वाप्रसिद्धत्वे –42/43[58]. *-ā* before *–v* and *–y* converts into *–o* and *-ə̄* respectively. Similarly, *-o*

[58] tayoh pūrvākāra odaprasiddhatve ; odatau vattvāprasiddhatve :

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and *–a* before *–v* and *–y* are replaced by *–v* and *-ə* respectively. The examples quoted in support of the sutra are: *oy* (III per. mas. sg. came), *āy* (III per. mas. plu. came), *droy* (III per. mas. sg. left), *drāy* (III per. mas. plu. left), *gvay* (III per. mas. sg. went), *gəy* (III per. mas. plu. went), *pyway* (III per. mas. sg. fell down), *pyəy* (III per. mas. plu. fell down).

►These assertions of author can be understood by the following analysis:

The verb roots of the above cited intransitive past tense forms (*oy, droy, gŏy* and *pyoy*) are √*yi* (to come), √*ner* (to leave), √*gačh* (to go) and √*pĕ* (to fall down) respectively. The proximate past subjective masculine singular and plural of these roots, in order, are *āv* (III per. mas. sg. came), *āyi* (III per. mas. plu. came); *drāv* (III per. mas.sg. left), *drāyi* (III per. mas. plu. left); *gav* (III per. mas. sg. went), *gəyi* (III per. mas. plu. went) and *pyav/p̃av* (III per. mas. sg. fell down), *pĕyi* (III per. mas. plu. fell down). The proximate past intransitive action done for the sake of some person or object other than the receiver of the action is denoted by replacing the vowels preceding *–v* or *–y* at the end of the word, such as: √*yi* → sg. *āv* → *oy* (III per. mas. sg. came for you), plu. *āyi* → *āy* (III per. mas. plu. came for you); √*ner* → sg. *drāv* → *droy* (III per. mas. sg. left for you), plu. *drāyi* → *drāy* (III per. mas. plu. left for you); √*gačh* → sg. *gav* → *gŏy* (III per. mas. sg. went for you), plu. *gəyi* → *gəy* (III per. mas. plu. went for you); √*pĕ* → sg. *p̃av* → *p̃ŏy* (III per. mas. sg. fell down for you), plu. *p̃ĕyi* → *p̃ĕyiy* (III per. fem. sg. Fell down for you). Change of *–a* into *–v* is misperceived. The pronominal term for 'he went for you' is pronounced as *gŏy* and not as *gway* which shows conversion of *–a* of *gav* into mid back vowel *-ŏ* and not into semi vowel *–v* as perceived by the author. Similarly, *pyway* is incorrect. It is actually pronounced as *p̃ŏy*.◄

स्त्रियाम् एय एय एयख एव एयस एय प्रत्ययाः *–44*[59]. *–ey, -ey, -eyakh, -ev, -eyas* and *–ey* are feminine subject denoting affixes.

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[59] *striyām ey ey ayakh ev eyas ey pratyayāh* : -------- ibid ------- 8/3/-42/43 p. 236-237 ---------- ibid ---------- 8/3/44 p. 237

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According to author's assertions तत्र सामान्यपूर्णयोरेकरूपत्वमिति च ध्येयम् these suffixes are expressive of both, the aorist as well as past perfect tenses. The examples are: *vyaṭhey* (she did put on fat), *lāreyakh* (you sg. did stick to), *navyevü* (you plu. did become rejuvenated), *baḍeyas* (I did grow up), *bambürey* (we did lost nerve). *–y* is augmented to express the aorist and past perfect. *–ic* is added before *–y* with the consonant ending roots such as- *vyaṭhiyey* (she had put on fat), *lāriyeyakh* (you sg. had stuck on), *naviyevü* (you plu. had become rejuvenated), *baḍiyeyas* (I had grown up), *bambüriyey* (we had lost nerve). The author further says that √*lār* in the senses 'to stick to' and 'to chase away' occurs subjectively while as *lār* in the sense of 'to form/adorn/soften' (पेशलीकरणे[60]) occurs objectively.

▶The affixes quoted above by the author in support of his assertions actually refer to the proximate past tense. The aorist denoting feminine affixes commonly used in speech are:

	Affix		*Occurrence* √*baḍ* (to grow)	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	-eye	-eye	baḍeye	baḍeye
II	-eyekh	-eyevü	baḍeyekh	baḍeyevü
I	-eyes	-eye	baḍeyes	baḍeye

√*vyaṭh*, √*nav*, and √*baḍ* are verbal stems derived from the qualitative adjectives *vŏṭh* (fat), *nŏv* (new) and *bŏḍ* (big/elder) respectively. The concept of augment of-*ic* is not justified as the terms *vyaṭhiyey*, *lāriyeyakh*, *naviyevü*, *baḍiyeyas* and *bambüriyey* do not match with the actual pronunciation of the terms actually in use i.e., *vyaṭheye*, *lāreyekh*, *naveyevü*, *baḍeyes* and *bambüreye* respectively. The intransitive verb √*lār* is used in the senses of 'to stick to', to chase away' and 'to go after'. It is never used in the sense of 'to adorn' as stated by the author and, figurative sense 'envious of someone else's possessions, qualities, or luck'[61]. *-əch* is a feminine

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61 Williams, Sir M. Monier - Sanskrit English Dictionary: p. 648, col. 3
---------- ibid --------- p. 309

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therefore, the assertion regarding objective use of √*lār* (to form/adorn/soften) is incorrect.◀

त्यंबो नित्यम् –45[62]. According to author, √*tyamb* means (त्यंब दृक्चांचल्ये[63]) unsteadiness of eyes[64]. In this sense it takes the feminine suffixes such as- *tyambeyas* (III per. sg. became unsteady), *tyambiyeyas* (III per. sg. had become unsteady).

▶The word meaning of *tyamb* is 'eye irritations'[65]. It usually occurs combined with the noun *əch* (eye) (→ *əch tyambüñ*) to impart the noun and accordingly *tyamb* takes the feminine conjugational terminations. The word *tyambeyas* is past pronominal form (III per. sg. became envious) while as *tyambiyeyas* is not found used in speech.◀

यागमः सर्वेषु सामान्यपूर्णेषु –46[66]. *–y* is augmented with all transitive and intransitive roots in the aorist and past perfect tenses, such as- √*vətal* (to rise/grow) → *vvatalyov* / *vvatalyāv* (did rise/ grow/appear), *vvataliyāv* (had risen/grown); √*tat* (to become hot) *tatyov* / *tatyāv* (became hot), *tatiyāv* (did become hot); √*dar* (to become stable/ to stay) → *daryov* / *daryāv* (did become stable/stay), *dariyāv* (had become stable/stayed); √*nam* (to bow) → *namyov* / *namyāv* (did bow), *namiyāv* (had bowed). The author further says that पुंकर्तरि ओव ------- (8/3/39) and सामान्यपूर्णयोः आव ------- (8/3/40) recommend addition of suffixes *–ov* and *-āv* respectively. The above sutra indicates augment of *–y* with all roots. *–ic* is added before *–y* with the consonant ending roots. Thus, the aorist and past perfect forms of subjective roots are- √*čal* (to flee) → *čajyov* (fled), *čajyāv* (had fled); √*tar* (to cross) → *taryov* (crossed), *taryāv* (had crossed); √*mar* (to die) → *mvayov* (died), *mvayāv* (had died). *–l* converts into *–j* and *–a* before the final letter of √*mar* changes into *–v*. *–r* is dropped. The proximate and past perfect of objective roots are- *karyon* (did), *karyān* (had done); *vavyon* (sowed), *vavyān* (had sown). *–on* and *-ān*

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62 *tyambo nityam* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/45 p. 238

63 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 238

64 Williams, Sir M. Monier - Sanskrit English Dictionary: p. 382, col. 3

65 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 309

66 *yāgamah sarveṣu sāmānyapūrṇeṣu* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/46 p. 238

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are used with √*kar* (to do) and √*vav* (to sow). *–y* is augmented before the suffix. In the proximate past the subjective and objective roots occur as *čalu / čəli* (III per. sg/plu. fled); *karun / karin* (III per. sg/plu. did).

▶As stated earlier, *-y* is augmented with certain roots before the suffix (see 8/3/39) to indicate the masculine proximate past of an action. The joining of *–y* with the final consonant of the roots results in the palatalization of that consonant such as- √*vətal* (to grow/rise) – *y-av* → *vətül̃av* (III per. mas. sg. grew); *-y-okh* → *vətül̃okh* (II per. mas. sg. grew); -y-os → *vətül̃os* (I per. mas. sg. grew); √*tat* (to become hot) – *y-av* → *taṭ̃av/taṭ̃okh/taṭ̃os* (III/II/I per. mas. sg. became hot); √*nam* (to bow) *–y-av* → *naṃ̃av* (III/II/I per. mas. sg. bowed); √*dar* (to stay/be stable/stop) *–y-av* → *daṛ̃av* (III/II/I per. mas. sg. became stable/stopped). The aorist of √*vətal*, √*tat*, √*nam* and √*dar* are *vətüleyo*, *tateyo*, *nameyo* and *dareyo* respectively. These forms refer to a past action which does not attain completion. The forms *vətalyov / vətalyāv*, *tatyov / tatyāv*, *namyov / namyāv* and *daryov / daryāv* are actually socio-regional variants of *vətüleyo*, *tateyo*, *nameyo* and *dareyo* respectively. *vutaliyāv*, *tatiyāv*, *namiyāv* and *dariyāv* are unintelligible and are not even listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary. Similarly, the proximate past and aorist of √*čal* (to flee), √*tar* (to cross) and √*mar* (to die) are *čŏl / čajeyo* (fled/did flee); *tŏr / tareyo* (went across/did cross) and *mūd / məyeyo* (died/did die). *mwayāv / mwayeyo* or *vavyon / vavyān* is incorrectly spelled as the vowel before the final letter of √*mar* or √*vav* actually converts into the low back vowel *-ɔ* (→ *məyo / vɔ̃von*) and not into *–v* as stated by the author. Addition of *–ic* with the consonant ending roots is inexplicable. The pronunciation of forms *čalu / čəli* (III per. sg./plu. fled); *karun / karin* (III per. sg./plu. did) seems to have been incorrectly grasped which has resulted in misspelling of these forms. These terms are actually pronounced as *čŏl / čəl̃* and *kŏrun / kərin* respectively. The past perfect is expressed by past participle verb assisted by auxiliary in the past tense, such as- *vətül̃omut os* (had grown), *taṭ̃omut os* (had become hot), *naṃ̃omut os* (had bowed) and so on.◀

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अप्रसिद्धचवर्गाल्लोपः –47[67]. *–y* is dropped after *aprasiddha varṇas* (*č*, *čh* and *z*) such as- *kačān* (did spin fem. plu.), *ñačān* (did buy/observe fem. plu), *dičān* (did give fem. plu), *mačhān* (did rub fem. plu), *yačhān* (did wish fem. plu), *ginzān* (did play), *grazān* (did roar), *vazān* (did weep), *vaṇān*[68] (said). The author further says that the roots of these forms are √*kat* (to spin), √*hĕ* (to buy/purchase), √*di* (to give), √*math* (to rub/apply), √*ičh* (to wish), √*gind* (to play), √*graz* (to roar), √*vad* (to weep), √*van* (to say) respectively. *-ān* is added to denote the past perfect. The final dental stops are replaced by *aprasiddha* letters (चछज़ञाः आदेशाः)[69]. According to sutra 8/2/21 *–y* is augmented before *-ān* and according to the present sutra *–y* is dropped after the *aprasiddha* letters.

The author's statement is not credible for the following reasons:

Kashmiri has only three dental affricate sounds (called as *aprasiddha varṇa* by the author) *č*, *čh*, *z*. It does not possess any dental nasal affricate as perceived by the author. The dental *–n* at the end of the root usually occurs associated with *–y* like pronunciation *–ny ~ -ñ* such as- √*van* (to say) – proximate past mas. sg. *von* (said), aorist mas. sg. *vanyo ~ vaño* (did say). Use of *-ān* as aorist denoting suffix is specific to some regional dialects particularly spoken in the south Kashmir region. The aorist of √*kat* (to spin), √*math* (to rub/apply), √*gind* (to play) and √*vad* (to weep) is, as commonly used by the speakers of Srinagar and its adjoining areas, *kaṯo ~ kačo*, *maṯho*, *gindo ~ ginzo ~ ginžo* and *vaḏo* respectively. The roots √*hĕ* and √*di* have vowel sounds at the end rather than dental stops which could be assumed to have been converted into the corresponding *aprasiddha* letters. The proximate past tense masculine singular and plural forms of these roots are *hŏṯ /hĕṯ* and *ḏut /diṯ* (see sutra 8/3/32) and the remote past forms are- *hĕčo/hĕče/yi* and *dičo/ dičе/yi*. These forms indicate that *–ut ~ ŏt* and *ṯ* are morphologically conditioned

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[67] *aprasiddhačavargāllopah* : --------- ibid -------- 8/3/47 p. 240

[68] According to Īśvar Kaul Kashmiri has a dental affricative nasal sound which he has indicated by putting a dot below the *Devnagari* palatal nasal sound ञ. Accordingly here it has been indicated as *-ñ*.

[69] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 240

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proximate past tense denoting suffixes employed with the vowel ending roots √*di* and √*hĕ*. –*t* is converted into –*č* to form the aorist of √*di* → *dičo* ~ *dič̃o* and √*hĕ* → *ñačo/hĕč̃o*. These forms indicate that use or deletion of –*y* (in the form of the palatalization of the final consonant) is not because of conversion of dental stops into the dental affricates. Its use is rather optional. In other words, the three forms *mañho / mačho* or *mač̃ho* of √*mañh* (to rub or apply) denote the same sense and the choice of the form by the speaker is natural and not a deliberate action. Similarly, there is no difference of meaning between *dičo / dič̃o* and *ñačo / hĕč̃o*.◄

पिगछोर्भूते –48[70]. According to this sutra, in the past tense -*y* is dropped with √*pi* (to fall) and √*gačh* (to go), such as- *pyau* (III per. mas. sg. fell down), *gauv* (III per. mas. sg. went). In his explanation the sutra the author says that according to sutra 8/3/39 masculine suffix –*au* is added to √*pi* and √*gačh*, according to 8/2/11 –*a* is augmented with √*pi* and according to 8/3/58 –*čh* of √*gačh* is dropped and –*y* is augmented. According to present sutra –*y* is dropped. Sutra 1/9 provides that –*a* followed by –*o* becomes –*au* and according to 1/10 –*i* followed by a dissimilar vowel converts into –*y* → *pyaya* (III per. fem. sg. fell down), *gay* (III per. fem. sg. went). –*ey* is employed with the roots, -*y* is dropped, -*a* is augmented with √*pi*, -*čh* of √*gačh* is dropped and –*e* is replaced by –*a*, and, according to 8/1/39 –*a* is dropped and –*y* is adopted.

►The author's above given explanation of the sutra is insignificant and vacuous. The verb root for 'to fall' is √*pĕ* and not √*pi* as given by the author. The proximate past denoting masculine singular and plural affixes employed with the vowel ending roots like √*ni* (to take), √*khĕ* (to eat), √*cĕ* (to drink) and √*pĕ* (to fall down) are- ***-v/-av/-os*** → *mĕ/asi təm̃/timav niv/kh̃av,cav* (I/we he/she/they took/drank/ate) and *su p̃av* (he fell down), *bü p̃os* (i fell down); ***-yi*** → *əs̃/tim pĕyi* (they fell down); ***-ūth*** → *čĕ nūth* (you sg. took); ***-oth*** → *čĕ coth/kh̃oth* (you drank/ate); ***-okh*** → *čü p̃okh* (you fell down); ***-ūvü*** → *təhi ñūvü* (you plu. took); ***-ovü*** → *təhi covü/kh̃ovü* (you

[70] pigačhorbhūte : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/48 p. 241

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drank/ate); *-vü* → *tŏhya pevü* (you fell down). In the past tense *čh* of √*gačh* is dropped and takes the same conjugational affixes which are employed with √*pĕ* such as- *gav/gəyi*; *gokh/gāvü*; *gos/gəyi*. Neither of the above cited terms shows addition of *–au* as assumed by the author. However, *k̃hav*, *cav*, *p̃av* and *gav* are pronounced as *k̃hŏv*, *cŏv*, *p̃ŏv* and *gŏv* by the Muslim Kashmiri speakers of the valley. Augment of *–a* and *–y* and deletion of *–y* appears to be misperceived.◀

सकाराच्च बहुलम् –४८३अ[71]. *–y* is optionally dropped after *–s* such as √*phas* (to be entrapped/ involved) → *phasau* ~ *phasyau* and other similar words such as *ṭhās*, *das*, *bās*, *mus* and *sas*. In most of the cases the deletion of *–y* takes place invariably such as- *asaun* / *asān* (he had laughed). *–y* is not deleted with √*āvas* (to be worn out) → *āvüsyau* (became worn out). The verbs *dvas*, *čas*, *tras*, *ras*, *rüs*, *lis*, *vis*, *vvalas*, *vvas* etc. are also conjugated on the pattern of *āvas*.

▶This sutra is missing in the handwritten copy of the manuscript. However, deletion of *–y* with the verbs ending in *–s* is not correct and the forms *phasau*, *asaun* etc. are unintelligible and do not occur in Kashmiri. It is possible that these forms might be or might have been in use in some regional variety of Kashmiri with which the author might have been acquainted. The verbs *ṭhās* (to hammer/knock down), *bās* (to appear), *mus* (to eat unmannerly[72]) are common in speech while as *das* (to give fist blow[73]) is barely found in use. *süs* (soundless farting[74]) is usually used as a noun. *ḍɔs* is not found in use, *ras* (juice/curry/soup) is used as noun, *vɔs* as verb is neither found in use nor is listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary. However, the noun *vɔsi* means rapture[75]. *vis* ~ *ṽas* (meaning boisterously happy[76]) seems to be a regional term. The terms *čas*, *tras*, *rüs*, and *vɔlas* denote 'to

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71 *sakārācca bahulam* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam published by Nag Publishers in 1985 p. 241

72 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 217

73 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. iii, p. 213

74 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. iv, p. 212

75 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. vii, p. 148

76 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. vii, p. 90

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gather for festivity and celebrations / to burst into laughter[77], to fear[78], to flee[79] and to enjoy[80] respectively.◄

न कुच़ ग्रवच़ च़्वच़ छ्वच़ तेज़ पज़ रोच़ व्यच़ ब्रज़ बावज़ ल्यच़ श्रोच़ाम् -49[81].

–y is not dropped with the roots √*käč* (to become wet), √*grɔč* (to gurgle),√*čɔč* (to become messy), √*čhɔč* (to become hollow), √*tez* (to become sharp), √*paz* (to be right/appropriate), √*roč* (to be to one's taste), √*vač* (to be not impressed; to be beside oneself through joy), √*braz* (to look distinct), √*bāvaz* (to be to one's liking), √*lač* (to become sluggish) and √*śroč* (to become clean and pure). *–au* is appended as masculine denoting suffix such as- *käčyau* (got soaked), *gračyau* (gurgled), *čɔčyau* (became messy), *tezyau* (became sharp), *pazyau* (proved true), *ačhau* (became delicate) etc.

►This sutra is a contradiction of sutra 47 according to which *–y* is drooped after the dental affricates. In the present sutra the author denies deletion of *–y* with the roots cited in support of the sutra while the fact is that these roots actually end in a dental affricate *č*, *čh* or *z*. The verb *käč* is usually used in the transitive or causative sense by suffixing the transitive suffix *-av/-nāv* to *käč* → *käčav/käčānāv* (make to soak). *čɔč* is misperceived as verb. However, the term *čɔčun* is a noun meaning 'mess or confusion'[82]. *čɔčun* is always followed by the verbs √*tul* (to create) → *əm̃ tul tati čɔčun* (he created mess there) or √*vɔth* (to become) → *ath vŏth čɔčun* (it became messy). *čɔčanwād* means chaos. *čhɔč* as verb is not found in use. However, *čhŏč* (empty) is very commonly used as an adjective such as *čhŏč ḍūn* (walnut with shriveled kernel), *čhŏč bādām* (almond with shrunken or insufficiently formed kernel). *bāvaz* is very rarely used by the

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78 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. iv, p. 66

79 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. ii, p. 222

80 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. iii, p.173

81 ---------- ibid ---------- - vol. vii, p.154
na küč gɔč čɔč čhɔč tez paz roč vyač braz bāvaz lyač śročām :
KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/49 p. 242

82 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 103

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speakers of Srinagar. The terms *čɔčyau*, *pazyau*, *ačhau* are not found in common use. The forms *gračyau*, *tezyau*, *küčyau*, *ročyau*, *lěčyau*, *śročyau* etc. seem to be regional variants while as these are commonly pronounced as ending in *–y-av* → *grɔčav*, *tezav*, *küčav*, *ročav*, *lěčav*, *śročav* by the speakers of Srinagar and its neighboring areas. As stated earlier, use of *-y –au* at the end of the word is prevalent among the speakers of south Kashmir.◀

व्यंजनान्तानां पूर्णे यात्पूर्व इजनादेशप्रत्ययानाम् –50[83]. In past perfect *–ic* is augmented before *-yā* with the consonant ending roots whose proximate past suffixes are not commended. *–c* of *–ic* is only for the vowel (अनादेशप्रत्ययानां येषां धातूनां भूते प्रत्ययानामादेशो न स्यात् तेषां व्यंजनान्तानां पूर्णभूतविषये यकारागमात्प्राक् इचागमो भवति, चकारः स्वरार्थः). The examples are: *zeṭhiyāv* (did lengthen / prolong), *tambliyāv* (did get tempted / enticed), *baḍiyāv* (did increase / extend / lengthen). The verb roots, whose proximate past tense affixes have previously been stated, occur in the past perfect on the pattern of √*mar* (to die) → *mvayāv* (had died), √*mel* (to meet) →*mejyāv* (had met), √*priy* (to like) → *priyyāv* (had been liked). The author refers to sutra nos. 35, 46, 30, 56 and 74 of this chapter which prescribe addition of *-āv* and augment of *–y* before *-āv*, conversion of medial vowel of √*mar* into *–v*, deletion of the final consonant of √*mar* and conversion of *–l* into *–j* respectively. The author further says that *–y* is augmented with all vowel ending roots except √*ni*, √*di* and √*yi*.

▶The statement अनादेशप्रत्ययानां (roots whose proximate past suffixes are not evinced) is meaningless. According to author Kashmiri does not possess any affixes which can be specifically classed as proximate past tense denoting suffixes. According to him, the proximate past is formed by the addition of present tense denoting suffixes *chuh/chih* to the verb root of which *ch-* and *–h* are dropped while as remaining *–u*, *-i* etc. function as proximate past tense denoting terminations. These assertions of author are futile and baseless for two reasons. One, *chuh*, *chih* etc. are actually conjugated forms of auxiliary *ch* in the present tense and not present tense

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[83] vyañjanāntānām pūrṇeyātpūrva ijnādeśapratyayānam :
KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/50 p. 243

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denoting suffixes as conceived by the author. Two, Kashmiri has, as discussed and exemplified earlier, different sets of past tense denoting termination to indicate the different tenses of action. The proximate past of √*zeṭh* (to become long) → *zeṭhav / zeṭhey i*, √*tambal* (to be tempted) → *tambülav / tambüleyi* and √*baḍ* (to grow) → *baḍav / baḍeyi* also show clearly the presence of terminations *–av* and *eyi* (according to number and gender and person of the subject) with the roots. Similarly, the aorist and remote past is formed by the addition of *–yo*, *-ye* etc. such as- - *zeṭheyo/zeṭheye* (III per. sg./plu. did prolong), *tambüleyo/tambüleye* (III per. sg./plu did get tempted) and *baḍeyo/baḍeye* (III per. sg./plu. did expand). The forms like *zeṭhiyāv*, *tambliyāv* and *baḍiyāv* are not used in speech and have, therefore, been misperceived by the author.

Addition of *–ic* and deletion of *–c* is, as stated earlier, merely an imitation of Panini's concept of *–it* marker (see 8/2/24) which is inapplicable to Kashmiri. Besides, the author follows the same approach of referring to various sutras regarding the constitution of forms which is merely a repetition and, thus, uncalled for.◀

न गछो प्रसिद्धचवर्गाच्च –51[84]. *–ic* is not added to √*gačh* (to go) and other verbs which end in a dental affricate. The example is- *gayāv* (had gone). *–čh* of *gačh* is dropped, *-y* is augmented before *-āv*. Other examples are- *khočāy* (she did get frightened), *pačāy* (she did trust), *khačāy* (she did climb up), *rozāy* (she did stay).

▶The proposition regarding augment of *–ic* is a fabrication. The feminine forms *gayāv*, *khočāy*, *khačāy*, *pačāy*, *rozāy* etc. are specifically used by the Kashmiri speakers of the regional dialects especially of South Kashmir including the Kashtawar region which again gives the impression that the author might not have been an originally a speaker of Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar proper or even its sarrounding areas. The feminine third person singulars of these forms are actually pronounced as *gəye*, *khočeyi*, *pačeyi*, *khačeyi*, *rozeyi* by the speakers of Srinagar and its neighbouring areas.

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[84] *na gačhoaprasiddhacavargācca* : --------- ibid ---------- 8/3/51 p. 244

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अचप्रसोराकारः −52[85]. √*ač* means 'to enter' and √*pras* means 'to give birth'. *-ā* is used before *–y* with both these roots, such as- *čāyāv* (he did enter), *pyāyāv* (he did give birth). The author further says that *-āv* is appended as past perfect denoting affix, *-a-* of √*ač* is dropped and *pr-* of √*pras* is converted into *pi-*.

▶The forms cited as examples by the author are actually pronounced as *čāyo* (III per. mas.sg. did enter), *čāye* (III per. fem. plu. did enter) and *p̃āye* (III per. fem. sg./plu did give birth). The term *čāyāv* is a regional form of *čāyo* mostly used by, as stated previously, the Kashmiri speakers of south Kashmir. *pyāyāv* is incorrect as the action √*pras* (to give birth) conjugates only in the feminine gender. In addition, the terms *čāyo*, *čāye* and *p̃āye* refer to the past action without defining its completion and, therefore, cannot be grouped as past perfect denoting forms. The past perfect forms are formed, as mentioned earlier, by the addition of *–mut* to the lexical verbs and are supported by the auxiliary in the past tense, such as- *čāmutos* (he had entered), *čāmüt̃ās̃* (they had entered), *p̃āmüč ās* (she had given birth) etc.◀

येरात्प्रत्ययादिस्वरस्य च −53[86]. √*yi* means 'to come'. In the past tense *yi* changes into *ā* (यि आगमने इत्यस्य आकारादेशो भवति). The initial vowel of the past tense denoting suffix *–ov* is also replaced by *ā-* → *-āv* (प्रत्ययादिस्वरस्य च भूते एव आकारो भवति) and the collision of verb √*ā* followed by suffix *-āv* results in the formation of *āv* meaning 'he came'(अनेन द्वयोरेवाकारः). The author further says that स्वरः सवर्णे दीर्घपरलोपौ (see 1/5) also lays down that if a vowel is followed by a similar vowel, it transforms into the similar long vowel while as the vowel following it is dropped. *–y* is augmented to form *āyāv* (he had come).

▶The approach followed by Īśvar Kaul to explain the formation of past indefinite, aorist and past perfect of √*yi* is complicated and lengthy. The fact is that Kashmiri has two types of lexical verbs. The first type consists of those verb roots whose past tense is formed by

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85 *ačprasorākārah* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/3/52 p. 244

86 *yerātpratyayādisvarasya ca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/3/53 p. 244

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making some changes in the internal structure of the root plus addition of past tense denoting suffixes to the root, such as- √*par* → *pŏr*, *pŏruth*, *pŏrüvü* etc. The majority of Kashmiri verb roots fall in this category. The second type consists of those lexical verbs whose past tense is formed by transforming the entire root into a different form. The verbs such as √*yi*, √*ner*, √*ač*, √*žav*, and √*pras* belong to this category of roots. Such roots are very few in number. In order to elaborate the statement the conjugation of √*yi*, √*ner*, √*ač*, √*žav* and √*pras* in the past tense is shown as below:

Proximate Past

√*yi* (to come) (→ came)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	āv	āyi	āyi	āyi
	(he came)	(they came)	(she came)	(they came)
II	ākh	əvü	āyakh	āyivü /əvü
	(you sg. came)	(you plu.came)	(you sg. came)	(you plu. came)
I	ās	āyi	āyas	āyi
	(I came)	(we came)	(I came)	(we came)

√*ner* (to leave) (→ left)

III	drāv	drāyi	drāyi	drāyi
II	drākh	drəvü	drāyakh	drāyivü /drəv
I	drās	drāyi	drāyas	drāyi

√*ač* (to enter) (→ entered)

III	čāv	čāyi	čāyi	čāyi
II	čākh	čəvü	čāyakh	čāyivü /čəvü
I	čās	čāyi	čāyas	čāyi

√*žav* (to take birth) (→ took birth)

III	zāv	zāyi	zāyi	zāyi
II	zākh	zəvü	zāyakh	zāyivü /zəvü
I	zās	zāyi	zāyas	zāyi

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√*pras* (to give birth) (→ gave birth)

	Feminine	
III	**p̃āyi**	**p̃āyi**
II	**p̃āyakh**	**p̃āyivü**
I	**p̃āyas**	**p̃āyi**

Aorist

√*yi* (to come) (→ did come)

III	**āyo**	**āye**	**āye**	**āye**
II	**āyokh**	**āyevü**	**āyekh**	**āyevü**
I	**āyos**	**āyeyi**	**āyes**	**āyeyi**

√*ner* (to leave) (→ did leave)

III	**drāyo**	**drāye**	**drāye**	**drāye**
II	**drāyokh**	**drāyevü**	**drāyekh**	**drāyevü**
I	**drāyos**	**drāyeyi**	drāyes	**drāyeyi**

√*ač* (to enter) (→ did enter)

III	**čāyo**	**čāye**	**čāye**	**čāye**
II	**čāyokh**	**čāyevü**	**čāyekh**	**čāyevü**
I	**čāyas**	**čāyeyi**	**čāyes**	**čāyeyi**

√*žav* (to take birth) (→ did take birth)

III	**zāyo**	**zāye**	**zāye**	**zāye**
II	**zāyokh**	**zāyevü**	**zāyekh**	**zāyevü**
I	**zāyos**	**zāyeyi**	**zāyes**	**zāyeyi**

√*pras* (to give birth) (→ did give birth)

Feminine

III	**p̃āye**	**p̃āye**
II	**p̃āyekh**	**p̃āyevü**
I	**p̃āyes**	**p̃āyeyi**

Past Perfect

√*yi* (to come) (→ had come)

III	**āmutos**	**āmüt̃əs̃**	**āmüč əs**	**āmüčü āsü**
II	**āmutosukh**	**āmüt̃əsivü**	**āmüč əsükh**	**āmüčü āsüvü**
I	**āmutosus**	**āmüt̃əs̃**	**āmüč əsüs**	**āmüčü āsü**

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√*ner* (to leave) (→ had left)

III	**drāmut os**	**drāmüṯəš**	**drāmüčəs**	**drāmüčü āsü**
II	**drāmut osukh**	**drāmüṯəsivü**	drāmüčəsúkh	**drāmüčü āsüvü**
I	**drāmut osus**	**drāmüṯəš**	**drāmüčəsüs**	**drāmüčü āsü**

√*ač* (to enter) (→ had entered)

III	čāmut os	čāmüṯəš	čāmüčəs	čāmüčü āsü
II	čāmut osukh	čāmüṯəsivü	čāmüčəsúkh	čāmüčü āsüvü
I	čāmut osus	čāmüṯəš	čāmüčəsüs	čāmüčü āsü

√*žav* (to take birth) (→ had taken birth)

III	**zāmut os**	**zāmüṯəš**	**zāmüčəs**	**zāmüčü āsü**
II	**zāmut osukh**	**zāmüṯəsivü**	**zāmüčəsúkh**	**zāmüčü āsüvü**
I	**zāmut osus**	**zāmüṯəš**	**zāmüčəsüs**	**zāmüčü āsü**

√*pras* (to give birth) (→ had given birth)

Feminine

III	**p̃āmüčəs**	**p̃āmüčü āsü**
II	**p̃āmüčəsúkh**	**p̃āmüčü āsüvü**
I	**p̃āmüčəsüs**	**p̃āmüčü āsü**

The above given conjugated forms refer to a significantly distinct peculiarity of Kashmiri verb morphology. It is noteworthy that the conjugated forms of √*yi* in the proximate past, aorist and past perfect tenses are employed in-toto as past tense denoting suffixes with other verb roots of this class. This peculiarity persuades the researcher to conclude that √*yi* is entirely replaced by *zero* (*θ*) and the past tense terminations alone convey the proximate past tense sense of *yi* (to come).◀

ज़ेरन्त्यस्वरस्य पूर्ववच्च; प्रसः पिश्च; नेरो द्रा च -54/55/56[87]. According to sutra 54 √*zi* is used in the sense 'to be born'. –*i* of √*zi* converts into -*ā*, the initial vowel of the suffix also changes into -*ā* and the resulting form is *zāv* (was born). –*ov* is suffixed to express aorist *zāyov* (did take birth) and *zāyāv* (had taken birth) denotes past perfect. According to sutras 55 and 56 the verb roots √*pras* (to give

[87] *zerantyasvarasya pūrvavacca; prasay pišca; nero drā ca* :
------- ibid ------- 8/3/-54/55/56 p. 245-246

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birth) and √*ner* (to leave) are replaced by √*pi* and √*dra* respectively. The initial vowel of the affix is replaced by -*ā* to form the proximate past tense form *pẽāv* (gave birth) and *drāv* (left). –*ov* is appended to these roots to constitute the aorist terms *pẽāyov* (did give birth) and *drāyov* (did leave). The past perfect forms of these terms are *pẽāyāv* (had given birth) and *drāyāv* (had left).

►These sutras are a continuation of the previous sutra. The conjugation of √*žav*, √*pras* and √*ner* in the past tense (proximate, aorist and perfect tenses) has already been discussed in detail while explaining the previous sutra. Further, the verb root for "to be born" is √*žav* and not √*zi* as given by the author. The verb √*pras* (to give birth) conjugates only in the feminine gender.◄

अच आदेर्लोपश्च; गछ्होऽन्त्यस्यैव –57/58[88]. According to these sutras the initial vowel of √*ač* (to enter) is dropped and initial vowel of suffix is converted into -*ā* and the resulting forms are- *čāv/čāyi*, *čāyov*, *čāyāv* etc. The verb √*gačh* is used in the sense of 'going' and 'to be suitable' (गछ गतौ युक्तीभवने). In the sense of 'going' the initial letter of suffix is not converted into -*ā* but the final letter (*čh*) of *gačh* is dropped (अस्य धातोर्गतौ विषये अन्त्याक्षरस्यैव लोपो भवति न प्रत्ययादिस्वरस्याकारः), such as- *gŏv*, *gəy* etc.

►It has been explained earlier (see sutra 53) that √*ač* and √*gačh* belong to the category of verbs whose past tense is formed by transforming the entire root into a distinct form. Their past tense is formed by the addition of conjugational suffixes to the transformed bases of these verbs (see sutra 53).◄

मरश्चापुंभूते; पिगछ्होः स्त्रियामत्प्रत्ययस्वरस्य –59/60[89]. According to sutra 59 the final letter of √*mar* (to die) is dropped in all forms except in proximate past masculine. The examples are- *mvyi* (she died), *mvyov/mvyāv* (he did die), *mvyey* (she did die). The initial vowel of the affix is dropped with verbs √*pi* (to fall down) and √*gačh* (to go), such as- *pyaya* (she/they fell down), *pyayakh* (you fem.sg. fell

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[88] *ačāderlopaśca; gatau gačho antyasyaiva* : ------ ibid ----- 8/3/-57/58 p. 246

[89] maraścāpumbhūte ; pigačhohstriyāmatpratyayasvarasya :
---- ---- ibid -------- 8/3/-59/60 p. 247

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down), *pyayav* (you fem. plu. fell down), *gay* (she/they went), *gayakh* (you fem. sg. went), *gayav* (you fem. plu. went), *gayas* (I fem. went), *gay* (we fem. went). In his explanation of the sutra the author has repeated the same process of addition of *–ey*, augment of *–y*, deletion of *–y* and conversion of initial vowel of suffix into *–a* etc.

▶As explained earlier (see 8/3/26) *-r* at end of verb √*mar* converts into *–d* and *–a* preceding *–r* (√*mar*) is replaced by *-ū* in the proximate past tense masculine singular and plural, e.g., ***mūd*** (he died), ***mūd̃*** (they died), ***mūdukh*** (you sg. died), ***mūdivü*** (you plu. died), ***mūdus*** (I died), ***mūd̃*** (we died). The feminine forms are pronounced as *mɔyi* (she died), *mɔyey* (she did die) and not as *mvyi* and *mvyey* as cited by the author. √*pi* is erroneously conceived as the verb root for 'to fall down'. It is actually pronounced as √*pĕ*. *-čh* of √*gačh* is dropped in the past tense and it takes the same conjugational affixes which are employed with √*pĕ* such as- ***p̃av/pĕyi***; ***p̃okh/pevü***, ***p̃os/pĕyi***; ***gav/gəyi***; ***gokh/gəvü***; ***gos/gəyi*** (see sutra 48अ).

मध्यमानेकत्वे यत् –61[90]. According to this sutra *–y* is augmented to form the feminine second person singular and plural of √*pĕ* and √*gačh*, such as- *pyayav* (you fem. plu. fell down), *gayav* (you fem. plu.went).

▶As stated earlier, *-y* is augmented with some roots before the suffix (see 8/3/39) to indicate the masculine or feminine of a past action. The joining of *–y* with *–ĕ* of √*pĕ* results in the optional palatalization of the preceding consonant. To make the statement lucid, shown below is the conjugation of √*pĕ* and √*gačh* in all the three types of past action:

Proximate Past

√*pĕ*

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	**p̃av**	**pĕyi**	**pĕyi**	**pĕyi**
II	**p̃okh**	**pevü**	**pĕyakh**	**pĕyivü**
I	**p̃os**	**pĕyi**	**pĕyas**	**pĕyi**

90 *madhyamānekatve yat* : -------- ibid ---------- 8/3/61 p. 248

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√gačh				
III	**gav**	gəyi	gəyi	gəyi
II	**gokh**	gāvü	gəyakh	gāvü
I	**gos**	gəyi	gəyas	gəyi
Aorist				
√pě				
III	**pěyo**	pěye	pěye	pěye
II	**pěyokh**	pěyevü	pěyekh	pěyevü
I	**pěyos**	pěye	pěyas	pěye
√gačh				
III	**gəyo**	gəye	gəye	gəye
II	**gəyokh**	gəyevü	gəyekh	gəyevü
I	**gəyos**	gəye	gəyes	gəye
Past Perfect				
III	**p̃omut os**	pemüt̃ āsˆ	pemüč ās	pemüčü āsü
II	**p̃omut osukh**	pemüt̃ āsivü	pemüč āsükh	pemüčü āsüvü
I	**p̃omut osus**	pemüt̃ āsˆ	pemüč āsüs	pemüčü āsü
√gačh				
III	**gomut os**	gāmüt̃ āsˆ	gāmüč ās	gāmüčü āsü
II	**gomut osukh**	gāmüt̃ āsivü	gāmüč āsükh	gāmüčü āsüvü
I	**gomut osus**	gāmüt̃ āsˆ	āmüč āsüs	gāmüčü āsü

The above given conjugation shows that *–y* is augmented with *√pě* and *√gačh* before the feminine suffixes in the proximate past and aorist while as *–p* of *√pě* is palatalized in masculine singular of proximate past as well as past perfect tenses. The forms *pyayav* and *gayav* are notare not in use.

डेषब्यहरोषमषां ठः सर्वत्र –62[91]. The final consonants of verbs *ḍeś* (to see/ to be faced with), *běh* (to sit), *roś* (to sulk) and *maś* (to be forgotten) converts into *–ṭh* in all types of past tenses, such as- *ḍūṭhum* (saw mas. sg. object), *ḍūṭhin* (saw mas. plu. objects), *ḍūṭhūn* (saw fem. sg. object), *ḍechan* (saw fem. plu. object). The author further says that

[91] *ḍeṣbyaharoṣamaṣām ṭhah sarvatra* : --------- ibid --------- 8/3/62 p. 248

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-un is added to form the masculne singular *ḏūṭhun*. In the masculine plural *–un* is replaced by *–in* → *ḏīṭhin*. According to एकत्वे ऊमात्रादेशः (sutra 8) if the object of the transitive verb is feminine singular, the initial vowel of suffix becomes *-ū* as in *ḏīṭhūn* and *–ṭh* is replaced by *–ch* if the receiver of action is feminine plural, such as- *ḏecheyan*, *ḏechyān*, *ḏechyeyan* etc. According to फेरब्यहमेलां च *–e/ĕ* of the intransitive root √*bĕh* (to sit) becomes *-yū* → *byūṭh* ~ *b̃ūṭh* and *-ī* → *bīṭh* (they sat down/stayed) in the past tense singular and plural respectively. In the masculine *–o* of *roṣ* converts into *-ū* → *rūṭh* / *rūṭh*. Vowel *-a* proximate to initial letter of √*maṣ* converts into *aprasiddha vowel -ŏ*, such as- *maṣ* → *mŏṭh* (got forgotten).

►Use of alveolar *–ṣ* (ष) in *ḏeṣ* (to see), *roṣ* (to sulk) and *maṣ* (डेषरोषमषां) is incorrect. These words are actually pronounced as *ḏeś*, *roś* and *maś*. The proximate past tense forms of these verbs are- *ḏeś* →. *ḏūṭh/ḏūṭh* (III per. sg./plu. saw mas. sg. object), *ḏūṭhuṭh/ ḏūṭhüvü* (II per. sg./plu. saw mas. sg. object), *ḏūṭh/ḏūṭh* (I per. sg./plu. saw mas. sg. object); *ḏīṭh/ ḏīṭh* (III per. sg./plu. saw mas. plu. objects), *ḏīṭhiṭh/ ḏīṭhivü* (II per. sg./plu. saw mas. plu.. objects), *ḏīṭh/ ḏīṭh* (I per. sg./plu. saw mas. plu. objects); *maś* → *mŏṭh/mŏṭh* (mas. sg. object is lost to the memory of III per.sg./plu. subject/s), *mŏṭhuy/mŏṭhüvü* (mas. sg. object is lost to the memory of II per.sg./plu. doer/s), *mŏṭh/mŏṭh* (mas. sg. object is lost to the memory of I per.sg./plu subject/s), *maṭh/maṭh* (mas. plu. objects are lost to the memory of III per.sg./plu. subject/s), *maṭhiy/maṭhivü* (mas. plu. objects are lost to the memory of II per.sg./plu.subject/s), *maṭh/maṭh* (mas. plu. objects are lost to the memory of I per.sg./plu.subject/s). *roś* and *bĕh* are intransitive verbs and, therefore, occur subjectively in the past tense, such as- *roś* → *su/tim rūṭh/rūṭh* (he/they sulked), *čü/tŏhya rūṭhukh/rūṭhiv* (you mas. sg./plu. sulked), *bü/əs̃ rūṭhus/rūṭh* (I/we mas. sulked), *bĕh* → *su/tim b̃ūṭh/bīṭh* (he/she sat down), *čü/tŏhya b̃ūṭhukh/bīṭhivü* (you mas. sg./plu. sat down), *bü/əs̃ b̃ūṭhus/bīṭh* (I/we mas. sat down).

It is important to note that *–ś* of *ḏeś*, *roś* and *maś* is optionally converted into *–ṭh* and *ḏūś/dūś*, *rūś/rūś*, *mŏś/məś* and *ḏūṭh/dūṭh*, *rūṭh/rūṭh*, *mŏṭh/maṭh* are used interchangeably. Addition of

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pronominal suffixes *–un* and *–in* to the transitive roots, e.g., *ḍeś* → *ḍūśun/ḍīśin* (III per. mas. sg. saw mas. sg./plu. object/s) provide information regarding the number, gender and person of both, the doer as well as the receiver of action. Addition and deletion of *chuh* (तस्य छुह आदेशः छहोर्लोपश्च[92]) is fallacious and, therefore, uncalled for.◄

क्चह्वचोस्तः –63[93]. *–č* at the end of the roots √*küč* (to become wet) and √*hɔč* (to rot) is always converted into *–t* in the past tense, such as- *ktu* (sg. object became wet), *kti* (plu. object became wet), *kčyov* (did become wet), *hvatu* (rotted), *hvačov* (did rot) etc.

►*-č* at the end of *küč* is very rarely replaced by *–t*. The word *kut*[94] although listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary is not in use in the present day Kashmiri. The most commonly employed past tense terms of *küč* are *küčav* (became wet), *küčeyo* (did become wet), *küčomut os* (had become wet). *–č* of *hɔč* is usually replaced by *–t* to signify masculine singular or plural object/s. It occurs unchanged while referring to feminine objects. The examples are: *čūnḍh/čūnḍh hŏt/hŏt̃* (the apple/s rotted), *čūnḍh/čūnḍh hɔčeyo/hɔčeye* (the apple/s did rot) *čūnḍh/čūnḍh os/ɔ̄s hŏtümut/ hŏtimüt̃* (the apple/s had rotten), *dach hŏč* (the grapes rotted), *dach hŏčeye* (the grapes did rot), *dach ɔ̄s hŏčümüč* (the grapes had rotten).◄

दजरोज़वोपज़ां दः –64[95]. According to this sutra *–z* at the final position of √*daz* (to burn), √*roz* (to stay) and √*vɔpaz* (to grow) converts into *–d*, such as- *dadu* (mas. sg. burnt), *dadi* (mas. sg. burnt), *rūdu* (mas. sg. stayed), *rūdi* (mas. plu. stayed), *vɔpadu* (mas. sg. grew), *vɔpadi* (mas. plu. grew).

►The forms *dadu/dadi*, *rūdu/rūdi* and *vɔpadu/vɔpadi*, cited by the author as illustrations, are incorrectly spelled. These terms are actually pronounced as *dŏd*, *dəd*; *rūd*, *rūd̃* and *vɔpüḍav*, *vɔpüḍeyi* respectively. It is important to note that *–z* at the final position of

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92 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 248

93 *küčhɔčostah* : ---------- ibid ---------8/3/63 p. 249

94 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 22

95 *dazrozvɔpazām dah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/64 p. 250

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√*daz*, √*roz* and √*vɔpaz* does not always convert into –*d*. In other words, –*z* at the final position of these roots remains unchanged in the feminine forms, such as- *dəz*, *dazü*; *rūz*, *rozü* and *vɔpüz/vɔpüzeyi*. The process of addition and deletion of auxiliary *chu*, *chih* in formation of the above cited terms, repeated by the author in his explanation of the suta (तयोः छुह् छिह् आदेशौ), is irrelevant and beyond one's understanding.◀

मरश्च मरणेऽस्त्रियाम् –65[96]. –*r* of √*mar* (to die) changes into –*d* in the masculine forms, such as- *mūd* (he died), *mūd̃* (they died).

▶The past tense forms of √*mar* have been described at various places in this chapter, such as- मरश्च (sutra 26), मरो वकारः (sutra 30), मरश्चापुंभूते (sutra 59) etc. This repetition could have been avoided.◀

खसवसोस्थः सर्वत्र –66[97]. √*khas* means to go/climb up and √*vas* means to come/climb down. –*s* at the end of these words converts into –*th* in the masculine forms while as in the feminine forms –*th* is replaced by –*čh*. The examples are: *khathu* (he climbed up), *vathu* (he climbed down), *khačhū* (she climbed up), *vačhū* (she climbed down).

▶–*s* at the end of √*khas* and √*vas* converts into –*t* and -*th* in the masculine forms and –*č* and –*čh* in the feminine forms and not only in –*th* and –*čh* as given by the author. The words cited above as examples are actually pronounced as *khŏt* (he went/climbed up), *vŏth* (he came/climbed down), *khəč* (she climbed up), *vəčh* (she came/climbed down). The forms *khathu*, *vathu*, *khačhū* and *vačhū* are incorrect and unintelligible (see 8/3/96).◀

लसश्च स्त्रियाम् –67[98]. √*las* means to live a blessed life. According to this sutra –*s* of *las* optionally converts into –*th* such as- *luchū*, *lāchi*.

▶This sutra is a repetition of sutras लसश्च, स्त्रियामेकत्वानेकत्वे ------ अन्तिमः सर्वत्र (27-29) and लसश्च पुंभूते (33). -*las*, as stated

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96

97 *marašca maraṇe-astriyām* : ------- ibid ------- 8/3/65 p. 250

98 *khasvasosthah* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/3/66 p. 251
lasašca striyām : ------- ibid ------- 8/3/67 p. 251

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earlier, is a blessing conveying term most commonly used in the benedictive mood in the second and third person singular and plural, such as- *las/ləsiv* (may you mas./fem.sg./plu. live a blessed life), *ləsin* (may he/she/they live a blessed life). The forms cited above as examples indicate that the author has wrongly perceived these terms. Consequently, these terms have been incorrectly spelled which has made them incomprehensible. A non Kashmiri speaker will not be able to locate these forms even in the Kashmiri Dictionary (see 8/3/96).◀

अनादेशकर्तृधातुभूतादौ नो आदेशाः –६८[99]. The conjugation of verb roots, whose subjective affixes are not evinced, do not indicate any alteration in the base in proximate past, aorist and past perfect tenses of action (तेषां भूतसामान्यभूतपूर्णभूतेषु वक्ष्यमाणा आदेशाः नो भवन्ति), such as- *kraṭyov* (became emaciated), *kraṭyāv* (did become emaciated), *kraṭiyāv* (had become emaciated), *zeṭhyov* (lengthened/prolonged/became long), *zeṭhyāv* (did lengthen/prolong), *zeṭhiyāv* (had lengthened/prolonged), *buḍyauv* (aged), *buḍyāv* (did age), *buḍiyāv* (had aged), *kānyov* (became one eyed), *kānyāv* (did become one eyed), *kāniyāv* (had become one eyed), *ṭhīkyov* (recuperated), *ṭhīkyāv* (did recuperate), *ṭhīkiyāv* (had recuperated), *swagyov* (became cheaper), *swagyāv* (did become cheaper), *swagiyāv* (had become cheaper), *tatyov* (became warm), *tatyāv* (did become warm), *tatiyāv* (had become warm), *tanyov* (became thin), *tanyāv* (did become thin), *taniyāv* (had become thin). The author further says that *–ov*, *-āv* and *-āv* suffixex are employed with these roots, *-y* is augmented and according to sutra 50 *–i* is added before *–y*.

▶Affix *–ŏv* is a socio-regional allomorph of the proximate past denoting suffix *–av* → *kraṭav* ~ *kraṭŏv*, *zeṭhav* ~ *zeṭhŏv*, *taṭav* ~ *taṭŏv* etc. The forms ending in *-iyāv* such as- *kraṭiyāv*, *zeṭhiyāv*, *buḍiyāv*, *ṭhīkiyāv*, *swagiyāv* etc. are not in use. The fact is that the roots, cited above, take the same past tense denoting conjugational terminations as are employed with other verb roots. For clear understanding of the

[99] *anādeśakartRdhātubhūtādau no ādeśāh* : ------- ibid ------ 8/3/68 p. 252

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statement, the conjugation of one of these verb roots in the proximate past, aorist and past perfect tenses is shown as follows:

Proximate Past:

√*kraṭ* (to become emaciated)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	**krĕṭ̃av**	**krĕṭeyi**	**krĕṭeyi**	**krĕṭeyi**
II	**krĕṭ̃okh**	**krĕṭevü**	**krĕteyakh**	**krĕṭevü**
I	**krĕṭ̃os**	**krĕṭeyi**	**krĕṭeyas**	**krĕṭeyi**

Aorist:

III	**krĕṭeyo**	**krĕṭeye**	**krĕṭeye**	**krṭeyi**
II	**krĕṭeyokh**	**krĕṭeyevü**	**krĕteyekh**	**krĕṭeyevü**
I	**krĕṭeyos**	**krĕṭeye**	**krĕṭeyas**	**krĕṭeye**

Past Perfect:

III	**krĕṭ̃omut** os	**krĕṭemüt̃** ə̃s	**krĕṭemüč** əs	**krĕṭemüčü** āsü
II	**krĕṭ̃omut**	**krĕṭemüt̃**	**krĕṭemüč**	**krĕṭemüčü**
	osukh	ə̃sivü	əsükh	āsüvü
I	**krĕṭ̃omut**	**krĕṭemüt̃** ə̃s	**krĕṭemüč**	**krĕṭemüčü**
	osus		əsüs	āsü◄

सामान्यपूर्णयोष्टवर्गस्य चवर्गः −69[100]. The alveolar stops at the end of all subjective, Objective and impersonal verb root, except those referred to in the above mentioned sutra, convert into the corresponding palatal stops in the aorist and past perfect tenses. (अनादेश व्यतिरिक्तानां शिष्टानां कर्तृभावकर्मधातूनां सर्वेषां सामान्यभूते च टवर्गस्य कमेण चवगदिशो भवति). The examples are: *čecyon* (did pound), *čecyān* (had pounded), *ḍechyon* (did see/detect), *ḍechyān* (had seen/detected), *ganjyon* (did tie/pack), *ganjyān* (had tied/packed), *rañon* (did cook), *rañān* (had cooked) etc.

►The forms *čecyon*, *ḍechyon*, *ganjyon*, *rañon* and *čecyān*, *ḍechyān*, *ganjyān*, *rañān* are semantically analogous and refer to the aorist or remote past tense of an action without further information regarding its completion. The palatal sounds *c*, *ch* and *j* do not occur

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[100] *sāmānyapūrṇayoṣṭavargasya cavargah* : -------- ibid ----- 8/3 69 p. 253

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combined with *–y* → *čecyon/čecyān*, *ḍechyon/ḍechyān*, *ganjyon/ganjyān* as have been listed by the author. These are actually pronounced as *čecon/čecān*, *ḍešon/ḍešān*, *ganjon/ganjān* respectively. Thus, the assertion regarding augment of *–y* (यागमः)[101] does not apply to terms ending in a palatal sound. The alveolar stops at the end of verb roots optionally convert into the corresponding palatal stops in the aorist or remote past while as in other types of past tenses these sounds do not undergo any alteration. The conjugation shown below will make the statement lucid-

Proximate Past

√*čeṭ* (to pestle)		√*ganḍ* (to pestle)	
Mas./Fem. singular doer			
Mas. object		Mas. object	
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III čũṭ	čīṭ̃	gŏnḍ	gan̐d̃
II čũṭuth	čīṭ̃ith	gŏnḍuth	gan̐dith
I čũṭ	čīṭ̃	gŏnḍ	gan̐d̃

Aorist

Mas./Fem. singular doer			
Mas. object		Mas. object	
III **čeco**	**čece**	**ganjo**	**ganje**
II čeṭoth/coth	čīṭeth/ceth	ganj/ḍoth	ganj/deth
I **čeco**	**čece**	**ganjo**	**ganje**

Past Perfect

Mas./Fem. singular doer			
Mas. object		Mas. object	
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III čũṭ**ümut** os	čīṭ̃**imüt̃** ə̃s	gŏnḍ**ümut** os	gan̐d**imüt̃** ə̃s
II čũṭ**ümut** osuth	čīṭ̃**imüt̃** ə sith	gŏnḍ**ümut** osuth	gan̐ḍ**imüt̃** ə sith
I čũṭ**ümut** os	čīṭ̃**imüt̃** ə̃s	gŏnḍ**ümut** os	gan̐ḍ**imüt̃** ə̃s

101 -------- ibid -------- p.253

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The verb roots to denote "to see/detect" and "to show displeasure" are √*ḍeś* and √*roś* respectively which actually end in a palatal sound (*ś*) and not an alveolar sound (*ṣ-ḍeṣ/roṣ*) as given by the author. Conversion of *–ṣ* into *-ṭh* (षकारस्य ठकारः) and augment of *–y* with *–ṭh* is incomprehensible and uncalled for. The dental *–n* at the end of the root is palatalized only if it is not followed by a vowel. The past tense forms of √*ḍeś*, √*roś* and √*ran* are shown below:

Proximate Past

	√*ḍeś (to see/detect)*		√*ran (to cook)*	
Mas./Fem. singular doer				
	Mas. object		Mas. object	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	ḏ̃ūś/ḏ̃ūṭh	ḍīś	rŏn	rəñ
II	ḏ̃ūś**uth**	ḏ̃īś**ith**	rŏn**uth**	rəni**th**
I	ḏ̃ūś	ḍīś	rŏn	rəñ

Aorist

Mas./Fem. singular doer				
	Mas. object		Mas. object	
III	ḍeś**o**	ḍeś**e**	rañ**o**	rañ**e**
II	ḏ̃eśoth	ḏ̃eśeth	rañoth	rañeth
I	ḍeś**o**	ḍeś**e**	rañ**o**	rañ**e**

Past Perfect

Mas./Fem. singular doer				
	Mas. object		Mas. object	
III	ḏ̃ūś**ümut** os	ḏ̃īś**imüt̃** əs̃	rŏn**ümut** os	rəni**müt̃** əs̃
II	ḏ̃ūś**ümut** osuth	ḏ̃īś**imüt̃** əsith	rŏn**ümut** osuth	rəni**müt̃** əsith
I	ḏ̃ūś**ümut** os	ḏ̃īś**imüt̃** əs̃	rŏn**ümut** os	rəni**müt̃** əs̃

√*roś* (to be displeased)

Proximate Past

	Mas. agent		Fem. agent	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	rūś	rūś	rūś	ro**śi**
II	rūś**ukh**	rūś**ivü**	rūś**ikh**	ro**śivü**

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I	**rūśus**	**rūś**	**rūśis**	**roś**i

Aorist

	Mas. agent		Fem. agent	
III	**roś**eyo	**roś**eye	**roś**eye	**roś**eye
II	**roś**eyokh	**roś**eyevü	**roś**eyokh	**roś**eyevü
I	**roś**eyos	**roś**eye	**roś**eyes	**roś**eye

Past Perfect

	Mas. agent	
III	**rūśümut** os	**rūśimüt̃** ə̃s̃
II	**rūśümut** osukh	**rūśimüt̃** ə sivü
I	**rūśümut** osus	**rūśimüt̃** ə̃s̃ ◀

सादेशभूतकर्तृकर्मिणोरनेकत्वे च स्त्रियाम् –70[102]. This sutra is a continuation of the previous sutra. According to this sutra the alveolar stops at the end of verb roots, transitive as well as intransitive, always convert into the corresponding palatal stops in past tense feminine plurals. The examples are: *phaṭū* (she drowned) → *phacya* (they drowned), *maṭhū* (she is forgotten) → *machya* (they are forgotten), *bvaḍū* → (she became wet) *bvajya* (they became wet), *čecyan* (pounded fem. plu.), *ḍechyan* (saw fem. plu.), *ganjyan* (tied fem. plu.), *rañan* (cooked fem. plu.).

►In proximate past and past perfect tenses the alveolar stop *–ṭ* at the end of the verb root converts into the corresponding palatal stop *–c* to form the feminine plural while it occurs unaltered in the feminine singular, such as- *nāv phəṭ* (the boat sank), *nāvü phaci* (the boats sank), *nāv ās phəṭümüč* (the boat had sunk), *nāvü āsü phacimüčü* (the boats had sunk). In the aorist *–ṭ* is replaced by *–c* in the feminine singular as well, such as- *nāv phace* (the boat did sink), *nāvü phaceyi* (the boats did sink). The verb root for "to be forgotten" is √*maś* and not √*maṣ* or √*maṭh* as given by the author. *sə məṭh* (she got forgotten) denotes proximate past feminine singular while as its feminine plural is *tim maśi* (they got forgotten). The forms *phaṭū*, *phacya*, *maṭhū* and *bvaḍū* cited above have been incorrectly spelled by the

[102] sādeśabhūtakartRkarmiṇoranekatve ca striyām : ------ ibid ---- 8/3/70 p. 254

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author. The terms *machya* and *bwajya* are unintelligible and are not used in speech. The verb root for "to become wet" is pronounced as √*bɔḍ* and its past tense *feminine* forms are as shown below:

Proximate Past

Aorist

√*bɔḍ* (to become wet)

	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	bɔḍeyi	bɔḍeyi	bɔḍeye	bɔḍeye
II	bɔḍeyakh	bɔḍevü	bɔḍeyekh	bɔḍeyevü
I	bɔḍeyas	bɔḍeyi	bɔḍeyes	bɔḍeye

Past Perfect

	Sg.	Plu.
III	bɔḍemüč ās	bɔḍemüčü āsü
II	bɔḍemüč āsükh	bɔḍemüčü āsüvü
I	bɔḍemüč āsüs	bɔḍemüčü āsü

čecyan (pounded fem. plu.), *ḍechyan* (saw fem. plu.) and *ganjyan* are actually pronounced as *čecan*, *ḍeśan* and *ganjan* respectively.

कवर्गस्यैकत्वेऽपि –71[103]. According to this sutra, *-k*, *-kh* and *–g* at the end of the transitive as well as intransitive roots, whose past tense terminations are evinced, also convert, in the aorist and past perfect tense, into the corresponding palatal stops in the feminine singular and plural, such as- *thacū* (fem. sg. got tired), *thacya* (fem. plu. got tired), *hvachū* (fem. sg. dried), *hvachya* (fem. plu. dried), *lajū* (fem. sg. proved useful), *lajya* (fem. plu. proved useful), *chačūn* (scattered fem. sg. object), *chacyan* (scattered fem. plu. objects), *līchūn* (wrote fem. sg. object), *lechyan*(wrote fem. sg. object), *dajūn* (pounded fem. sg. object), *dajyan* (pounded fem. sg. object). The author repeats the same procedure of addition of *chuh/chih*, deletion of *–ch* and *–h*, conversion of *–u/i* into *–y* to derive the past tense forms cited above by the author as examples. The author further says, "the feminine

[103] *kavargasyaikatve api* : ---------- ibid --------- 8/3/71 p. 256

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singular is derived by changing *–u* into *-ū* (उकारस्य एकत्वे ऊमात्रादेशः)[104]".

▶ The assertions regarding addition of *chuh/chih*, deletion of *–ch* and *–h*, conversion of *–u/i* into *–y* to derive the past tense of the verbs like √*thak* (to be tired), √*hɔkh* (to become dry), √*chakh* (to scatter), √*lekh* (to write) and √*dag* (to pound) and derivation of feminine singular of the given roots by conversion of *–u* into *-ū* are gratuitous. The formation of the given words is misconceived and accordingly incorrectly spelled. The palatal sounds are *c ch j* are understood as combined with *–y* → *thacya*, *chacyan* etc., the feminine singular term are assumed as *-ū* ending *līchūn*, *dajūn* which does not fit in the morphological structure of Kashmiri vocabulary. The actual forms are, as are in use, *thəc* (fem. sg. got tired), *thaci* (fem. plu. got tired), *hŏch* (fem. sg. dried), *hɔchi* (fem. plu. dried), *ləj* (fem. sg. became of use), *laji* (fem. plu. became of use), *chĕčin* (scattered fem. sg. object), *chĕcan* (scattered fem. plu. objects), *līchin* (wrote fem. sg. object), *lechan*(wrote fem. sg. object), *dəjin* (pounded fem. sg. object), *dajan* (pounded fem. sg. object).

तवर्गस्याप्रसिद्धः सर्वत्र सामान्यादौ –72[105]. In the aorist and past perfect tenses the dental stops at the end of the verb roots always convert, in the subjective as well as objective use, into the corresponding *aprasiddha* dental sounds in the feminine singular and plural. The examples are: *kačūn* (fem. sg. oject was spun by him सूत्रिता सा तेन[106]), *kačan* (fem. plu. object was spun by him सूत्रितास्तास्तेन[107]), *mačūn* (fem. sg. object was rubbed by him), *mačhan* (fem. plu. object was rubbed by him), *mačhāyan* (he had rubbed fem. object लिलेप तां सः[108]), *lazūn* (fem. object was sent by him), *lazan* (fem. objects were sent by him), *lazāyan* (he had sent fem. object प्रेषयामास तां सः[109]). The author in his explanation of the

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104 ------- ibid ------ p. 256

105 tavargasyāprasiddhah sarvatra sāmānyādau : -------- ibid ------ 8/3/72 p. 257

106 ---------- ibid -------- p. 257

107 ---------- ibid -------- p. 257

108 ---------- ibid -------- p. 257

109 ---------- ibid -------- p. 257

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sutra says that √*kat* is used in the sense of 'spinning', √*math* means 'to rub' and, √*lad* is used to denote 'construction of house' and 'to send'. The examples of intransitive verbs are: √*vvath* (to stand up) → *vvačhū/vačha* (she/they stood up), √*daz* (to burn) → *dazū/daza* (she/they burnt), √*vāt* (to arrive) →*vāčū/vāča* (she/ they arrived).

▶Conversion of dental stops (*t*, *th*, *d*) at the end of the base (noun, adjective or verb) into corresponding dental affricates (*č*, *čh*, *z*) is a general peculiarity of Kashmiri and has been repeatedly discussed by the author. The verb √*kat* (to spin) occurs in the masculine gender only. The reason is that √*kat* (to spin) is a transitive verb which, in past tense, coordinates with its object in number and gender. The objects of √*kat* (to spin) *phamb* (cotton) and *pashmīnü* (wool of a specific type of goat) etc. are masculine objects and accordingly the given verb also takes the masculine terminations. The forms *kəč*, *kačan* are not used in speech. Besides, the forms cited above by the author are incorrectly spelled. √*math* occurs in both i.e., masculine as well as feminine genders. The proximate past feminine singular and plural of √*math* (to apply/rub) are actually pronounced as *məčh* and *mačhü* respectively. Its aorist and past perfect feminine singular and plural are *mače* (did rub/apply sg./plu. object/s) and *məčhümüč āsˇ* (had rubbed / applied fem sg. object) *mačhümüčü āsü* (had rubbed/applied fem plu. object). The proximate past, aorist and past perfect feminine (third person) forms of √*vəth* are- *vəčh* (she stood up), *vačhü* (they stood up); *vače* (she/they did stand up); *vəčhümüč āsˇ* (she had stood up), *vačhümüčü āsü* (they had stood up). Similarly, *tami ləz šěch* (she sent the message), *tami lazü šěchi* (she sent messages); *tami laze šěchi* (she did send message/s); *tami āsˇ šěch ləzümüč* (she had sent message), *tami āsü šěchi lazümüčü* (she had sent messages) etc..

Further, the author, in his explanation says that the verb root for 'to burn' is '√daz'. According to sutra 64 (दज़रोजवोंपज़ां दः) *–z* of *daz* converts into *–d* and according to sutra 12 (अप्रसिद्धचवर्गादिकारः) *–d* is repaced by *–z*. This statement of author is beyond one's understanding. The conversion of *–z* into *–d* and back to *–z* is not justifiable. The fact is that √*daz* ends in a dental affricate sound and,

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therefore, cannot be included in the category of verb roots which have a dental stop at the end. The assertions regarding addition of auxiliaries like *chuh*, *chih* etc., deletion of *ch-* and *-h* of auxiliaries, replacement of *–u* by *–y* is uncalled for and futile exercise.◀

नान्तस्य ञः ; लान्तस्य जः –73/74[110]. According to these sutras - *n* and *–l* at the end of the root changes into *–ñ* and *–j* in the aorist and past perfect tenses respectively, such as- *rañon* (III per. sg. did cook mas. object), *rañān* (III per. sg. had cooked mas. object), *čhyañ* (III per. fem. sg. got cut), *čhyaña* (III per. fem. plu. got cut), *rañan* (III per. sg. cooked fem. objects), *rañūn* (III per. sg. cooked fem. object), *pājūn* (III per. sg. fostered her), *pājyan* (III per. sg. fostered them fem.), *pājyeyan* (III per. sg. had fostered her/them), *vājūn* (III per. sg. shifted fem. object down), *vājyeyan* (III per. sg. had shifted her/them down). The examples of intransitive verbs are- *čəjū* (III per. fem.sg. ran away), *čajya* (III per. fem. plu. ran away), *phvajū* (III per. fem.sg. became worn out), *phvajya* (III per. fem.plu. became worn out).

▶ It has been discussed earlier also that while as the dental stops convert into corresponding dental affricates, the dental nasal (*–n*) at the end of the base usually converts into the palatal nasal (*-ñ*), such as- √*ran* (to cook) → *təmi rəñ sabzī* (she cooked the vegetable dish), *tami rəñi sabziyi* (she cooked the vegetable dishes), *təmi rəñe sabzī* (she did cook the vegetable dish), *təmi ās rəñimüč sabzī* (she had cooked the vegetable dish). The aorist form *rəñen* is semantically similar to *rañān*. *rañūn* is incorrect. The past perfect (fem. sg.) of √*ran* is *tami ās sabzī rəñimüč* (she had cooked the vegetable dish). Similarly, aorist and past perfect tense feminine forms of √*čhan* are *čhěñ*, *čhěñi* (got cut/snapped sg./plu.), *čhěñeyi* (did get cut sg./plu.) and *čhěñimüč ās* (had got cut/snapped). *–l* always changes into *–j* but it does not occur combined with *–y* as spelled by the author. In other words *pājūn*, *pājyan*, *pājyeyan*, *vājūn*, *vājyeyan* are actually pronounced as *pājin*, *pājan*, *pājeyen*, *vājin* and *vājeyen* respectively. The examples of intransitive verbs √*čal* (to run away) → *čəjū*, *čajya*

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[110] *nāntasya ñah; lāntasya jah* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/73 p. 258

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and √*phɔl* (to become worn out) → *phvajū*, *phvajya* are actually used as *čəj*, *čaji* and *phŏj*, *phɔji* respectively.◀

पिहमुहसहगुहचुहां शः −75[111]. *–h* at the end of the verb roots √*pih* (to grind), √*muh* (to fascinate), √*sah* (to endure/bear), √*güh* (to rub) and √*čüh* (to suck) changes into *–ś* in the aorist and past perfect tenses. The examples are: *piśūn* (grounded the fem. object पिष्टा सा), *piśyan* (grounded the fem. objects), *piśyeyan* (had grounded the fem. object), *muśūn* (fem. sg. got fascinated), *muśyan* (fem. plu. got fascinated), *muśyeyan* (fem. sg. had got fascinated), *saśūn* (endured fem. sg.), *saśyan* (endured fem. plu.), *saśyeyan* (had endured fem.sg.), *gaśūn* (grounded fem. sg. object), *gaśyan* (grounded fem. plu. objects), *gaśyeyan* (had grounded fem. sg. object), *čüśūn* (sucked fem. sg. object), *čaśyan* (sucked fem. plu. objects), *čaśyeyan* (had sucked fem.sg. object).

▶It is pertinent to mention that the verbs √*muh* and √*sah* are not found in use at least in the present day Kashmiri though these have been listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary as *muhun*[112] and *sühun*[113] respectively. The proximate past feminine singulars of √*pih*, √*güh* and √*čüh* are *piś*, *güś* and *čüś* respectively. By the addition of feminine singular pronominal objective affix *–ün* are formed *piśün*, *güśün* and *čüśün* respectively. The terms *piśūn*, *guśūn* and *čüśūn* have been incorrectly perceived. The aorist past perfect feminine singular (and aorist plural) of these verbs are *piśe*, *güśe*, *čüśe* and *pihmüč āṣ*, *gühmüč āṣ* and *čühmüč āṣ* respectively. It shows that *–h* does not always convert into *–ś*. In addition, *–ś* is a palatal sound and, as stated earlier, does not occur combined with *–y*. The forms *piśyan*, *piśyeyan*, *gaśyan*, *gaśyeyan*, *čaśyan* and *čaśyeyan* have, therefore, been wrongly perceived and spelled. These are transitive roots and, therefore, do not occur subjectively in the past tense.◀

111

112 *pihmuhsahgühčühām śah* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/75 p. 259

113 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol.vi, p. 229
-------- bid ------ vol. iv p. 214

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हहरस्तुमध्यान्त्यवर्णविनिमये वा –76[114]. The verb √*hahar* is used in the sense of 'to marry'. According to this sutra the optional interchange of place of the sounds in the medial and final positions of *hahar* i.e., *-r* and *–h*, results in the formation of *harah*. *–h* at the final position of *harah* changes into *–ś* and *harśūn* means 'married'.

▶The procedure regarding formation of *harśūn* is absurd. The fact is that verb √*hahar* is not used in speech. The term listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary is *hahrun bahrun* along with its synonymous term *həršun bəršun*.[115]. According to dictionary the term *hahrun-bahrun* or *həršun bəršun* means the preparations and arrangement made for marriage ceremony. The term is also used in the sense of 'to be done with the marriage of one's children'. The term *harśümut* or *harśümüč* signifies a married man or woman respectively. But, this term has also become obsolete.◀

थकपकोरोवादीनां पुंवर्तमानादेशाश्छ्होर्लोपश्च भूते –77[116]. The author in his explanation of the sutra says that *thak* means to be tired and *pak* means to walk. *-ov*, *-ey*, *-okh*, *-ev*, *-os* and *ey* are past tense denoting masculine suffixes. The masculine present tense denoting suffixes – *chuh*, *-chih*, *-chukh*, *-chiv*, *-chus*, *chih* are added. *–ch* and *–h* are dropped. According to sutra 10 (पुंकर्तृप्रत्ययोकारस्य स्त्रियां) the remaining *–u* becomes *-ū* and *–i* changes into *-y* in the past tense feminine subjective form. The examples are: *thaku* (III per. mas.sg. got tired), *thaki* (III per. mas.plu. got tired), *paku* (III per. mas.sg. walked), *paki* (III per. mas.plu. walked), *pakukh* (II per. mas.sg. walked), *pakiv* (II per. mas.plu. walked), *pakus* (I per. mas.sg. walked), *paki* (I per. mas.plu. walked). Besides, *-k* at the end of the root converts into *–c* and thus are formed *pacū* (III per. fem.sg. walked), *pacya* (III per. fem.plu. walked), *pacūkh* (III per. fem.sg. walked), *pacyav* (II per. fem.plu. walked), *pacūs* (I per. fem.sg. walked), *pacya* (I per. fem.sg. walked) and so on.

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[114] haharastumadhyāntyavarṇvinimaye vā : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/76 p.260

[115] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 228

[116] thakpakorovādīnām pumvartamānādeśāśchahorlopaśca : -KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/77 p.260

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▶The author's assertions and approach regarding formation of past tense feminine singular and plural forms of intransitive verbs are preposterous. The conjugation of intransitive roots has already been discussed (see sutras 10-12). Addition of auxiliary *–ch* conjugated in present tense and then deletion of its consonant parts is incomprehensible and unwanted. The proximate past tense of intransitive roots is formed either by replacement of sounds or by appending the past tense denoting suffixes directly to the verb roots, such as- √*pakh* (to walk) → *pəc* (she walked), ***paci*** (they fem. walked), ***pəcikh/pəcükh*** (you fem.sg. walked), ***pacivü*** (you fem.plu. walked), ***pəcis/pəcüs*** (I fem. walked), ***paci*** (we fem. walked). The forms *pacū*, *pacya*, *pacūkh*, *pacyav*, *pacūs*, *pacya* cited above by the author seem to be wrongly conceived and thus, incorrectly spelled. The masculine forms *thaku*, *thaki*, *paku*, *paki*, *pakukh*, *pakiv*, *pakus*, *paki* have also not been correctly lettered. These are actually pronounced as *thŏk*, *thək̃*, *pŏk*, *pək̃*, ***pŏkukh***, *pəkivü*, *pŏkus*, *pək̃*.◀

ओवावादयः सामान्यपूर्णयोः –78[117]. According to author's explanation of the sutra the aorist and past perfect tense of verbs, whose proximate past tense is formed by the substitution of present tense suffixes -*chu*, -*chi* etc., are formed by the addition of *–ov* and -*āv* respectively. (येषां धातूनां भूतविषये वर्तमान प्रत्ययादेशो भवति तेषां सामान्यभूते ओव् आदयः पूर्णभूते आवादयः प्रत्ययाः अवगन्तव्याः[118]). The examples are: *pacyov* (III per. mas.sg. did walk), *pacyāv* (had walked).

▶The assertion भूतविषये वर्तमान प्रत्ययादेशो भवति is, as stated earlier, illogical. The aorist III per. mas.sg.of √*pakh* is *paco* or *pacāv* (→ regional variant) while as its past perfect is ***pŏkümut os*** (had walked). It clearly indicates that the past tense in Kashmiri is formed either by alteration of sounds within the internal structure of the root or by appending past tense affixes directly to the root or by the past participle verb supported by the auxiliary in the past tense (see 8/3/1-

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117 ovāvādayah sāmānyapūrṇayoh : ---------- ibid ------- 8/3/78 p. 261

118 ------- ibid -------- p. 261

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26,53). The addition of present tense denoting auxiliaries *–chu, -chi* etc. and subtraction of its consonant components is utterly absurd.◄

समख ह्वख्यो खात्; तगश्वंगलगां गात् –79/80[119]. According to author's explanation of these sutras, the present tense suffixes (auxiliaries) are substituted in place of *–ov* and other suffixes to indicate the proximate past of verb roots which end in *–kh* and *–g* like √*samakh* (to meet/see), √*hɔkh* (to dry), √*tag* (to know), √*śɔṅg* (to sleep), √*lag* (to be of use). The aorist and past perfect tenses of these roots are formed by the addition of *–ov* and *-āv* respectively. The examples are: *samakhu* (III per mas.sg. met), *samakhi* (III per mas.plu. met), *samachi* (III per fem.sg. met), *samachya* (III per fem.plu. met), *hwakhu* (III per mas.sg. dried), *hwakhi* (III per mas.plu. dried), *hwachu* (III per fem.sg. dried), *hwachya* (III per fem.plu. dried), *tagu* (knew mas. sg.), *tagi* (knew mas. plu), *lagu* (mas. sg. was of use), *lagi* (mas..plu. was of use), *śwaṅgu* (III per mas.sg. slept), *śwaṅgi* (III per mas.plu. slept), *taju* (knew fem. sg), *tajya* (knew fem. plu.), *laju* (fem. sg. was of use), *lajya* (fem. plu. was of use), *śwaṅju* (III per fem.sg. slept), *śwaṅjya* (III per fem.plu. slept). The examples of aorist and past perfect are: *samakhyauv* (III per mas.sg. did meet), *samachyāv* (III per. mas.sg. had meet), *tajyov* (did know mas. sg.), *tajyāv* (had known), *lajyov* (did serve the purpose), *lajyāv* (had served the purpose), *śwaṅjov* (did sleep), *śwaṅjyāv* (had slept).

►The substitution of present tense auxiliaries *–chu, -chi*, deletion of *ch-* and *–h* and addition of *–u/-i* to verb roots to express proximate past is inappropriate. In addition, the proximate past tense forms ***samakhu***, ***samakhi***, ***samachi***, ***samachya***, ***hwakhu***, ***hwakhi***, ***hwachu***, ***hwachya***, ***tagu***, ***tagi***, ***lagu***, ***lagi***, ***śwaṅgu***, ***śwaṅgi***, ***taju***, ***tajya***, ***laju***, ***lajya***, ***śwaṅju***, ***śwaṅjya*** cited by the author in support of his assertions have also been incorrectly perceived. Shown below is the conjugation of the above cited verb roots in the past tense to make the explanation cogent:

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[119] *samakhhɔkho khāt ; tagśɔṅlagam gāt* : --------- ibid ------- 8/3/-79/80 p. 261-262

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Proximate Past

√*samakh* (to meet)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	samük̃**hav**	samük̃**heyi**	samük̃**heyi**	samük̃**heyi**
II	samük̃**hokh**	samük̃**hevü**	samük̃**heyakh**	samük̃**hevü**
I	samük̃**hos**	samük̃**heyi**	samük̃**heyas**	samük̃**heyi**

√*hɔkh* (to become dry)

III	hŏkh	hŏk̃h	**hŏch**	**hɔchi**
II	hŏkhukh	hŏkhivü	hŏchükh	hɔchivü
I	hŏkhus	hŏk̃h	hŏchüs	hɔchi

√*tag* (to know)

III	tŏg	tŏg	tŏg	tŏg
II	tŏguy	tŏgüvü	tŏguy	tŏgüvü
I	tŏg	tŏg	tŏg	tŏg

√*lag* (to be of use)

III	lŏg	ləg̃	ləj	**laji**
II	lŏgukh	ləgivü	ləjikh	lajivü
I	lŏgus	ləg̃	ləjis	laji

√*śɔṅg* (to sleep)

III	śŏṅg	śŏṅg̃	śŏṅj	**śɔṅji**
II	śŏṅg**ukh**	śŏṅg**ivü**	śŏṅg**ukh**	śŏṅg**ivü**
I	śŏṅgus	śŏṅg̃	śŏṅjis	śɔṅji

Similarly, the aorist and past perfect forms of these roots are as shown below:

Aorist

√*samakh*

III	samük̃**heyo**	samük̃**heye**	samük̃**heye**	samük̃**heye**
II	samük̃**heyokh**	samük̃**heyevü**	samük̃**heyekh**	amük̃**heyevü**
I	samük̃**heyos**	samük̃**heye**	samük̃**heyes**	samük̃**heye**

√*hɔkh*

III	hɔk̃heyo	hɔkheye	hɔcheye	hɔcheye
II	hɔk̃heyokh	hɔk̃heyevü	hɔcheyekh	hɔchevü

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I	hɔk̃heyos	hɔk̃heye	hɔches	hɔcheye

√*tag*

III	tajeyo	tajeyo	tajeyo	tajeyo
II	tajeyoy	tajeyovü	tajeyoy	tajeyovü
I	tajeyo	tajeyo	tajeyo	tajeyo

√*lag*

III	lajeyo	lajeye	lajeye	lajeye
II	lajeyokh	lajeyevü	lajeyekh	lajeyevü
I	lajeyos	lajeye	lajeyes	lajeye

√*śɔṅg*

III	śɔṅgeyo	śɔṅgeye	śɔṅjeye	śɔṅjeye
II	śɔṅgeyokh	śɔṅgeyevü	śɔṅjeyekh	śɔṅjeyevü
I	śɔṅgeyos	śɔṅgeye	śɔṅjeyes	śɔṅjeye

Past Perfect

√*samakh*

	Mas. Sg.	Plu.
III	samük̃h**omut os**	samük̃h**emüt̃ ās̃**
II	samük̃homutosukh	samük̃hemüt̃ ə sivü
I	samük̃homutosus	samük̃hemüt̃ ās̃

	Fem.	
III	samük̃hemüč ās	samük̃hemüčü āsü
II	samük̃hemüč āsükh	samük̃hemüčü āsüvü
I	samük̃hemüč āsüs	samük̃hemüčü āsü

√*hɔkh*

	Mas.	
III	hŏkhümutos	hŏk̃himüt̃ ās̃
II	hŏkhümutosukh	hŏkhimüt̃ āsivü
I	hŏkhümutosus	hŏk̃himüt̃ ās̃

	Fem.	
III	hŏchimüč ās	hɔchimüčü āsü
II	hŏchimüč āsükh	hɔchimüčü āsüvü

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I	hŏchimüč əsüs	hɔchimüčü āsü

√*tag*

	Mas.	
III	tŏgümutos	təgimüʈəs̃
II	tŏgümutosukh	təgimüʈəsivü
I	tŏgümutosus	təgimüʈəs̃
	Fem.	
III	təjimüčəs	tajimüčü āsü
II	təjimüčəsükh	tajimüčü āsüvü
I	təjimüčəsüs	tajimüčü āsü

√*lag*

	Mas.	
III	lŏgümutos	ləgimüʈəs̃
II	lŏgümutosukhləgi-müʈ	əsivü
I	lŏgümutosus	ləgimüʈəs̃
	Fem.	
III	ləjimüčəs	lajimüčü āsü
II	ləjimüčəsükh	lajimüčü āsüvü
I	ləjimüčəsüs	lajimüčü āsü

√*śɔṅg*

	Mas.	
III	śŏṅgümutos	śŏṅgimüʈəs̃
II	śŏṅgümutosukh	śŏṅgimüʈəsivü
I	śŏṅgümutosus	śŏṅgimüʈəs̃
	Fem.	
III	śŏñjimüčəs	śɔñjimüčü āsü
II	śŏñjimüčəsükh	śɔñjimüčü āsüvü
I	śŏñjimüčəsüs	śɔñjimüčü āsü

The conjugation of verbs given above clearly shows that Kashmiri has different sets of conjugational terminations to express different forms past tense. Substitution of present tense auxiliaries to form the proximate past tense forms is, therefore, ill conceived. The words

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cited above as illustrations by the author have also been wrongly conceived and, as a result, incorrectly lettered.

It is important to point out that the statement made by the author in the preceding sutra has been repeated in the sutras hereafter up to the last sutra of this chapter. ◀

कुचखोचपचरोचव्यचह्वचां चात् –81[120]. According to author's explanation of the sutra the present tense suffixes are substituted in place of *–ov* etc. aorist and past perfect denoting suffixes with the verb roots ending in the *aprasiddha varṇa* like √*küč* (to be soaked), √*khoč* (to scare), √*pač* (to trust) , √*roč* (to be liked), √*vyač* (to be filled with joy/over whelmed with joy) and √*hɔč* (to rot). *–ch* and *–h* (of *–chuh/-chih* etc.) are dropped and *–u/-i* is appended to the verb root(एषां धातूनां भूतविषये ओवादीनां प्रत्ययानां वर्तमानादेशाः स्युः छकारहकारयोश्च लोपः), such as- ***katu*** (III per. mas.sg. got soaked), ***kati*** (III per. mas.plu. got soaked), ***khūču*** (III per. mas.sg. got scared), ***khūči*** (III per. mas.plu. got scared), ***paču*** (III per. mas.sg. trusted), ***pači*** (III per. mas.plu. trusted), ***vyaču*** (III per. mas.sg. got filled with joy), ***vyači*** (III per. mas.plu. got filled with joy), ***rūču*** (III per. mas.sg. got liked), ***rūči*** (III per. mas.plu. got liked), ***hvaču*** (III per. mas.sg. rotted), ***hvači*** (III per. mas.plu. rotted). The feminine singular and plural forms of these roots are - *küču*, *küč*, *khūču*, *khoč*, *rūču*, *roč*, *vyačū*, *vyač*, *hüčū* and *hvač*. The author further says ओवावादयश्च सामान्यपूर्णयोर्बोद्धव्याः. *-ov* and *-au* are aorist and past perfect affixes, such as- *kačyov* (III per. mas.sg. did soak), *ročyau* (had got liked), *vyačyau* (had been filled with joy).

▶Substitution of *–chuh/-chih* in place of *–ov* and *–au* is, as explained earlier, preposterous and does not bear any relevance. The past tense forms of the roots ending dental affricates (*aprasiddha varṇa*) cited above are incorrect and misperceived by the author. These forms are actually used as shown below:

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[120] *küčkhočpačročvyačhɔčām čāt* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/3/81 p. 263

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Proximate Past

√*küč*[121] (to be soaked)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	küčav	küčeyi	küčeyi	küčeyi

√*khoč* (to be scared)

III	khūč	khūč̃	khūč	khočü

√*pač* (to trust)

III	pŏč	pəč̃	pəč	pačü

√*roč* (to be liked in taste)

III	rūč	rūč̃	rūč	ročü

√*ṽač* (to be overwhelmed with joy)

III	věčav	věčeyi	věčeyi	věčeyi

√*hɔč* (to rot)

III	hŏt	hŏt̃	hŏč	hɔčü

Aorist

√*küč*

III	küčeyo	küčeye	küčeye	küčeye

√*khoč*

III	khočeyo	khūčeye	khūčeye	khočeye

√*pač*

III	pačeyo	pəčeye	pəčeye	pačeye

√*roč*

III	ročeyo	ročeye	ročeye	ročeye

√*ṽač*

III	věčeyo	věčeye	věčeye	věčeye

√*hɔč*

III	hɔčeyo	hɔčeye	hɔčeye	hɔčeye

Past Perfect

III	küčomut os	küčemüt̃ ās̃	küčemüč ās	küčemüčü āsü

[121] The verb *küč* is not used in normal discourse. The most commonly used verb root for soaking is actually *küčav* or *küčünāv* (to make some object).

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√*khoč*

III	khūčü**mut os**	khūčimüt̃ əs̃	khūčü**müč** əs	kho**čümüčü āsü**

√*pač*

III	pŏčü**mut os**	pəčimüt̃ əs̃	pəčümüč əs	pačü**müčü āsü**

√*roč*

III	rūčü**mut os**	rūčimüt̃ əs̃	rūčümüč əs	ročü**müčü āsü**

√*vač*

III	vẽčo**mut os**	věčemüt̃ əs̃	věčemüč əs	věče**müčü āsü**

√*hɔč*

III	hŏtü**mut os**	hŏti**müt̃ əs̃**	hŏčü**müč əs**	hɔčü**müčü āsü.**◄

गछ़ो योग्यार्थे –82[122]. The primary sense of √*gačh* is 'to go'. It is also used to denote 'desire' or 'ought to'. In the sense of 'ought to be / must' the present tense suffixes *–chuh –chih* are substituted for *–ov* etc., *-ch* and *–h* are dropped and *–u/-i* is appended to *gačh*, such as- *gačhu, gačhi, gačhukh, gačhiv, gačhus, gačhi* etc. The author further says that *gačh* in the sense of 'ought to be' conjugates only in the proximate past.

►The verb *gačh* is employed as a modal verb as well. Obviously, as a modal verb it assists the main verb in the completion of sense. But, in the past tense it usually takes the future, past or even desiderative affixes while as the main verb occurs in the past participle form associated with auxiliary *ās*, such as- *su/təm̃ gačhi vŏnümut āsun* (he must have said), *təm̃ gŏčh vŏnümut āsun* (he ought to have said), *təm̃ gačhihe vŏnümut āsun* (he should have said) etc. Substitution of *–chuh –chih*, thus, turns out to be meaningless.◄

व्यज़दज़रोज़ां ज़ात् ; फट फुट्रोटां टात् ; ब्बडो डात्

–83/84/85[123].

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[122] *gačhoyogyārthe* : -------- ibid ------ 8/3/82 p. 264

[123] *vɔpazdazrozām zāt; phaṭ phuṭroṭām ṭāt; bɔḍo ḍāt* : --------- ibid ------ 8/3/-83/84/85 p. 265,266, 267.

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The present tense suffixes *–chuh,-chih* are substituted in place of *–ov* and other past tense suffixes with the verb roots ending in *–z* → *√vɔpaz*[124] (to grow), *√daz* (to burn), *√roz* (to stay); roots which end in *–ṭ* → *√phaṭ* (to burst/sprout/plunge), *√phuṭ* (to be broken), *√roṭ* (to be dazed/become stun) and roots which have *–ḍ* at the end → *√bvaḍ*[125] (to be drenched). The examples are: *vvapadu* (III per. mas.sg. grew), *vvapadi* (III per. mas.plu. grew), *dadu* (III per. mas.sg. burnt), *dadi* (III per. mas.plu. burnt), *rūd* (III per. mas.sg. stayed), *rūdi* (III per. mas.plu. stayed); *phaṭu* (III per. mas.sg. burst), *phaṭi* (III per. mas.plu. burst), *phuṭu* (III per. mas.sg. broke), *phuṭi* (III per. mas.plu. got broken), *rūṭu* (III per. mas.sg. became dazed), *rūṭi* (III per. mas.plu. became dazed), *bvaḍu* (III per. mas.sg. got drenched), (III per. mas.plu. got drenched), *bvaḍi* (III per. mas.plu. drenched). The feminine of these forms, as given by the author, are: *vvapazū* (III per. fem.plu. grew), *vvapaz* (III per. fem.plu. grew), *dazū* (III per. fem.sg. burnt), *daz* (III per. fem.plu. burnt), *rūzū* (III per. fem.sg. stayed), *roz* (III per. fem.plu. stayed); *phaṭu* (III per. fem.sg. burst), *phacya* (III per. mas.plu. burst), *phuṭū* (III per. mas.sg. broke), *phucya* (III per. mas.plu. broke), *rūṭū* (III per. fem.sg. became dazed), *rocya* (III per. fem.plu. became dazed), *bvaḍū* (III per. fem.sg. drenched), *bvajya* (III per. fem.plu. drenched). The examples aorist and past perfect cited by the author are: *vvapazov*, *vvapazāv*; *dazov*, *dazāv*; *rozov*, *rozāv*; *phacyov*, *phacyāv*; *phucyov*, *phucyāv*; *rocyov/roṭhyov*, *rocyāv/ roṭhyāv*; *bɔjyov*, *bɔjyāv*.

▶Substitution of *–chuh/-chih* is, as explained earlier, incorrect. The past tense third person masculine, feminine, singular and plural forms of the given roots are actually used as shown below:

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[124] The actual pronunciation is *vɔpad* or *vɔpaz*

[125] The actual pronunciation is *bɔḍ* and not *bvaḍ* as spelled by the author

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Proximate Past

√vɔpaz/vɔpad[126] *(to grow)*

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vɔpüžav	vɔpüzeyi	vɔpüzeyi	vɔpüzeyi /
	vɔpüd̃av	vɔpüdeyi	vɔpüdeyi	vɔpüdeyi
√daz (to burn)				
III	dŏd	dəd̃	dəz	dazü
√roz (to stay)				
III	rūd	rūd̃	rūz	rozü
√phaṭ (to burst)				
III	phŏṭ	phə̃ṭ	phəṭ	phaci
√phuṭ (to break)				
III	phuṭ	phuṭ̃	phuṭ	phuci
√bɔḍ (to drench)				
III	bɔḍ̃av	bɔḍeyi	bɔḍeyi	bɔḍeyi

Aorist

√vɔpaz/vɔpad

III	vɔpüzeyo	vɔpüzeye	vɔpüzeye	vɔpüzeye /
	vɔpüdeyo	vɔpüdeye	vɔpüdeyi	vɔpüdeye
√daz				
III	dazeyo	dazeye	dazeye	dazeye
√roz				
III	rozeyo	rozeye	rozeye	rozeye
√phaṭ				
III	phaceyo	phaceye	phaceye	phaceye
√phuṭ				
III	phuṭeyo/ phuceyo	phuṭeye/ phuceye	phuceye/ phuceye	phuceye/ phuceye

[126] It is also used as *vɔpad/vɔpan* (to grow) : Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 135/136 ṣ sn̂

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√*bɔḍ* (to drench)

III bɔḍ**eyo**	bɔḍ**eye**	bɔḍ**eye**	bɔḍ**eye**

Proximate Past

√*vɔpaz/vɔpad*

Mas.			
Sg.		Plu.	
III vɔpüḏ**omut os**		vɔpüde**müt̃ ɔ̃s**	
Fem.			
vɔpüde**müč ɔ̃s**		vɔpüde**müčü āsü**	

√*daz*

Mas.		Fem.	
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III dŏdü**mut os**	dədi**müt̃ ɔ̃s**	dəzü**müč ɔ̃s**	dazü**müčü āsü**

√*roz*

III rūdü**mut os**	rūdi**müt̃ ɔ̃s**	rūzü**müč ɔ̃s**	rozü**müčü āsü**

√*phaṭ*

III phŏṭü**mut os**	phəṭi**müt̃ ɔ̃s**	phəṭü**müč ɔ̃s**	phaci**müčü āsü**

√*phuṭ*

III phuṭü**mut os**	phuṭi**müt̃ ɔ̃s**	phuṭü**müč ɔ̃s**	phuci**müčü āsü**

√*bɔḍ*

III bɔḍ̃omut os	bɔḍemüt̃ ɔ̃s	bɔḍemüč ɔ̃s	bɔḍemüč ü āsü

The term *roṭü* (dazed or motionless) is actually an indeclinable and not an action as assumed by the author. It always occurs associated with verb √*gačh* conjugated according to number, gender and person of the agent while as *roṭü* occurs unchanged, such as *su gav roṭü* (he became dazed), *sɔ gəyi roṭü* (she became dazed) *cü gəyokh roṭü* (you did become dazed) *tim āsɔ̃ roṭü gəmüt̃* (they did become dazed).◀

वातस्तात् ; व्वथस्थात् ; छ्यनसपनोर्नात् –86/87/88[127].

According to these sutras the present tense suffixes –*chuh*,-*chih* are

[127] *vātastāt ; vɔthasthāt ; čhyanasapanornāt* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 8/3/-86/87/88 p.267-268

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substituted in place of *–ov* and other past tense suffixes with the verb roots ending in *–t, -th* and *–n*, such as- √*vāt* (to arrive), √*vvath* (to stand up), √*čhyan* (to be cut), √*sapan* (to complete/finish). The author repeats the statement भूतविषये वर्तमान प्रत्ययादेशाः स्युः छहोर्लोपश्च after augment of the present tense suffixes *–ch* and *–h* are dropped and *–u/-i* occur as proximate past tense terminations. The examples are: √*vāt* → *votu* (III per. mas.sg. arrived), *vāti* (III per. mas.plu. arrived), *vāčū* (III per.fem.sg. arrived), *vāča* (III per. fem.plu. arrived), √*vvath* (to stand up) → *vvathu* (III per. mas.sg. stood up), *vvathi* (III per. mas.plu. stood up), *vvačhū* (III per.fem.sg. stood up), *vvačha* (III per. fem.plu. stood up), √*sapan* (to fulfill/accomplish) → *sapun* (III per. mas.sg. accomplished), *sapani* (III per. mas.plu. accomplished), *sapuñ* (III per. fem.sg. accomplished), *sapañ* (III per. fem.plu. accomplished). The aorist and past perfect masculine singular and plural forms of these roots are *vāčov, vāčāv; vɔčhov, vɔčhāv, sapañov, sapañāv*. The author says, 'semantically √*sapan* and √*sapad* are analogous (तत्र सपनसहचरयोः सपद संपन्ने)'.

►These sutras are a continuation of the previous sutras. Obviously, the same rule and approach (addition of *–chuh/-chih*, deletion of *–ch* and *–h* etc.) has been prescribed for the conjugation of these verbs in the past tense which, as stated while explaining the previous sutras, do not bear any relevance to the forms in common use. These verbs also take the same past tense terminations which are employed with other roots of their respective classes. Further, it is noteworthy that any change (marked in bold letters) in the internal structure of these terminations or roots to which these are appended, is determined by the final consonant as well as the vowel preceding the final consonant of the root. Shown below is the conjugation of the above cited verbs in the past tense third person masculine, feminine singular and plural:

Proximate Past

√*vāt* (to arrive)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vot	və̃t	və̃č	**vāčü**

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√*vɔth* (stand up)			
III vŏth	və̃th	**vəč**	**vačhü**
√*č̃han* (to be cut)			
III č̃hŏn	č̃hĕñ	č̃hĕñ	**č̃hĕñi**
√*sapad/sapan* (to complete)			
III sapud/ sapüd̃av	**sapüdeyi**	**sapüz**	**sapüdeyi**
Aorist			
√*vāt*			
III **vāčeyo**	**vāčeye**	**vāčeye**	**vāčeye**
√*vɔth*			
III **vɔtheyo**	**vɔtheye**	**vɔčheye**	**vɔčheye**
√*č̃han*			
III **č̃hĕñeyo**	**č̃hĕñeye**	**č̃hĕñeye**	**č̃hĕñeye**
√*sapad/sapan*			
III **sapüdeyo**	**sapüdeye**	**sapüdeye**	**sapüdeye**
Past Perfect			
√*vāt)*			
III vo**tümut os**	**vətimüt̃ ə̃s**	**vəčümüč ās**	**vəčümüčü āsü**
√*vɔth*			
III **vɔthümut os**	**vəthimüt̃ ə̃s**	**vɔčhümüč ās**	**vačhümüčü āsü**
√*č̃han*			
III **č̃hŏnümut os**	**č̃hĕñimüt̃ ə̃s**	**č̃hĕñimüč ās**	**č̃hĕñimüčü āsü**
√*sapad/sapan*			
III **sapüd̃omut os**	**sapüd̃emüt̃ ə̃s**	**sapüdemüč ās**	**sapüdemüčü āsü**

It is important to mention that the commonly used verb is *sapad* than *sapan*. Besides, verb *vwath* is actually pronounced as *vɔth*.◀ वुपश्रपोः पात्; प्रयलयवयां यात; खरतरफरफेरमरसोरां रात् –89/90/91[128]. In these sutras is repeated the same statement भूतविषये

[128] vupaśrapoh pāt; praylayvayam yāt; khartarpharphermarsorām rāt :

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वर्तमानप्रत्ययादेशाः स्युः छहोर्लोपश्च regarding formation of past tense of verb roots ending in *–p* → √*vup*, √*śrap*; *-y* → √*pray*, √*lay*, √*vay* and *–r* → √*khar*, √*tar*, √*phar*, √*pher*, √*mar*, √*sor*. The proximate past of these roots cited by the author are: √*vup* (to burn with rage) *vupu* (III per. mas.sg. burned with rage), *vupi* (III per. mas.plu. burned with rage), √*śrap* (to digest) → *śrapu* (III per. mas.sg. digested), √*śrapi* (III per. mas.plu. digested), √*pray* (to be liked) → *prayu* (III per. mas.sg. got liked), *prayi* (III per. mas.plu. got liked), √*lay* (to be devoted/to have liking) → *layu* (III per. mas.sg. became devoted), *layi* (III per. mas.plu. became devoted), √*vay* (to agree with) → *vayu* (III per. mas.sg. agreed with), *vayi* (III per. mas.plu. agreed with), √*khar* (to be disliked) → *kharu* (III per. mas.sg. got disliked), *khari* (III per. mas.plu. got disliked)√*tar* (to cross) → *taru* (III per. mas.sg. went across), *tari* (III per. mas.plu. went across), √*phar* (to rob) → *pharu* (III per. mas.sg. robbed), *phari* (III per. mas.plu. robbed), √*pher* (to revert) → *phyūru* (III per. mas.sg. reverted), *phīri* (III per. mas. plu. reverted), √*mar* (to die) → *mūdu* (III per. mas.sg. died), *phīri* (III per. mas. plu. died), √*sor* (to end/to be finished) → *sūru* (III per. mas.sg. ended), *sūri* (III per. mas.plu. ended). √*mar* is also used in the sense 'to paste' → *maru* (III per. mas.sg. pasted), *mari* (III per. mas.plu. pasted), *marū* (III per. mas.sg. was pasted), *mərin* (III per. mas.plu. were pasted).

▶The past tense forms of verbs cited above as examples by the author have been formed by applying the same rule भूतविषये वर्तमानप्रत्ययादेशाः स्युः छहोर्लोपश्च i.e., addition of *–chuh/-chih*, deletion of its consonant parts and addition of the remaining *–u/-i* to verb roots to constitute their proximate past forms. The author has repeatedly followed the same approach upto the last sutra of this chapter for the conjugation of verbs in the proximate past tense which, as discussed earlier, is incorrect. Even the terms constituted thus do not match with the forms which are actually prevalent in discourse. For clarity of the statement shown below is the conjugation of the above cited verbs in the past tense:

------ ibid ----- 8/3/-89/90/91 p. 269-270

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Proximate Past

√*vup* (to burn with rage)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	vup̃av	vupeyi	vupeyi	vupeyi

√*śrap* (to get soaked)

III	śrap̃av	śrapeyi	śrapeyi	śrapeyi

√*pray* (to be liked)

III	prayav	prayeyi	prayeyi	prayeyi

√*vay* (to agree with especially medicine, diet etc.,)

III	vŏy	vəy	vəy	vayi

√*khar* (to be disliked)

III	khŏr	khə̃r	khər	khari

√*tar* (to cross)

III	tŏr	tə̃r	tər	tari

√*phar* (to rob)

III	phŏr	phə̃r	phər	phari

√*pher* (to revert)

III	p̃hūr	phī̃r	phīr	pheri

√*mar*[129] (to paste)

III	mŏr	mə̃r	mər	mari

Aorist

√*vup*

III	vupeyo	vupeye	vupeye	vupeye

√*śrap* (to get soaked)

III	śrĕpeyo	śrĕpeye	śrĕpeye	śrĕpeye

√*pray*

III	prĕyeyo	prĕyeye	prĕyeye	preyeye

[129] This verb is pronounced as √*maṛ* → *mŏṛ, maṛ̃, maṛin, maṛi* etc. by the Kashmiri speakers of South Kashmir.

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√*vay*

III vayeyo	vayeye	vayeye	vayeye

√*khar*

III khareyo	khareye	khareye	khareye

√*tar*

III tareyo	tareye	tareye	tareye

√*phar*

III phareyo	phareye	phareye	phareye

√*pher*

III phereyo	phereye	phereye	phereye

√*tar*

III mareyo	mareye	mareye	mareye

Past Perfect

√*mar*

III vupomut os	vupemüt̃ əs̃	vupe müč əs	vupemüčü āsü

√*śrap*

III śrapomut os	śrapemüt̃ əs̃	śrapemüč əs	śrapemüčü āsü

√*pray*

III prayomut os	prayemüt̃ əs̃	prayemüč əs	prayemüčü āsü

√*vay*

III vŏyümut os	vəyimüt̃ əs̃	vəyimüč əs	vayimüčü āsü

√*khar*

III khŏrümut os	khərimüt̃ əs̃	khərümüč əs	kharimüčü āsü

√*tar*

III tŏrümut os	tərimüt̃ əs̃	tərümüč əs	tarimüčü āsü

√*phar*

III phŏrümut os	phərimüt̃ əs̃	phərümüč əs	pharimüčü āsü

√*pher*

III p̃hūrümut os	phīrimüt̃ əs̃	phīrümüč əs	pherimüčü āsü

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√*mar*

III **mŏrümut os mərimüt̃ ə̄s̃ mərümüč ə̄s marimüčü āsü**

It is important to note that the term *lay* (attachment) is a noun and not an action as conceived by the author. It usually occurs associated with the auxiliary according to time of action and optionally followed by the past participle of √*gačh*. The person who has 'attachment to' is put in the oblique case and the person, with whom someone has attachment, occurs in instrumental case, such as- *təmis chi/ə̄s čĕ sūt̃ lay* (he has/had attachment with you), *təmis chi/ə̄ čĕ sūt̃ lay gəmüč* (he has developed attachment with you). The conjugation of intransitive verb √*mar* in the sense of 'to die' has already been discussed (see 8/3/19). √*mar* in the sense of 'to paste' is a transitive verb and, like other transitive verbs, agrees with number, gender and person of both, the subject as well as the object of action (see 8/3/4).◀

मरः स्त्रियां स्त्रीप्रत्ययादेशाः –92[130]. According to author's explanation of the sutra, if the agent of √*mar* (to die) is feminine, in that case the present tense denoting feminine suffixes –*chyah*, -*chyakh* etc. are substituted in place of masculine suffixes –*chuh*/-*chih*. In the subjective use –*ch* and –*h* are dropped and, according to 8/3/59 मरश्चापुंभूते, -*r* of √*mar* is dropped and, thus, are formed *mvay* (III per. fem.sg. died), *mvay* (III per. fem.plu. died), *mvayakh* (II per. fem.sg. died), *mvav* (II per. fem.plu. died), *mvayas* (I per. fem.sg. died) and *mvay* (I per. fem.plu. died).

▶Augment of present tense feminine auxiliaries –*chyah* /-*chyakh* etc., deletion of –*ch* and –*h* is unjustified. The fact is that the present tense denoting feminine suffixes are –*i*, -*akh*, -*avü* and –*as*. These are appended (see 8/1/11-12) to the auxiliary –*ch* to make it capable of being used with the present participle verb to express the continuity of action, such as- √*mar* (to die) → *marān chi* (she/they is/are dying), *marān chakh*/ (you sg. are dying), *marān chavü* (you plu. are dying), *marān chas* (I am dying), *marān chi* (we are dying). Similarly, the past tense feminine affixes employed with √*mar* are as shown below:

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130 *marah striyām strīpratyayādeśāh* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 8/3/92 p. 271

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Proximate Past

Aorist

	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	**məyi**	**məyi**	**məye**	**məye**
II	**məyakh**	**məyivü**	**məyekh**	**məyevü**
I	**məyas**	**məyi**	**məyes**	**məye**

Past Perfect

	Sg.	Plu.
III	**mūmüč əs**	**mūmüčü āsü**
II	**mūmüč əsükh**	**mūmüčü āsüvü**
I	**mūmüč əsüs**	**mūmüčü āsü**

It clearly shows that the final consonant of root √*mar* is absolutely dropped, the vowel sound following *m-* is replaced by *-ə* in the proximate past and aorist tenses while as it is replaced by *-ū* in the past perfect. In addition, *-y* is augmented in between the base *mə-* and the proximate past and aorist affixes (see 8/3/6). The feminine forms of √*mar* in the sense of 'to paste' have already been discussed.◀

गलचलडलडोलफलफोॅलमेलां लात् -९३[131]. The present tense suffixes *–chuh, -chih* are employed with the verbs which have *–l* at the end, such as- √*gal* (to vanish/melt) → *galu/gali* (III per. mas.sg./plu vanished), √*čal* (to flee) → *čalu/čali* (III per. mas.sg./plu fled away),√*ḍal* (to move aside) → *ḍalu/ḍali* (III per. mas.sg. plu. moved aside), √*ḍol* (to be unattended/disintrested) → *dūlu/ḍūli*(III per. mas.sg. plu. went unattended),√*phal* (to be worn out) → *phalu/phali* (III per. mas.sg./plu became worn out),√*phɔl* (to blossom) → (III per. mas.sg./plu. bloomed),√*mel* (to meet) → *myūlu/mīli* (III per. mas.sg./plu. met). The author further says that according to sutra 24 – *o-* of *ḍol* is replaced by *-ū-* and sutra 22 prescribes replacement of *–e* of *mel* into *–yū* in the singular and *-ī* in the plural number. The proximate past feminine forms of the above cited roots are *gajū/gajya* (III per.fem.sg./plu vanished),*čajū/čajya* (III per. fem.sg./plu fled

[131] *galčalḍalḍolphalphɔlmelām lāt* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/3/93 p. 271

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away), *ḍajū/ḍajya* (III per. fem.sg. plu. moved aside), *dūjū/ḍojya* (III per. fem.sg./plu went unattended), *phajū/phajya* (III per. fem.sg./plu became worn out), √*phɔl* (to bloom) → (III per. fem.sg./plu. bloomed), √*mel* (to meet) → *mījū/mejya* (III per. fem.sg./plu. met). The aorist and past perfect forms are formed by the addition of *–ov* and *-āv* respectively, such as *čajyov*, *čajyāv* etc.

▶The addition of *–chuh/-chih* इत्येषां धातूनां वर्तमानप्रत्ययादेशाः स्युः भूतविषये, deletion of *–ch* and *–h*, addition *–u/-i* to constitute the proximate past forms of the above cited roots is, as explained earlier, utterly incorrect. Besides, the past tense forms of the given roots cited above by the author have also been wrongly conceived. For clarity of the statement the conjugation of the given roots in the past tense third person masculine and feminine is shown below:

Proximate Past

√*gal* (to vanish/melt)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	gŏl	gəl̃	gəj	gaji

√*čal* (to flee)

III	čŏl	čəl̃	čəj	čaji

√*ḍal* (to move aside)

III	ḍŏl	ḍəl̃	ḍəj	ḍaji

√*phal* (to be worn out)

III	phŏl	phəl̃	phəj	phaji

√*phɔl* (to blossom)

III	phŏl	phəl̃	phŏj	phɔji

√*mel* (to meet)

III	mũl	mīl̃	mīj	merji

√*ḍol* (to become untended)

III	ḍŏl̃av	ḍoleyi	ḍoleyi	ḍoleyi

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Aorist

√gal			
III galeyo	galeye	gajeye	gajeye
√čal			
III čaleyo	čaleye	čajeye	čajeye
√ḍal			
III ḍaleyo	ḍaleye	ḍajeye	ḍajeye
√phal			
III phaleyo	phaleye	phajeye	phajeye
√phɔl			
III phɔleyo	phɔleye	phɔjeye	phɔjeye
√mel			
III meleyo	meleye	mejeye	mejeye
√ḍol			
III ḍoleyo	ḍoleye	ḍoleye	ḍoleye

Past Perfect

√gal			
III gŏlümut os	gəlimüt̃ əs̃	gəjimüč əs	gajimüčü āsü
√čal			
III čŏlümut os	čəlimüt̃ əs̃	čəjimüč əs	čajimüčü āsü
√ḍal			
III ḍŏlümut os	ḍəlimüt̃ əs̃	ḍəjimüč əs	ḍajimüčü āsü
√phal			
III phŏlümut os	phəlimüt̃ əs̃	phəjimüč əs	phajimüčü āsü
√phɔl			
III phŏlümut os	phəlimüt̃ əs̃	phŏjimüč əs	phɔjimüčü āsü
√mel			
III m̃ūl ümut os	mīlimüt̃ əs̃	mījimüč əs	merjimüčü āsü
√ḍol			
III ḍŏ̃lomut os	ḍolemüt̃ əs̃	ḍolemüč əs	ḍolemüčü āsü. ◀

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ब्ववरावो वात् ; द्वषपोषमषरोषां षात् -94/95[132]. According to author the same procedure of addition of present tense denoting suffixes *–chuh/-chih* is adopted to form the past tense of verbs ending in *–v* like √*bvav* (to grow) → *bvavu/bvavi* (III per. mas.sg./plu grew), √*rāv* (to be lost) → *rāvu/rāvi* (III per. mas.sg./plu got lost), *bvavū/bvavya* (III per. fem.sg./plu grew), *rāvū/rāvya* (III per. fem.sg./plu got lost), and, *-ṣ* such as √*dvaṣ* (to ooze) → *dvaṣu/dvaṣi* (III per. mas.sg./plu oozed), *dvaṣū/dvaṣya* (III per. fem.sg./plu oozed), √*poṣ* (to suffice) → *pūṣu/pūṣi* (III per. mas.sg./plu sufficed), *pūṣū/poṣya* (III per. fem.sg./plu sufficed), √*maṣ* (to be forgotten) → *maṭhu/maṭhi* (III per. mas.sg./plu got forgotten), *maṭhū/machya* (III per.fem.sg./plu. became forgotten), √*roṣ* (to be displeased) → *rūṭhu/rūṭhi* (III per. mas.sg./plu got displeased), *rūṭhū/rochya* (III per.fem.sg./plu. sulked).

▶The past tense denoting terms cited above are formed, according to author, by the same process of addition of *chuh/chih* इत्यनर्योभूतविषये प्रोक्तवत् वर्तमानप्रत्ययादेशाः स्युः, deletion of *–ch* and *–h*, which is not correct. Use of alveolar *ṣ* in *dəṣ poṣ maṣ* and *roṣ* is misperceived as the alvolar *ṣ* does not exist in Kashmiri. Similarly, *dvaṣ* is used as *dəś*. For clear understanding of the readers shown below is the conjugation of the above cited verbs in the past tense:

Proximate Past

√*bəv* (to grow)

Mas.		Fem.	
Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III bə̃**vav**	bəv**eyi**	bəv**eyi**	bəv**eyi**

√*rāv* (to be lost)

III rov	rə̃v	rəv	rāvi

√*dəś* (to ooze)

III dəś**av**	dəś**eyi**	dəś**eyi**	dəś**eyi**

√*poś* (to suffice)

[132] bəvrāvorvāt ; *dvaṣpoṣmaṣroṣām ṣāt* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/3/-94/95 p. 273

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III pūś	pūś	pūś	pośi
√*maś* (to be forgotten)			
III mŏś	məś	məś	maśi
√*roś* (to be displeased)			
III rūś/rūṭh	rūś/rũ̄ṭh	rūś/rūṭh	rośi
Aorist			
√*bɔv*			
III bɔv̆eyo	bɔveye	bɔveye	bɔveye
√*rāv*			
III rāveyo	rāveye	rəveye	rāveye
√*dɔś*			
III dɔśeyo	dɔśeye	dɔśeye	dɔśeye
√*poś*			
III pośeyo	pośeye	pośeye	pośeye
√*maś*			
III maśeyo	maśeye	maśeye	maśeye
√*roś*			
III rośeyo	rośeye	ośeye	rośeye
Past Perfect			
√*bɔv*			
III bɔv̆omut os	bɔvemüt̃ əs̃	bɔvemüč əs	bɔvemüčü āsü
√*rāv*			
III rovümut os	rəvimüt̃ əs̃	rəvümüč əs	rājvimüčü āsü
√*dɔś*			
III dɔśomut os	dɔśemüt̃ əs̃	dɔśemüč əs	dɔśemüčü āsü
√*poś*			
III pūśümut os	pūśimüt̃ əs̃	pūśimüč əs	pośimüčü āsü
√*maś*			
III mŏśümut os	məśimüt̃ əs̃	məśimüč əs	maśimüčü āsü

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√*roś*

III rūśümut os rūśimüt̃ ə̃s rūśimüč əs rośimüčü āsü.◀

आसखसफसबसलसलोसवसां सात् ; ब्यहो हात् -96/97[133]. According to author's explanation of these sutras, the same procedure of addition of present tense denoting terminations –*chuh/-chih* (इत्येषां भूतकालविषये वर्तमानादेशाः प्रोक्तवत्स्युः,), deletion of its consonant parts (*ch*, *h*) etc. is followed to constitute the past tense of the verbs which have –*s* or –*h* at the end, such as- √*ās* (to exist) → *osu/āsi* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu. existed), √*khas* (to go up) → *khathu/khathi* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu. went up), √*phas* (to get entangled), → *phasu/phasi* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu. got entangled), √*bas* (to reside) → *basu/basi* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu. resided), √*las* (to live blessed life) → *lūstu/lūsti* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu. lived blessed life), √*los* (to be weary) → *lūsu/lasi* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu.got weary), √*vas* (to come down) → *vathu/vathi* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu. went down), √*běh* (to sit down) → *byūṭhu/bīṭhi* (IIIper. mas.sg./plu. sat down).

▶As mentioned repeatedly, the process of addition of present tense denoting auxiliaries to form the past tense terms of verb roots is not correct. The words cited as examples have also been misperceived and accordingly misrepresented. For lucidity the conjugation of the above cited verbs in the past tense (III per. mas./fem.) is shown below:

Proximate Past

√*ās* (to be/exist)

	Mas.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Plu.	Sg.	Plu.
III	os	ə̃s	əs	āsü

√*khas* (to climb/go up)

III	khŏt	khət̃	khəč	khačü

√*phas* (to get entangled)

[133] *āskhasphasbaslaslosvasām sāt ; byaho hāt* : ——— ibid ——— 8/3/-96/97 p. 274-277

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III phaš̃av	phaseyi	phaseyi	phaseyi
√*bas* (to reside)			
III baš̃av	baseyi	baseyi	baseyi
√*las* (to live blessed life)			
III laš̃av/lŏs	laseyi/ləš̃	laseyi/ləs	laseyi/lasü
√*los* (to be weary)			
III lūs	lūš̃	lūs	losü
√*vas* (to come down)			
III vŏth	vəth̃	vəch	vachü
√*běh* (to sit)			
III b̃ūṭh	bīṭ̃h	bīṭh	bechi
Aorist			
√*ās*- (does not conjugate in aorist).			
√*khas*			
III khačeyo	khačeye	khačeye	khačeye
√*phas*			
III phaseyo	phaseye	phaseye	phaseye
√*bas* (to reside)			
III baseyo	baseye	baseye	baseye
√*las* (to live blessed life)			
III laseyo	laseye	laseye	laseye
√*los* (to be weary)			
III loseyo	loseye	loseye	loseye
√*vas* (to come down)			
III vačheyo	vačheye	vačheye	vačheye
√*běh* (to sit)			
III becheyo	becheye	becheye	becheye

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Past Perfect

√*ās*

III osümut os ēsimüt̃ ēs̃ ēsümüč ēs āsümüčü āsü

√*khas*

III khŏtümut os khətimüt̃ ēs̃ khəčümüč ēs khačümüčü āsü

√*phas*

III phaš̃omut os phasemüt̃ ēs̃ phasemüč ēs phasemüčü āsü

√*bas*

III baš̃omut os basemüt̃ ēs̃ basemüč ēs basemüčü āsü

√*las*

III lŏsümut os ləsimüt̃ ēs̃ əsümüč ēs lasümüčü āsü

√*los*

III lūsümut os lūsimüt̃ ēs̃ lūsümüč ēs losümüčü āsü

√*vas*

III vŏthümut os vəthimüt̃ ēs̃ vəčhümüč ēs vačhümüčü āsü

√*běh*

III b̃ūṭhümut os bīṭhimüt̃ ēs̃ bīṭh ümüč ēs bechimüčü āsü.◀

►In the beginning of the chapter the author refers to four types of past tenses in Kashmiri viz., *bhūta*, *sāmānya*, *apūrṇa*, and *pūrṇa* भूतसामान्यपूर्णापूर्णभेदाच्चतुर्विधः which are translated, in this study, as proximate past, aorist, past imperfect and past perfect respectively. The study of this chapter reveals that aorist and past perfect tenses are expressed by the same set of terminations with a slight structural difference but are either semantically analogous or are inapt and do not occur in speech, e.g., *ganjon* and *ganjān*, *taniyāv*, *tatiyāv* etc. (see 8/3/68-69). It is noteworthy that the terms, *ganjon/ganjān*, *rañon/rañān* and other such terms are semantically analogous for Kashmiri speakers of the valley. The Sanskrit equivalents of these terms अभान्त्सीत/बबन्ध and अपाक्षीत्/पपाच given in the manuscript indicate that the author considers them as expressive of aorist and

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past perfect tenses respectively which is not correct. The terms *taṇiyāv*, *tatiyāv*, *kraṭiyāv* etc. are incapable of being analyzed. These terms are neither found in dictionary nor are in use. Addition of present tense denoting forms *chuh*, *chih* etc. of auxiliary *ch*, deletion of *ch-* and *–h* and conversion of *-u/i* into *–y* to form the proximate past tense of verbs is incomprehensible. The fact is that Kashmiri possesses, as explained with examples, different sets of past tense denoting general as well as pronominal terminations employed with vowel ending as well as consonant ending verb roots according to number and gender of the subject and object of the past action. There is no reference about the past perfect tense of action which is expressed by *–mut/müč* suffixed participle verb supported by the auxiliary in the past tense according to number, gender and person of the subject or/and object of action. The past tense terminations discussed by the author are actually pronominal terminations which are self expressive of the number, gender, person and time of action and, therefore, do not require the presence of agent denoting word in the construction. There is no mention of the general past tense denoting terminations of Kashmiri in this treatise. The author has incorrectly conceived the past tense denoting forms as *–u* or *–u* ending which has made these terms confusing for those who are otherwise well versed in the grammatical structure of Kashmiri as well as those who aspire to learn the grammatical structure of Kashmiri.◀

The concluding words of the chapter are इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते आख्यात प्रकियायां भूतपादस्तृतीयः 'here concludes the conjugation of verbs in past tense, the third sub-chapter on verb morphology in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region.

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8.4
Causative Verbs[1]

►The basic form of a verb in Kashmiri is identical in form with the second person singular of the imperative mood. It remains absolutely the same throughout all tenses, moods and persons etc. with slight exceptions that have already been described in the previous chapters. The verb roots in Kashmiri are broadly grouped into two classes, viz., primary roots and secondary roots. The primary verb roots are original forms indivisible into fragments. The secondary roots, on the other hand, are derived stems formed either by i) adding the derivative affixes to the verbal or nominal bases, or, ii) combining an abstract noun and a primary verb root; two primary verb roots, or, an adverb and a primary verb root. Accordingly, on the basis of formation, the secondary roots are grouped into three types, viz; a) causative roots, b) denominative roots, and, d) compound roots (see 7/1/1-2). The present chapter of the Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam sheds light on conjugation of the causative verbs in Kashmiri.

Any primary or a secondary root may have causal form which implies that a person or an object causes or makes another person or object to perform the action or to be in the condition denoted by the verb root. The person or object made to perform the action is called as *hetu* in the Sanskrit grammar. The causative form of a verb is also employed sometimes to convert an intransitive verb into a transitive one. The example is *su chu pakān* (he walks) → *su chu guris pakünāvān* (he makes the horse walk).◄

The author in the first sutra of this chapter says:

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1 *ākhyātaprakriyāyām hetupādah* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam: p. 278

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स्वाकर्तृत्वावसरे परक्रियाकर्तृत्वारोपो हेतुः –1 [2]. If the doer of an action does not himself do the action but makes some other person perform the action, that doer is called *hetu* (cause). For example in 'greed commits sin' greed is by itself the doer (लोभः कुरुते पापमित्यत्र लोभस्य स्वकर्तृत्वं) while as in 'greed makes one commit sin' someone other than greed is activated by greed to commit sin. The author in his explanation of the sutra says "लोभः कारयति पापमित्यत्र लोभव्यतिरिक्तस्य पापक्रियाप्रवर्तमानस्य जीवस्य कर्तृत्वे लोभस्य कर्तृत्वारोपः" i.e., greed does not act by itself but becomes the cause (हेतु) of sin committed by a person.

हेतौ धातोराव; आव्यनागमः –2/3 [3]. In the causative sense *-āv* is appended to the verb root to derive the causative stem which further conjugates like other verb roots. According to आव्यनागमः *–an* is augmented after the root to which the causative affix is added, such as- ***karünāv-ān*** *chu* (makes to do), ***parünāv-ān*** *chu* (tutors), ***ranünāv-ān*** *chu* (causes to cook).

►The causative roots in Kashmiri are of two types, viz., the first causatives and the second causatives. The above cited sutra refers to first causatives. The first causative suffixes are *-āv* and *nāv* which are phonologically conditioned. In other words *-āv* is added to the roots which end in a vowel while as *-nāv* is employed with the consonant ending verb roots. In this process the final *–i* and *–ĕ* of the vowel ending roots convert into palatalization of the consonant preceding *–i* or *–ĕ*. This rule does not apply if the preceding consonant is a palatal sound. In addition, *-ü* is augmented before *-nāv* to avoid jumbling of consonants. The examples are: √***khĕ*** (to eat) → √***khāv*** (cause/make to eat), √***cĕ*** (to drink) → √***cāv*** (cause/make to drink), √*ni* (to take) → *ñāv* (cause to take), √*par* (to read) → √***parünāv*** (cause/make to read), √*lekh* (to write) → √***lekhünāv*** (cause/make to write) etc. The second causatives, also called as passive causatives, are formed by adding *-nāv* to the first causative stems derived by the addition of *-āv* and by reduplication of *-nāv* in case of the stems derived by the addition of -

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[2] *svākartRtvāvasare parakritākartRtvāropo hetuh* : -------- ibid ------ 8/4/1 p. 278

[3] *hetau dhātorāv ; āvyanāgamah* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/4/-2/3 p. 278 -279

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nāv. It is notable that *–ü* is augmented in between the verb root and the causative affix as well as between two causative suffixes in the second or passive causals. The examples are:

Verb root	*First causal*	*Second causal*
√khĕ	√k̆h**āv**	√k̆h**āvünāv**
√cĕ	√c**āv**	√c**āvünāv**
√par	√par**ünāv**	√par**ünāvünāv**
√lekh	lekh**ünāv**	√lekh**ünāvünāv**

-āv is also used with the tri-syllabic roots which are basically denominative stems derived from nouns or adjectives. Addition of *-āv* converts these into transitive or first causative stems, such as-

Noun/ Adjective	*Denominative*
mandach	√mandach
(bashfulness/ brashness)	(to be bashful/ to be brash)
kāčur	√kāčar (to turn)
(golden brown)	(to become golden brown)
Transitive / First causal	*Second causal/passive causal*
√mandüch**āv**	√mandüch**āvnāv**
(to defame)	(to cause to be defamed)
√kāčür**āv**	√kāčür**āvnāv**
(to cause to turn golden brown)	(to cause to be turned golden brown)

–vü is augmented before *-nāv* with the vowel ending roots, such as- √*ni –vü-nāv* → *nivünāv*. Augment of *–an* (आव्यनागमः) is misinterpreted by the author and the actual connecting particle is, as indicated by the above given illustrated words, *-ün*.◀

वुफो नो लः सूचनायाम् –4[4]. In his explanation of the sutra the author says that in relation to birds √*vuph* means 'to fly towards the sky' while as in respect of humans *vuph* is used in the sense 'to inform' (सूचनायाम्). *–an* is augmented and *–n* of *–an* is replaced by –

[4] *vupho no lah sūcanāyām* : --------- ibid --------- 8/4/4 p. 279

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l, such as- *vuphalāvān chu* (causes to inform), *vuphünāvān chu* (makes to fly).

►These assertions do not appear to be correct. The reason is that the intransitive verb *vuph* is used in the sense 'to fly'[5], 'to run fast'[6]. The term *vuph* as noun means 'a flight'[7]. *vuph* followed by a verb such as *vuph tulüñ* or *vuphi gačhun* conveys 'to go in a flash' or 'to dash forth'[8]. Addition of *–nāv* converts the intransitive verb *vuph* into transitive verb √*vuphünāv* meaning 'to make to fly' → ***vuphünāvān chu*** (someone makes an object to fly). *vuphülāvān* is not a derivation from *vuph*. *vuphal* is rather a different verb root used in the sense 'to come of age'[9] and √*vuphülāv* means 'to teach to fly'. 'To inform or notify' is the figurative sense[10] of *vuphülāv* and not the literal sense as given by the author. *-ün* is misunderstood and consequently misspelled as *–an*.◄

वुज़कांम्पप्रसां वा–5[11]. *–an* is optionally augmented with √*vuz* (to wake up), √*kāmp* (to tremble) and √*pras* (to give birth), such as- *vuzvān ~ vuzünāvān chus* (makes someone wake up), *kāmpvān ~ kāmpünāvān chus* (makes someone tremble), *prasvān ~ prasünāvān chus* (makes someone to give birth).

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions regarding optional augment of *–an* (*-ün*) is not maintainable for the reasons that *-an* is misconceived and it is actually used as *–ü-nāv*. The causative suffix used with consonant ending roots is *-nāv* and not only *-āv* as given by the author. Augment of *–an* is, therefore, inaccurate. In actual use *-ü* is augmented before *-nāv* to avoid consonant jumbling. The terms *vuzvān*, *kāmpvān* and *prasvān* have been ill conceived and, therefore not justifiable. These

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5 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 97
6 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 97
7 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 97
8 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 97
9 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 97
10 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 97
11 *vuzkāmp prasām vā* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 8/4/5 p. 279

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forms are actually employed *as vuzünāvān, kəmpünāvān* and *pīnünāvān* respectively. It is probable that the terms cited by the author as illustrations might have been prevalent in some regional variant of Kashmiri.◀

येरनादेशोऽनि –6[12]. In this sutra the author says that addition of *-āv* to √*yi* (to come) and augment of *–an* causes conversion of *yi* into *an* (to bring) → *anānāvān chu* (causes to bring).

▶Conversion of √*yi* into √*an* is erroneous. Like other language such as Hindi, English etc. Kashmiri also has two different verb roots √*yi* and √*an* to denote two different senses viz., 'to come' and 'to bring' equivalent to Hindi √*ā*, √*lā* and English √*come* and √*bring* respectively. The term *anünāvān* is, therefore, formed by addition of causative affix *-ü-nāv* to √*an* (to bring) → √*an-ü-nāv* (cause to bring) and followed by present participle suffix *-ān* to the stem √*anünāv* → ***anünāv-ān chu*** (IIIper. mas.sg. causes to bring).◀

सादेशानादेशभूतेभ्यस्त्र्यक्षरधातुभ्योऽनोलोपः –7[13]. Augmented *–an* is dropped before *-āv* with the intransitive roots whose past tense affixes are not laid down. *–an* before *-āv* is dropped with those roots also whose past tense affixes are provided and are usually tri-syllabic in structure (येषां कर्तृधातूनां भूतकालविषये प्रत्ययानामादेशः कृतो न भवति येषां च कृतो भवति ते त्र्यक्षराश्चेत्स्युस्तेभ्य आवि परे अ्न आगमस्य लोपो भवति[14]), such as- *vɔbürāvān chu* (brings to completion[15]), *kāčürāvān chu* (makes golden brown), *kumülāvān chu* (causes to become soft / makes to melt), *čonkhürāvān chu* (makes something contract), *mandüchāvān chu* (puts to shame), *vɔzülāvān chu* (makes to turn red). The affix *-āv* converts the simple verb roots *kāčar*, *kumal*, *čonkhar*, *mandach*, *vɔzal* etc. into causative roots. According to author sutra 8/4/3 provides for augment of *–an* and the

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12 *yeranādeśoani* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/4/6 p. 280

13 *sādeśānādeśabhūtebhyastryakṣardhātubhyoanolopah* :

14 -------- ibid -------- 8/4/7 p. 280

15 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 280

Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 132

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present sutra prescribes deletion of *–an*. Other examples are- *samakh - samakhāvān chu* (makes to meet), *vɔpüzāvān chu* (makes grow), *kamavnāvān chu* (makes to earn), *katarnāvān chu* (makes to chop), *kapaṭnāvān chu* (makes to cut {cloth for dress etc.}), *vuḍanāvān chu* (makes to fly), *khəlrāvān chu* (causes to be loosen), *věñrāvān chu* (disentangles), *thakanāvān chu* (causes to get tired).

►This sutra refers to three types of roots viz., intransitive, transitive and tri-syllabic roots. The intransitive roots *kāčar*, *kumal*, *vɔzal*, *čonkhar* and *mandach* are denominative stems derived from adjectives *kāčur* (golden brown), *kūmal* (soft/delicate), *vɔzul* (red) and nouns *čonkhur* (contraction) and *mandach* (shame) by altering the vowel sound before the final consonant of the base or even without making any change in the base (as in *mandach*). Addition of *-āv* converts these intransitive stems into transitive ones or first causatives. The second or passive causal is formed, as stated earlier, by the addition of *–ü –r/nāv* such as- *kāčur* (golden brown) → √*kāčar* (to turn golden brown) *-āv* →√*kāčürāv* (to make golden brown) *-nāv* → √*kāčürāvünāv* (to cause to be made golden brown), *mandach* (bashfulness) → √*mandach* (to be bashful) *-āv* → *mandüchāv* (to defame) *nāv* → *mandüchāvünāv* (to cause to be defamed) etc. Similarly, √*samakh* (to meet) *-āv* → *samükhāv* (to cause to meet), *-nāv* → *samükhāvünāv* (to cause someone to arrange the meeting). Some verbs root such as √*kamāv*[16] (to earn), √*kapüṭāv*[17] (to cut cloth/dress) and √*katürāv*[18] (to chop) basically have *-āv* at the end. The termination *–ü-nāv* is employed with such roots to derive their causative stems, e.g., √*kamāvünāv*[19] (to make to earn), √*kapüṭāvünāv*[20] (to cause cloth to be cut for dress) and √*katürāvünāv*[21] (to cause to chop). Addition and deletion of *–an*,

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16 --------- ibid --------- - vol. v, p. 106
17 --------- ibid --------- - vol. v, p. 63
18 --------- ibid --------- - vol. v, p. 65
19 --------- ibid --------- - vol. v, p. 106
20 --------- ibid --------- - vol. v, p. 63
21 --------- ibid --------- - vol. v, p. 65

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thus, turns out to be fictitious. The fact is that the terms like *kamavnāvān*, *katarnāvān*, and *kapaṭnāvān* have not been accurately understood. These are actually pronounced as *kamāvünāvān*, *katürāvünāvān*, and *kapṭāvünāvān* respectively.◀

वुष्णश्च –८[22]. Augment of *–an* is dropped after *-āv* (आवि परे अनागमस्य लोपो भवति[23]) with √*vuṣṇa* meaning 'to become warm', such as- *vuṣṇāvān chu* (makes warm).

▶The verb √*vuṣṇa* is misperceived and, therefore, misspelled. The alveolar *ṣ* and *ṇ* are absent in Kashmiri and these are replaced by the palatal *ś* and dental *n* respectively. Besides, *ś* and *–n* do not occur combined together (*vuṣṇa* → *vuśn*) in Kashmiri but are separated by insertion of a vowel. √*vuśan* is a denominative root derived from the adjective *vuśun* (warm) by changing the vowel preceding the final consonant (*vuśun* → √*vuśan*)). By affixing *-āv* it converts into a transitive verb → √*vuśünāv* (to make warm) while as further addition of *-ü-nāv* → √*vuśünāvünāv* (cause someone to heat/make warm) makes it a causative form. Deletion of *–an* (*–ün*) is, thus, not correct.◀

पिद्योरिलोपश्च –९[24]. √*pi* denotes 'to fall down' and √*di* means 'to give'. Augment of *–an* is dropped after *-āv* with these roots (आवि परे अनागमस्य लोपो भवति). Besides, *-i* of the root is also dropped (धातोरिकारस्य च लोपः) and their causal forms are *pāv* and *dāv* respectively.

▶The verb root for 'to fall down' is √*pĕ*[25] and not √*pi* as assumed by the author. The addition of first causal affix *-āv* to the vowel ending roots usually cause some morphophonemic changes in the root. In other words, vowels *-i* and *–ĕ* at the end of the root usually convert into palatalization of the preceding consonant. It is notable that if the consonant preceding the vowel at the final position of the

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22 *vuṣṇaś ca* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 8/4/8 p. 281

23 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 281

24 *pidyorilopaśca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/4/9 p. 281

25 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 152

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verb is a palatal sound, such as *c*, *ch*, *j*, *y* or *ś*, it causes the deletion of the final vowel. The deletion of *-ĕ* of √*pĕ* → √*pāv* (to make to fall down) is an exception. Further, the first causatives of verbs √*hĕ*, √*di* and √*ni*, in addition to √*h̃āv*, √*d̃āv* ~√dāv and √*ñāv*, are formed by the addition of *–ü-nāv*. The examples shown below will substantiate the observation.

Verb root	*First causal*	*Second causal*
√khĕ	√k̃hāv	√k̃hāvünāv
√cĕ	√cāv	√cāvünāv
√hĕ	√h̃āv ~ h̃avünāv	√h̃avünāvünāv
√ni	√ñāv ~ nivünāv	√nivünāvünāv
√di	√d̃āv/dāv ~d̃āvünāv/ divünāv	√d̃āvünāvünāv/ divünāvünāv

It is, thus, obvious that √*di* is employed as √d̃āv as well as √dāv where as √*pĕ* → *pāv* (to make to fall) is an exception to this rule.◄

इकारान्ताद्वा −10[26]. *–an* is optionally dropped with the roots ending in *–i* as in- *nyāvān chu* (causes to take), *khyāvān chu* (makes to eat),*cyāvān chu* (makes to drink), *hyāvān chu* (causes to buy).

►It is worthwhile to mention that the pronunciation of the verb roots given above, except √*ni* (to take), is misperceived. The fact is that the roots √*khĕ* (to eat), √*cĕ* (to drink) and √*hĕ* (to buy) have *–ĕ* at the end and not *–i* as assumed by the author. The formation of causatives of these roots has already been explained above.◄

अनः पूर्वमाव् वा −11[27]. *-āv* is optionally employed before augment of *–an* with *–i* ending roots (इकारान्ताद्धातोः अनागमात्पूर्वं विकल्पेन आव् प्रयोज्यः), such as- *khyāvanāvān chu* or *khyāvān chu*; *cyāvanāvān chu* or *cyāvān chu*.

►The author's notion of verbs ending in *–i* is erroneous as the verbs under -author's explanation of the sutra reveal that he considers *k̃hāvünāv* and *cāvünāv* as optional forms of the causatives *k̃hāvān* and

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[26] *ikārāntādvā* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 8/4/10 p. 282.

[27] *anah pūrvamāv vā* : ---------- ibid -------- 8/4/11 p. 282

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cāvān respectively (ख्यावनावान छु वा ख्यावान छु, च्यावनावान छु वा च्यावान छु) while as the examples quoted by the author in support of the sutra refer to the second causatives as well which are formed, as described earlier, by the addition of –the second causal suffix *–ü-nāv* to the first causatives, such as-

Verb root	*First causal*	*Second causal*
√khĕ	√k̃hāv	√k̃h**āvünāv**
(to eat)	(cause to eat)	(cause someone to make someone else to eat)
√cĕ	√cāv	√**cāvünāv**
(to drink)	(cause to drink)	(cause someone to make someone else to drink).◀

निद्योरावादिलोपः $-1\,2^{28}$. *-āv* etc. is dropped after √*ni* meaning 'to take' and √*di* meaning 'to give', such as- √*ni* → *nivünāvān chu* (causes to be taken away); √*di* → *divünāvān chu* (causes to be given).

▶As illustrated while explaining the previous sutras, first causatives of √*ni* and √*di* → √*nivünāv* and √*divünāv* are derived by the addition of second causative suffix *-nāv* to the first causative roots and linked together by *–ü-* , such as- √*ni* - *āv* →√*ñāv -nāv* → √*ñāvünāv* ~ *nivünāv* and √*di -āv* → √*d̃āv* ~ *dāv -nāv* → √*d̃āvünāv* ~ *divünāv*. Therefore, it is obvious that, the assertion regarding deletion of *-āv* or *–an* before the second causative suffix is not correct.◀

हेर्ह्रस्वः $-1\,3^{29}$. *-ā* of *-āv* is shortened with √*hi* (to buy/to observe) →√*h̃āvān* (causes to buy) → *h̃avünāvān* → *h̃avünāvünāvān chu* (causes to be bought).

▶Shortening of *-āv* is optional because both, √*h̃avünāv* and √*h̃āvünāv* or √*h̃avünāvünāv* or √*h̃āvünāvünāv*, are correct and equally used in speech. Besides, the verb root is actually √*hĕ* and not √*hi* as cited by the author (हि प्रतिग्रहणादिषु).◀

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28 *nidyorāvādilopah* : --------- ibid -------- 8/4/12 p. 282

29 *herhrasvah* : --------- ibid --------- 8/4/14 p. 282

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वुज़बोॅडलारपिलकाम्परंज़भ्य आवो ह्रस्वः –14[30]. *–an* is optionally deleted and *-ā* of *-āv* is shortened with √*vuz* (to wake up), √*bvaḍ* (to become wet), √*lār* (to stick to), √*pil* (to reach/to have access), √*kāmp* (to tremble), √*ranz* (to be happy) एभ्यः परस्य विकल्पेन अनो लोपे कृते----, such as- *vuzvān ~ vuzanāvān chu* (causes to wake up), *bvaḍvān ~ bvaḍanāvān chu* (causes to soak), *lārvān ~ laranāvān chu* (causes to stick/cling to), *pilvān ~ pilanāvān chu* (causes to pass on), *kāmpvān ~ kāmpanāvān chu* (causes to tremble), *ranzvān ~ ranzanāvān chu* (causes to please).

▶The words quoted as illustrations seem to be misperceived by the author. The terms *vuzvān*, *lārvān* and *kāmpvān* are neither found in use nor are listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary. The forms *vuzüvun*[31], *lārüvun*[32] and *kāmpüvun*[33] are employed as present participle adjectives, such as- *vuzüvun poñ* (oozing water), *lārüvun hūn* (chasing dog) and *kāmpüvun śur* (trembling child). √*vuz* (to ooze), √*lār* (to chase) and √*kāmp* (to tremble) are basically intransitive roots which are converted into transitive stems like √*vuzünāv* (make to wake up), √*lārünāv* (make to chase) and √*kāmpünāv* (make to tremble) by the addition of (*–ü*) *-nāv* and not in the causative forms as assumed by the author. As explained earlier, the causatives of intransitive roots are formed by reduplicating the suffix *–nav* → ***vuzünāvünāv*** (cause to be woken), *lārünāvünāv* (cause to be chased) and *kāmpünāvünāv* (cause to be trembled). The terms *bɔḍav*, *pilav* and *ranzav* are synonyms of *bɔḍünāv*, *pilünāv* and *ranzünāv* respectively and their causatives are *bɔḍünāvünāv*[34] (cause to be soaked), *pilünāvünāv* (cause to be passed on) and *ranzünāvünāv* (cause to be pleased). It is thus, evident that the above sutra refers to intransitive roots √*vuz*, √*lār*, √*kəmp* √*bɔḍ*, √*pil* and √*ranz* which are converted into transitive roots by addition of *–nāv* or *-āv/av* →

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30 *vuzbɔḍlārpilkāmpranzbhya āvo hrasvah* : -------- ibid ------ 8/4/14 p. 283

31 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol.vii, p. 107

32 -------- ibid -------- – vol. vi, p. 48 -49

33 -------- ibid -------- – vol. v, p. 155

34 -------- ibid -------- – vol. i, p. 330

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vuzünāv, *kāmpünāv*, *bɔḍav*, *pilav* and whose causatives are formed by reduplication of *-nāv* → ***vuzünāvünāv***, ***larünāvünāv***, ***kāmpünāvünāv***, ***bɔḍünāvünāv***, ***pilünāvünāv***, ***ranzünāvünāv***.◀

प्रसः पीनादेशश्च वा–15[35]. *-āv* is shortened and *–an* is dropped with √*pras* (to give birth) → *prasav* (to give birth). Besides, *pras* is optionally used as *pīn*. The examples are- *prasvān chu* or *pīnüvān chu* (makes to give birth). The third form *prasünāvān chu* has already been discussed.

▶It is important to note that √*pras* is actually an intransitive verb root which assumes different forms in various tenses, such as- *sɔ chi prath vühür̃ prasān* (every year she gives birth), *sɔ p̃ayi parusuy* (she gave birth just last year), *sɔ mā presi kenčan dohan manz* (she may give birth within a few days), *temis/tas chu prasun* (she is likely to give birth) etc.. *pīn* on the other hand, is most commonly used as a noun, such as *təmis/tas chu yi trěyum pīn* (it is her third child birth). *pīnünāv* (make to give birth) is the transitive action while as its most commonly used causative is *pīnünāvünāv* (make the baby to be delivered).◀

फट उपधादीर्घश्च –16[36]. *-āv* is shortened with √*phaṭ* (to drown) and the medial vowel of the root is lengthened, e.g., *phāṭüvān chu* (causes to drown) and *phāṭünavān chu* (causes to be drowned).

▶√*phaṭh* (to drown) is an intransitive root. Addition of *–av* ~ *-nāv* → ***phāṭav*** ~ ***phāṭünāv*** (make to drown) converts it into transitive action while as its causative is formed by reduplication of *-nāv*, such as- ***phāṭünāvünāv*** (to cause to be drowned). The terms *phāṭüvān* and *phāṭünāvān* are synonymous.◀

नक्वादिभ्योऽनो लोपादि –17[37]. Deletion of *–an* and shortening of *-āv* do not apply to √*küčav* (to dip) and other verb roots of this class such as- √*gvah* (to illumine), √*grak* (to boil), √*zot* (to glow), √*ṭük* (to

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36 *prasahpīnādeśaśca vā* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 8/4/15 p. 283.

37 *phaṭ updhā dīrghaśca* : ---------- ibid ---------- 8/4/16 p. 284
na küčādibhyo anolopādi : ---------- ibid ------- 8/4/17 p. 284

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walk briskly), √*tel* (to be irritated), √*toṣ* (to be delighted), √*dor* (to run), √*nāp* (to shine), √*nīl* (to turn bluish), √*pis* (to grind), √*peḍ* (to spread), √*por* (to dry)[38], √*prār* (to wait), √*phab* (to prosper), √*phar* (to steal), √*phal* (to be worn out), √*phuh* (to feel pain), √*pher* (to wander about), √*phor* (to throb), √*bād* ~ *brād* (to be freeloader), √*bās* (to appear to be),√*buḍ* (to age), √*braz* (to befit), √*yāp* (to cope), √*rambh* (to be graceful), √*ras* (to be juicy), √*roč* (to be of one's liking), √*roṭ* (to get stuck), √*rüḍ* (to pester), √*rün* (to become worn out),√*lyaḍ* (to give in), √*lor* (to be restless)[39].

►The Kashmiri word for luminosity is *gāh*[40] and not *gvah* or *gɔh* as given by the author. Besides, *gāh* is not a verb. It is a noun which usually occurs associated with the verb √*trāv* → *sɔ chi / ās gāh* ***trāvān*** (she radiates/radiated brightness).√*grak*, √*ṭük*, √*toś*, √*dor*, √*nāp*, √*nīl*, √*peḍ*, √*por*, √*prār*, √*phar*, √*pher*, √*phor*, √*bād* ~ *brād*, √*bās*, √*buḍ*, √*braz*, √*yāp*, √*rambh*, √*roč* , √*rüḍ*, √*rün*, √*lyaḍ* and √*lor* are intransitive roots which are converted into transitive actions and causative forms by the addition of *-nāv* and reduplication of *-nāv* respectively. For lucidity, shown below are a few examples:

Intransitive root	*Transitive*	*Causative*
√grak	√grak**ünāv**	√grak**ünāvünāv**
(to boil)	(cause to boil)	(cause to be boiled)
√ṭük	√ṭük**ünāv**	√ṭük**ünāvünāv**
(to walk quickly)	(cause to walk quickly)	(cause to be walked quickly)
√toś	√toś**ünāv**	√toś**ünāvünāv**
(to be delighted)	(to make to be delighted)	(to cause to be delighted)
√dor	√dor**ünāv**	√dor**ünāvünāv**
(to run)	(make to run)	(cause someone to be run)

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38 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 284

39 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 284

40 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 334

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Further, *-rāv* is employed with √*buḍ* to derive its transitive form *buḍürāv* → *buḍürāvnāv*. Verbs such as √*zot*, √*tel*, √*phab*, √*phar*, √*phuh*, √*braz* occur but very rarely as transitively or causatively, *–ras* and *roṭ* are nouns; *por* and *lor* in the sense of 'to dry' and 'to be restless' are not found in use.◄

मरः संधापने –18[41]. √*mar* means 'to die' and 'to paste'. *–an* is not dropped with √*mar* if it is used in the sense 'paste' e.g., *mārān chu* (III per. mas. sg. kills), *marünāvān chu* (III per. mas. sg. causes to paste). The author further says, "although √*mār* has been included as a different root in the list of verb roots yet its causative form is shown for the clear understanding of the readers".

►These assumptions are not maintainable. √*mar*, meaning 'to die' is an intransitive verb. By lengthening the medial vowel √*mār* indicates that the action of killing does not end with the doer but rather passes from the killer to the person being killed. √*mār* is converted into first causal by the addition of *-nāv* → ***mārünāv*** (cause to kill) while as reduplication of *-nāv* → ***mārünāvünāv*** (cause to be killed) makes it the passive causal. √*mar*, meaning 'to paste' is a transitive verb, ***marünāv*** (cause to paste) is its first causal and ***marünāvünāv*** (cause to be pasted) the second causal. It is to be noted that *mar* in the sense 'to paste' is not in widespread use in the present day Kashmiri except in some parts of Kashmir especially in the South Kashmir region where it is commonly pronounced as √*maḍ* → ***maḍünāv*** (cause to paste) → ***māḍünāvünāv*** (cause to be pasted).◄

ट्यठो वा –19[42]. In the optional use *–an* is not dropped with √*ṭyaṭh* meaning 'to become bitter / pungent' such as- *ṭyaṭhünāvān chu* (makes to become/turn pungent /bitter) or *ṭyəṭhürāvān chu* (makes to become bitter).

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41 *marah sandhāpane* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 8/4/18 p. 285

42 *ṭyaṭho vā* : ---------ibid -------- 8/4/19 p. 285

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►The verb √*ṭ̃aṭh* is actually derived from the adjective *ṭ̃oṭh* (bitter or pungent) by altering the vowel preceding the final consonant. The transitive or first causal of verb roots ending in an alveolar sound is formed by addition of *–ar ~ -rāv* instead of *-nāv*. *-nāv* is added after *-rāv* to derive the second causal, e.g, *bŏḍ* (big/elder) → √*bad* (to become big) → *bəḍar ~ bəḍ̆rāv* (to make big) → *bəḍ̆rāvünāv* (cause to be made big). Similarly, *ṭ̃ŏṭh* (pungent) → √*ṭ̃aṭh* (to become bitter) → *ṭ̃əṭhar ~ ṭ̃əṭhrāv* (to make pungent) → *ṭ̃əṭhrāvünāv* (cause to be made pungent) etc. *ṭyaṭhünāvān* is not found in use. ◄

शिष्टेभ्य आविरागमोऽनादेषु –20[43]. *–r* is augmented before *-āv* to the pure roots whose past tense suffixes are not provided (अनादेशभूतप्रत्ययेषु मध्याच्छिष्टेभ्यो धातुभ्य आव प्रत्यये परे रकारागमो भवति[44]), such as- *kəlürāvān chu* (makes speechless), *khəlürāvān / khəlürāvān chu* (widens), *gŏḅürāvān chu* (makes heavy), *čŏkürāvān chu* (makes sour), *pūṭhürāvān chu* (makes strong/stiff), *vyəthürāvān chu* (makes fat), *tīzürāvān chu* (provokes), *ṭhīkürāvān chu* (makes steady).

►The verbs quoted above as illustrations are actually denominatives derived from the adjectives ***kŏl*** (dumb) → intr. √*kal* (to be speechless) → tran. √*kəlar ~* √*kəlürāv* (to make speechless), caus. √*kəlürāvünāv* (cause to be made speechless), ***khŏl ~ khulü*** (loose/wide) → intr. √*khul* (to become loose/open/wide) → tran. √*khəlar ~* √*khəlürāv* (to make loose/to widen), caus. √*khəlürāvünāv* (cause to be widened), ***gŏḅ*** (heavy) → intr. √*gɔḅ* (to become heavy) tran. √*gŏḅar ~* √*gŏḅürāv* (to make heavy), caus. √*gŏḅürāvünāv* (causes to become heavy), ***čŏk*** (sour) → intr. √*čɔk* (to become sour) tran. √*čŏkar ~* √*čŏkürāv* (to make sour), caus. √*čŏkürāvünāv* (causes to become sour), ***pūṭh*** (strong) → intr. √*poṭh* (to become strong) tran. √*poṭhar ~* √*poṭhürāv* (to make strong), caus. √*poṭhürāvünāv* (causes to become strong), ***vŏṭh*** (fat) → intr. √*vaṭh* (to become fat) tran.

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[43] *śiṣṭebhya āvi rāgamoanādiṣu* : -------- ibid ------ 8/4/20 p. 286

[44] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 286

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√*vəṭhar* ~ √*vəṭhürāv* (to make fat), caus. √*vəṭhürāvünāv* (causes to become fat) and so on.◄

चलछ्यनथकफसफुटफोॅलमषरावहोॅखहोॅचश्रपेभ्यो वा –21[45]. *–r* is optionally augmented before *-āv* to the roots whose past tense suffixes are evinced (सादेशप्रत्ययधातुषु प्रोक्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः आव प्रत्यये परे रकारागमो विकल्पेन स्यात्[46]), such as- *čəlarāvān ~ čalanāvān chu* (causes to flee), *čhanarāvān ~ čhananāvān chu* (causes to snap), *thəkarāvān ~ thakanāvān chu* (causes to tire out), *phəsarāvān ~ phasanāvān chu* (causes to get entangled), *phuṭarāvān ~ phuṭanāvān chu* (causes to be broken) etc.

►Optional augment of *–r* does not seem relevant for two major reasons. One, the suffix employed to form the causative roots is *(-ü)-nāv* and not only *-āv* as given by the author. Second, *-n* of *-nāv* is replaced by *–r → -rāv* with some roots especially those which end in an alveolar or a dental consonant. The verbs √*čal*, √*čhan*, √*thak*, √*phas*, √*phuṭ*, √*phɔl*, √*hɔkh*, √*hɔč* and √*śrap* mentioned in the above sutra are intransitive roots mostly ending in dental √*čal*, √*čhan*, √*phas*, √*hɔč*, √*phɔl* or alveolar √*phuṭ* consonants. As stated and exemplified earlier, *-ar ~ rāv* is appended to these intransitive roots to convert them into the transitive roots and *-nāv* is added after *-rāv* to form their causatives, such as- √*čal* (to flee) tran. √*čəlar* ~ √*čəlürāv* (to make someone flee), caus. √*čəlürāvünāv* (to cause someone to flee), √*čhan* (to be cut/savored) tran. √*čhənar* ~ √*čhənürāv* (to cut/savor), caus. √*čhənürāvünāv* (to cause to be cut), √*phas* (to be entangled/trapped) tran. √*phəsar* ~ √*phəsürāv* (to entangle/entrap), caus. √*phəsürāvünāv* (cause to be entangled/entrapped), √*hɔč* (to rot) tran. √*hŏčar* ~ √*hŏčürāv* (to make something rot), caus. √*hŏčürāvünāv* (cause something to be rotten), √*phɔl* (to prosper) tran. *phŏlar* ~ √*phŏlürāv* (to make someone prosper), caus. √*phŏlürāvünāv*

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[45] *čalčhyanthakphasphuṭpɔlməśrāvhɔkhhɔčśrapeH;ks ok :* -------- ibid -------- 8/4/21 p. 286

[46] -------- ibid -------- p. 286

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(to cause someone to prosper) and so forth. The forms *čalünāv*, *čhanünāv*, *phuṭünāv*, *phasünāv*, *phuṭünāv* etc. are too distorted to be accepted as correct. *–ar ~ -rāv* is also employed with the roots √*thak* (to get tired) → √*thəkar ~* √*thəkürāv* (make someone tired) and √*śrap* (to be/get absorbed/digested) → √*śrəpar ~* √*śrəpürāv* (make a liquid get absorbed). √*həkh* (to become dry) accepts *-nāv* in place of *-rāv* → √*həkhünāv* (make something dry) → √*həkhünāvünāv* (cause to be dried).◀

छपचेनमानां भूतकर्मधातुषु −22[47]. *–r* is optionally inserted between *-āv* and verb roots which are used objectively in the past tense, such as √*chap* (to seek refuge, to shelter from rain), √*čen* (to feel), √*mān* (to accept/agree), such as- *chəparāvān chu* (makes to be under somebody's foster-care), *čīñrāvān chu* (makes to feel), *māñrāvān chu* (makes to accept/agree) or *chapṇāvān chu*, *čenanāvān chu* and *mānanāvān chu*. Sometimes *–v* is also used with √*chap* → *chvaparāvān chu*.

▶√*čen* (to experience/sense) and √*mān* (to accept/agree) are transitive verbs and therefore, occur objectively in the past tense. √*chap* being an intransitive root occurs impersonally and not objectively as stated (भूतकाले ये धातवः कर्मप्रयोगिणो भवन्ति[48]) by the author. Further, addition of *–r* (*-ar ~ rāv*) gives rise to certain phonemic changes in stems, such as- √*čen* → √*čenünāv ~* √*čīñrāv*, √*mān* → √*mānünāv ~* √*māñrāv*, √*chap* → √*chəpürāv*. Augment of *–v* → *chvapürāv* is inapt.

छखः स्वार्थे −23[49]. √*chakh* means 'to scatter/broadcast'. Addition of *–r* with *-āv* does not cause any change of meaning of the root.

▶In this sutra the author clearly states that √*chak*, √*chəkar* and √*chəkürāv* denote the same sense i.e., 'to scatter or broadcast'.

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[47] *chapčenmānām bhūtakarmadhātuṣu* : ------- ibid ----- 8/4/22 p. 287

[48] ------- ibid ------- p. 287

[49] *chakhah svārthe* : -------- ibid ------- 8/4/23 p. 287

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Addition of *-nāv* after *-rāv* → √*chəkürāvnāv* (cause to be scattered) converts this transitive verb into the causative root.◀

रादावो लोपो वा −24[50]. *-āv* is optionally dropped after *–r* as in- *čŏkarān chu* (makes sour), *čh̃əṭarān chu* (makes impure), *čhŏṭarān chu* (shortens), *pūṭharān chu* (makes strong).

▶The words quoted as illustration have already been discussed (see 8/4/20). These are actually denominative stems derived from adjectives *čŏk* (sour), *čh̃ŏṭ* (impure), *čhŏṭ* (short), and *pūṭh* (strong) respectively. As exemplified earlier, these adjectives are converted into verbal roots by altering the vowel sound such as- *čŏk* → √*čɔk*, *čh̃ŏṭ* → √ *čh̃aṭ*, *čhŏṭ* → √*čhɔṭ*, and *pūṭh* → √*poṭh* respectively. Addition of *–ar ~ -ār* converts these intransitive roots into transitive stems and addition of *-nāv* denotes causative sense (see 8/4/20).◀

तवर्गस्याप्रसिद्धचवर्गो रे −25[51]. According to this sutra the dental stops at the end of the roots followed by suffix *–r* convert into *aprasiddha varṇas*, such as- √*chat* (to become dim) → *chəčürāvān chu* (makes dim), √*tat* (to become hot) → *təčarāvān chu* (makes hot), √*sɔt* (to be calm) → *sŏčarāvān chu* (attenuates), √*śɔd* (to become pure) → *śŏzarāvān chu* (purifies), √*thad* (to become tall/progress) → *thəzarāvān chu* (elevates), √*tan* (to become thin) → *təñirāvān chu* (makes thin), √*ban* (to become) → *bəñirāvān chu* (causes to be made), √*kyan* (to become wet) → *kĕñirāvān chu* (makes wet).

▶The intransitive verb roots √*chat*, √*tat*, √*sɔt*, √*śɔd*, √*thad* and √*tan* cited above are denominative stems derived from the adjectives *chŏt* (dim), *tŏt* (hot), *sŏt* (slow), *śŏd/śɔd* (pure/clean), *thŏd* (tall) and *ton* (tin) respectively. As explained earlier also, these intransitive stems are converted into transitive stems by the addition of *–ar ~ -rāv* and not only by addition of *–r* as assumed by the author. The addition of *–ar ~ -rāv* results in conversion of the dental stops *t*, *th*, *d* into the

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50 *rādāvo lopo vā* : --------- ibid -------- 8/4/24 p. 287

51 *tavargasyāprasiddhcavargo re* : ---------- ibid --------- 8/4/25 p.288

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corresponding dental affricates *č*, *čh* and *z*, e.g., *chŏt* → √*chat* → √*chəčar* ~ *chəčürāv*, *tŏt* → √*tat* → √*təčar* ~ *təčürāv*, *śŏd/śɔd* → √*śɔzar* ~ *śŏzürāv*, *sŏt* → √*sɔt* → √*sŏčar* ~ *sŏčürāv*, *thŏd* → √*thad* → √*thəzar* ~ *thəzürāv*. The causatives of these roots are formed by further addition of *-nāv*, such as- *chəčürāvünāv*, *təčürāvünāv* and so forth. The roots √*tan*, √*ban* and √*kyan* do not fall in this category as there is no corresponding dental nasal affricate sound available in Kashmiri into which the dental nasal could conceivably be converted as suggested by the author. The forms *təñirāv*, *bəñirāv* and *kěñirāv* indicate that the dental *–n* at the end of the base transforms into the palatal *–ñ*.◄

जेरन्त्यस्यौव् –26[52]. √*zi* means 'to be born / to emerge'. Addition of *–r* causes the vowel at the end to convert into *–ov*, such as- *zovrān chu* (gives birth).

►The intransitive verb root for 'to be born' is √*zě* or √*žav* and not *zi* as given by the author. *–ar ~ rāv* is appended to derive its transitive form √*žŏvar* ~ √*žŏvürāv* (give birth to or make to emerge). The addition of *–ar ~ rāv* causes augment of *–v* (*žav*) or *–ŏv* (*žŏvar ~ žŏvürāv*) before the suffix and the vowel associated with *z-* to palatalize *-z*.◄

भूतोक्तस्त्र्येकत्ववदुपधादेशादयश्च –27[53].The rule, which applies to the vowel sounds preceding the final consonant of the singular verbs to constitute the feminine past tense plurals, also applies to vowel sounds to form the feminine causatives by the addition of *-r*, such as- √*mān* (to agree) → *māñirāvān* chu (makes to agree), √*kān* (to become one eyed) → *kāñirāvān* chu (makes blind by one eye), √*breṭh* (to become senile) → *brīṭhürāvān chu* (makes senile), √*meṭh* (to become sweet) → *mīṭhürāvān chu* (makes sweet), √*poṭh* (to become strong) → *pūṭhürāvān chu* (makes strong), *lūkürāvān chu* (makes short).

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[52] *zerantyasyauv* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/4/26 p. 289

[53] *bhūtoktastryekatvavadupadhādeśādayaśca* : ------- ibid ------- 8/4/27 p. 289

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▶The author in this sutra states that the addition of causative suffix *–r* (*-ar ~ -rāv*) results in the change of the vowel quality of the vowel following initial consonant of the root. It is important to note that the examples cited above by the author express transitive sense rather than the causative sense as assumed by the author. These verbs are transitive roots (√*mān*) or denominative intransitive stems (√*kān*, √*meṭh*, √*poṭh*) derived from the adjectives *kon* (one eyed), *mũṭh* (sweet) and *pūṭh* (strong) respectively. *-ar ~ -rāv* is appended to these intransitive bases to transform them into transitive stems, such as- √*māñirāv* (to make agree), √*kāñirāv* (to damage somebody's eye), √*breṭhürāv* (to make imprudent), √*mieṭhürāv* (to sweeten), √*pūṭhürāv* (to make strong). As explained repeatedly, *-nāv* is added after *-ar ~ -rāv* to derive the causatives, such as- √*māñirāvünāv* (cause someone to be persuaded to agree), √*kāñirāvünāv* (cause someone's eye to be damaged), √*breṭhürāvünāv* (cause to be made senile), √*mīṭhürāvünāv* (cause to be sweetened), √*pūṭhürāvünāv* (cause to be to made strong). *lūkerāv* is neither listed in the dictionary nor is found in use.◀

तरमरडललगां हेतुप्रत्ययागमलोपोपधादीर्घौ –२८[54]. The causatives of verbs √*tar* (to cross), √*mar* (to die), √*ḍāl* (to shift), √*lag* (to stick to) are formed without any affixation or deletion except lengthening of the short vowel preceding the final consonant, such as- *tārān chu* (carries across), *mārān chu* (kills), *ḍālān chu* (shifts), *lāgān chu* (pastes/puts on).

▶The forms constituted by altering the vowel sounds are actually transitive bases and not causative forms as assumed by the author. In Kashmiri the formation of causative of a verb cannot be imagined without addition of *-nāv* or *-rāv*. Thus, the causative roots of the above cited bases would be √*tārünāv* (cause to be carried across), √*mārünāv* (cause to be killed), √*ḍālünāv* (cause to be shifted) and √*lāgünāv* (cause to be pasted / put on).◀

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[54] *tarmaṛḍallagām hetupratyayagamalopopadhādīrghau* :

--------- ibid ------ 8/4/28 p. 290

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खसवसोरन्त्यस्य रश्च –29[55]. According to author, causatives of √*khas* (to climb up) and √*vas* (climb down) are formed by altering the vowel associated with the initial consonant of the root and replacing the final consonant by –*r*, such as- √*khas* → *khārān chu* (brings up) and √*vas* → *vālān chu* (brings down).

►These assertions are not maintainable. *khār* and *vāl* are transitive stems and not causatives as given by the author. As stated earlier, formation of causatives in Kashmiri, is not possible without addition of the causative suffix - *nāv* ~ *āv* / *-rāv* → √*khārünāv* (cause to be taken up), √*vālünāv* (cause to be brought down). Further, the final –*s* of √*khas* and √*vas* is replaced by –*r* and –*l* respectively and notonly by –*r* as assumed by the author.◄

श्वङ्गः सावादेशो वा –30[56]. The causative of √*śoṅg* is √*sāv* → *sāvān chu* (puts to sleep).

►√*śoṅg* (to sleep) is an intransitive action while as √*sāv* (to put someone to sleep) is a transitive verb. These are two different roots which are conjugated separately in all tenses and moods such as- √*śoṅg* → *śoṅgān chu/chi* (III per. mas. sg./plu. sleep/s), *śoṅgi/an* (III per. mas. sg./plu. will sleep), *śŏṅg/śŏṅg̃* (III per. mas. sg./plu. slept); √*sāv* → *sāvān chu/chi* ((III per. mas. sg./plu. sub. put/s to sleep), *sovun/sāvin* (III per. mas. sg./plu.obj. put to sleep), *sāv̐as/ sāv̐akh* (III per. mas. sg./plu. obj. will be put to sleep). Besides, both the roots are convertible into participles and gerunds, such as- *śoṅgān / sāvān*; *śŏṅgümut /*, *sovümut*, *śŏṅgith / sāvith*; *śŏṅgüni / sāvüni* etc. The only difference is that causative of √*sāv* is √*sāvünāv* (cause to be put to sleep) while as √*śoṅgünāvünāv* is optionally and very rarely used (पदे श्वङ्गनावान छु).◄

जो जाल; डेषो हाव; गछः पकः –31/32/33[57]. √*daz* means 'to turn into ashes' (दज भस्मीभवने). Its causative is √*zāl* → *zālān chu*

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[55] *khasvasorantyasya raśca* : ---------- ibid ------- 8/4/29 p. 290

[56] *śvaṅgah sāvādeśo vā* : -------- ibid ------- 8/4/30 p. 291

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(makes to burn). Similarly, √*ḍeś* means 'to see', √*gačh* means 'to go'. Their causatives are √*hāv* and √*pak* respectively.

►These sutras actually refer to two types of verb roots viz., i) verb roots which are either transitive or intransitive, and, ii) verb roots which are basically intransitive in nature but are converted into transitive roots by the process of affixation. Besides, there are some intransitive roots which cannot be converted into transitive and causative roots. The actions √*daz* (to be burned), √*ḍeś* (to see/to come across) and √*gačh* (to go) fall in this category. √*zāl* (to burn / light) and √*hāv* (to show) are transitive roots and their causatives are √*zālünāv* (cause to be burnt) and √*havünāv* (cause to be shown) respectively. The intransitive √*pak/h* (to walk) belongs to the second category i,e., it can be changed into transitive action by the addition of *-nāv* →√*pakünāv* (make to walk) and causative action by reduplication of *-nāv* →√*pakünāvünāv* (cause to be walked). Thus, √*zāl*, √*hāv* and √*pakh* are in no way causative conversions of √*daz*, √*ḍeś* and √*gačh* respectively.◄

व्यथस्तुलः –३४[58]. The author says that the causative of √*vɔth* (to stand up) is √*tul* (to pick up).

►Like other verb roots discussed above (sutra 30-33), √*vɔth* and √*tul* are two different roots, one intransitive and the other transitive. The transitive verb √*tul* is converted into causative by suffixing *-nāv* to it → √*tulünāv* (cause to be lifted). √*vɔth* does not change into transitive action and is obviously not convertible into the causative form.◄

►The study of this chapter shows that all verb roots of Kashmiri, primary as well secondary, can be converted into causative roots by the process of affixation. All transitive roots are convertible into first as well as second causative (see sutra 2-3). The intransitive roots, on

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58 *dazo zāl; ḍeśo hāvo vā; gačhah pakah* : ------ ibid ----- 8/4/-31/32/33 p. 291
vɔthastulah : ---------- ibid -------- 8/4/34 p. 292.

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the other hand, are initially transformed into transitive roots to make them capable of being converted into causatives (sutra 17). The causative affixes are *-āv*, *-nāv*, *-r* and *-rāv*. These terminations are phonologically as well as morphologically conditioned (see sutra 2-3, 20-28). A causative affix is joined with the root by inserting *–ü* between the base and the affix or between two affixes. The author has misunderstood augment of *–ü* as *–an* (आव्यनागमः see sutra 3, 7-11 etc.) which is inappropriate. In this work the correct form *–ü*, as is used in discourse, has been employed while explaining the sutras.◀

The author has concluded the chapter on the formation of causative verbs with these words (इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते आख्यातप्रक्रियायां हेतुपादश्चतुर्थः। समाप्ता चैषां आख्यात –प्रक्रिया) 'here ends the chapter on formation of causative verbs, the fourth sub-chapter of verb morphology in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'. The chapter conjugation of verbs is also complete.'

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Chapter 9

Participles

9.1 Participle Verbs

9.2 Participle Nouns

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9.1
Participle Verb[1]

▶The traditional Sanskrit grammarians classified the derived nominal stems into two groups, viz;

i) *kRdant* or Primary derivatives formed by adding kRt or primary affixes to verbal bases, such as- √*van* (to say)+ *un* – *vanun* (saying), √*naṭ* (to tremble) + *iñ* - *nəṭiñ* (tremor), √*čal* (to flee,) + *vun* – *čalvun* (fleeing) etc.

ii) *taddhita* or Secondary derivatives formed by adding secondary suffixes to nominal bases, e.g., *kath* (talk) + *al* – *kathal* (talkative), *mənz̃um* (middle) + *yor* (middleman), *gŏn* (dense) + *ar* – *gañar* (density) etc.

The formation of secondary derivatives of Kashmiri has already been described in chapter 4. The formation of primary derivatives is discussed in two sub- chapters. The present chapter of the Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam throws light on formation of the participles of Kashmiri. The author has discussed the subject in two sub- chapters. The first sub-chapter is 'KRtkriyāpāda' meaning 'participle verb', and the second sub-chapter is 'Bhāvapāda' meaning 'participle noun'.

This sub-chapter is a description of the participle verbs. It presents a detailed description of the primary affixes which are added to verb roots or their modified forms to derive the forms which, associated with the auxiliaries in different tenses, occur as the finite or principal verbs of the simple sentences. The forms thus constituted also function as gerunds and infinite verbs in the complex or compound sentences. In Kashmiri the participle verbs are largely employed to take the place of present tense in the active constructions and perfect tense in the passive and impersonal constructions. As infinitives these generally express the purpose for which an action is

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1 *atha kRdanta Prakriyāyām kRtkriyāpādah* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam – p. 293

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done while as in the form of gerunds these denote the prior of the two actions done by the same agent.◀

Īśvar Kaul begins the description of these forms with the following sutra:

चादृते अनेककालक्रियायुगपदुक्तावऽप्रधाना कृत्क्रिया –1[2]. The participle verb becomes subsidiary if two or three tenses are simultaneously used without using the conjunctional word 'and' or any of its synonyms. In his explanation of the sutra Īśvar Kaul says, "in the simultaneous use of verbs in two or three tenses, present, past and future, without use of 'and' denoting conjunctional word and where only one tense is intended (एककालं भाषणे सति)[3], the participle verb becomes subsidiary (कृदन्तसंबन्धिनी क्रिया अप्रधाना)[4] and predominance of any one, main or participle verb, is considered (आख्यातक्रिया कृदन्तमुख्यक्रिया वा एकैव प्रधानावधार्या)[5]. For instance, a verb in the present tense followed by a verb in the same tense, the later would be the main verb, such as- *k̃havān gačhān chu.* In the predominance of the past tense present would be subsidiary while as in the predominance of the present tense past would be subsidiary→ *k̃hath k̃ath gačhān chu.* The same rule applies to the secondary use of other tenses which, in total, constitute 15 types including the above two types. The other types are: 3) present and future → *k̃havān gačhi*; 4) past and past → *k̃hath gəyāv*; 5) past and future → *k̃hath gačhi*; 6) future and future → *paranas k̃ut gačhi*; 7) present, future and past → *k̃havān k̃havān paranas k̃ut gŏv*; 8) past, future and present → *pərith zenünas k̃ut gačhān chu*; 9) past, present and future → *h̃ath k̃ath davān paki*; 10) past, present and past → *dith k̃ath ṭükān gov*; 11) future, present and future → *zenünas k̃ut davān gačhi*; 12) past, future and future → *dith k̃ath k̃hanas k̃ut gačhi*; 13) past, present and present → *cyath k̃ath asān yivān chu*; 14) past, future and past → *śrān kərith parünas k̃ut gəyov*; 15) present, future

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2 *cādRte anekakālakriyāyugapaduktāvapradhānākRtkriyā* : -

3 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 293

4 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 293

5 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 293

---------- ibid ------- 9/1/1 p. 293

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and present → *načān basünas k̃ut gačhān chu*. In the subsequent use of two tenses if both the verbs are in the present tense or in future and present tenses the consideration of main and subsidiary between them does not cause interchange of meanings but only indicates the inter se position (principal or secondary) of a verb in the sentence. The consideration of principal and secondary between two verbs, of which one is in the present tense and the other in past, leads to the reversal of meaning (क्रियाद्वये वर्तमानातीत कालयोः सत्वे मुख्यगौण कल्पनयार्थविपर्यास इति) while as there is no possibility of transposition of sense in consideration of main and secondary among the collection of three verbs of which two are in the present tense (क्रिया त्रितयसमुदाये वर्तमानद्वयसत्वे मुख्यगौणकल्पनयार्थविलोमता न संभवति). A verb in the present tense being associated with the future tense secondary verb, the consideration of main and subsidiary leads to change of sense. The principal verb does not cause change of meaning. Here the past and other tenses are determined by the requisite periods of action and not in comparison with the verb in the present tense."

►Īśvar Kaul's above given description of the participle verbs in terms of consideration of main and subsidiary forms is quite intricate. The sentences quoted in support of his assertions not only reflect deviation from the actual and accepted sentence structure of Kashmiri but are also irrelevant and beyond one's comprehension. However, these illustrations would be discussed and analyzed at the appropriate places in this work.◄

वर्तमाने धातुभ्य आन; वपूर्वः स्वरान्तात् –2/3[6]. *-ān* is suffixed to the verb roots in the sense of present tense. *–v* is added before *-ān* with the verb roots having a vowel at the end. The examples are √*kar-ān* (doing), √ *boz-ān* (listening), √ *par-ān* (reading); √*di-v-ān* (giving), √*khĕ-v-ān* (eating), √ *cĕ-v-ān* (drinking).

►The participle verbs of Kashmiri can be grouped in two categories, viz. i) indeclinable participles and, ii) declinable

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6 *vartamāne dhātubhya ān ; vapūrvah svarāutāt* : ---------- ibid -------- 9/1/-2/3 p. 295

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participles. Indeclinable participles are those which do not change their form according to number, gender and person of the agent or object of action. These participles act as connecting links between sentences. The indeclinable participles are of three types viz. a) gerunds, b) repetitive, and, c) infinitives. The declinable participles partake of the nature of appellatives and attributives. In Kashmiri, the participles often discharge the functions of verbs. They are largely, as stated above, employed to take the place of the present tense and perfect tense in the active and passive / impersonal constructions respectively. These may thus, be categorized as i) active present participles, and, ii) passive/impersonal perfect participles. The present participle is used when the contemporaneity of action is to be indicated. It is also used to express the sense of 'while' or 'whilst' as well as the manner in which an action is done or the cause or object of an action. In Kashmiri, the present participle is formed by appending *-ān* and *-vān* (or *-v+ān* according to sutra) to the consonant ending and vowel ending verb roots respectively. *-ān/-vān* ending participles are reduplicated to indicate continuity of the concurrent action or to impart the sense 'while' or 'whilst'. The examples are ***pakān pakān chu parān*** (III per. mas. sg. reads/is reading while walking), ***k̃havān k̃havān*** *śŏṅg* (III per. mas. sg. fell asleep while eating). The sentence *k̃havān gačhān chu* (eating goes/is going) illustrated by the author in the introduction of the chapter, is meaningless because it lacks the ability to convey a complete sense which is the basic purpose of a sentence. In the following sutra (see 9/1/4) the author elaborates that continuity and contemporaneity of action is indicated by reduplication of the participle verb.

आभीक्ष्ण्ये द्विश्च पदम् –4[7]. This sutra is a continuation of the previous sutra. According to this sutra *-ān/-vān* ending participle verbs are reduplicated to denote repetition of an action. The examples are *divān divān gŏv* (went while giving), *cyavān cyavān āv* (came while drinking), *parān parān kŏrun* (did while reading).

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[7] *ābhīkṣyaṇye dviśca padam* : ---------- ibid --------- 9/1/4 p. 296

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▶It is pertinent to note that the present participle verbs, ending in *-ān/-vān*, are reduplicated in the sentence not only to denote repetition of an action but they also function as both, infinite as well as finite verbs. As infinite verbs they denote the subsidiary of the two actions done by the same agent at the same period of time. They are followed by the finite verbs for the completion of the sense. As finite verbs they occur combined with auxiliaries conjugated according to time of action and express one single thought. For example in a sentence like ***pakān pakān chu parān*** (reads/is reading while walking around) the actions of walking around and reading are done by a same doer at the same period of time but the action of walking is subsidiary while as *chu parān* (is reading) makes the sentence complete. Similarly, ***pakān pakān*** *os parān* (was reading while walking around) signifies contemporaneity of action in the past tense.

It needs to be mentioned that *-ān/-vān* ending forms are not reduplicated if the imperative or indicative sense is imparted by the construction, such as- *treś cavān mü/ma as* (do not laugh while drinking water). In this sentence *cavān* is also in the adverbial relation to the finite verb. Besides, the form *gŏv* (went) in *divān divān gŏv* is regional variant of *gav* (went), the standard form used by the speakers of Srinagar proper and its adjacent areas. Similarly, the word for drinking is actually pronounced as *cavān* and not as *cyavān* as perceived by the author.◀

अतीते इथ; इथः क्यथ वा; स्वरान्तादिथोऽत् –5/6/7[8]. *–ith* is suffixed to form the past participle. The author in his explanation of this sutra says, "without using 'and' denoting conjunctional word, *-ith* is suffixed to verb roots other than the principal verb to form the infinite past participle (मुख्यक्रियाकाले 'च' शब्दं विना तदितरातीतक्रियायां गम्यमानायां धातोः इथ प्रत्ययः स्यात्[9]), e.g., *kərith* (on having done) *pərith* (on having studied/read), *dārith* (on having assumed)". The suffix *-kath* is optionally employed after *–ith*

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8 *atīte ith ; ithah kyath vā ; svarāntādithoat* : -------- ibid ------- 9/1/-5/6/7 p. 296

9 --------- ibid -------- p. 296

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suffixed forms without causing any change in meaning, e.g., *kərith k̃ath* (on having done) *pərith k̃ath* (on having studied/read), *dārith k̃ath* (on having assumed). *–i-* of *–ith* is replaced by *–a-* → *-ath* with the verb roots ending in a vowel, e.g., √*khĕ* (to eat) → *k̃hath k̃ath* (on having eaten), √*hĕ* (to assume) → *h̃ath k̃ath* (on having observed).

▶The participles formed by the addition of *–ith/-th* function as gerunds and never take the place of the finite verbs in a construction. As infinite verbs they denote completion of the prior of the two actions done by the same agent. The example is- *hūnis vɔphān būzith čĕl̃ čūr* (on having heard the dog barking, the thieves disappeared). *–i* of *–ith* is dropped with the verb roots ending in a vowel, e.g. √*ni* (to take) → *-nith* (on having taken), √*di* (to give) → *-dith* (on having given) etc.

Addition of *–ith* causes certain changes in the verb root, such as- low central short and long vowels *–a, -ā* before the final letter of the word convert into the corresponding mid central vowels, such as- √*par* (to study) *–ith* → *pərith* (after completion of studies), √*čāl* (to tolerate) *–ith* → *čālith* (on having tolerated) etc. Similarly, *-e* before the last letter of the verb root changes into *-ī*, such as- √*ner* (to go out/leave) *–ith* → *nīrith* (on having left from a place), √*čen* (to feel) *–ith* → *čīnith* (after having felt) and √*śer* (to mend) *–ith* → *śīrith* (on having mended) etc., about which the author is silent.

-ith is replaced by *–ath* with the verb roots which have *–ĕ* at the end. The words *k̃hath* and *h̃ath* cited by the author as illustrations reveal the conversion of *–ĕ* at the end of the root into *–y* which merges with the preceding consonant in the form of palatalization of that consonant. This does not apply to verb roots where consonant before the final vowel is a palatal sound. The examples are - √*khĕ* (to eat) *–ath* → *k̃hath* (after having eaten), √*hĕ* (to buy) *–ath* → *h̃ath* (after having bought), √*pĕ* (to fall) *–ath* → *p̃ath* (after having fallen), √*cĕ* (to drink) *–ath* → *cath* (after having drunk). Conversion into *–y* seems to be the result of sandhi or coalescence of the final *-ĕ* of *khĕ*, *pĕ* etc. and initial *–a* of *-ath* (√*khĕ* / √*hĕ* + *ath* → *-y* → *k̃hath, h̃ath*).

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The addition of *–k̃ath* after *–ith* is neither found in use in the present day Kashmiri spoken in the valley nor is it seen employed in the literary masterpieces of Lalla Ded, Nund Rishi, Mahjoor or any other, past or present, poet or prose writer of the Kashmiri Language. The fact is that *-ith* followed by *–k̃ath* is actually used by the Kashmiri speakers of Kashtwar and its adjoining areas. This fact not only strengthens the inference that Īśvar Kaul might have not been a Kashmiri speaker of the Kashmir valley but also negates the credibility of the assumption of Dr. Sushila Sar that Īśvar Kaul hailed from Aalikadal, Srinagar, in support of which she has not cited any credible evidence, written or otherwise[10]. ◄

निदियिभ्य इलोपः; वुडो ज इथिमोक्षे –8/9[11]. *–i* is dropped with the verbs √*ni* (to take), √*di* (to give) and √*yi* (to come), e.g., *nith* (after having taken), *dith* (after having given), *yith* (after having come). The addition of *–ith* causes replacement of *–ḍ* of √*vuḍ* by *–z* to derive the form *vuzith* (deliverance).

►The past participle suffix *–ith* consists of three allomorphs viz *–ith*, *-ath* and *-th*. The above sutras and the words cited above as illustrations clearly indicate that these allomorphs are phonologically conditioned. In other words*–ith* is employed with the verb roots which have a consonant at the end (*par →pərith, čal →čəlith, vɔth → vŏthith* etc.), *-ath* occurs with verbs ending in a vowel especially *–ĕ* but other than *–i* (*pĕ → p̃ath, cĕ → cath, khĕ → k̃hath*) while as *–th* is accepted with the verbs ending in *–i* (*ni → nith, di → dith, yi → yith*).

The formation of *vuzith* from √*vuḍ* is inappropriate and does not occur in Kashmiri. *–ith* is added to √*vuḍ* (to fly) to constitute *vuḍith* meaning 'on having faded', 'vanished', 'disappeared, flown'. √*vuz* is a different verb used in the senses 'to spring up, to come into being'[12]

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[10] Sar Sushila – Pt. Īśvar Kaul kRt Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam – anuvād evam vyākhyā -p. i

[11] *nidiyibhya i lopah ; vuḍo z ithi mokṣe* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 9/1/-8/9 p. 297

[12] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol.vii, p. 107

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and 'to wake up'[13]. The past participle of *vuz* → *vuzith* denotes 'on having sprung up and awakened respectively' and not 'deliverance' as indicated by the author. It is possible that *vuzith* might be or might have remained in use among the speakers of some regional dialect of Kashmiri with which the author would have been closely acquainted.◀

मषरावो रलोपः स्वरविनिमयश्च मरणकर्मणि –10[14]. According to author's explanation of the sutra √*məśrāv* means 'to forget'. If *marun* (demise) is the object of √*məśrāv*, the addition of –*ith* causes deletion of –*r* of √*məśrāv*. In addition, short and long vowels interchange into long and short vowels respectively. This results in the formation of *māṣvith – marun māṣvith* (having overlooked death).

▶These assertions of the author are not tenable. In Kashmiri, the verb root carrying the sense 'to forget' is √*məśar* or √*məśürāv*. Its past participle *məśürith* or *məśürāvith* is simply formed by appending –*ith* to the verb root. Assertions regarding interchange of short and long vowels (स्वरविनिमयश्च) as well as use of *alveolar ṣ* (मषरावो) are irrelevant. The word *māṣvith* does not exist in Kashmiri. It is interesting that the word *māṣvith /māśivith* is commonly used by the speakers of Kashṭawar region while as it is also used, though rarely, by the Kashmiri speakers of the Poonch region. It further strengthens the impression that the author was not a Kashmiri speaker of the Kashmir valley.◀

इ प्रत्यय आभीक्ष्ण्ये द्विश्च पदम्; स्वरान्ताद्वा –11/12[15]. The primary suffix –*i* is used to form the participle which denotes repetition of action in the past. In this sense –*i* suffixed form is reduplicated. The examples are: *kəri - kəri* (on having done repeatedly), *būzi - būzi* (on having listened repeatedly), *lūni - lūni* (on having harvested repeatedly). Use of –*i* with the vowel ending roots is

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13 --------- ibid --------- vol.vii, p. 107

14 *maṣrāvo r lopah svarvinimayaśca maraṇ karmaṇi* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam - 9/1/10 p. 297

15 *i pratyaya ābhīkṣyaṇye dviśca padam ; svarāntādvā* : --------- ibid ------ 9/1/-11/12 p. 297

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optional but reduplication of the word is not optional. The examples are- *di – di*, *yi – yi*, *khya – khya* or *dith – dith*, *yith – yith*, *khyath – khyath*, *cyath – cyath* etc.

▶The concept of *–i* suffix is inappropriate. In Kashmiri, the repetitive past participle is actually formed by palatalizing the final consonant[16] (except the palatal consonants) of the root or by adding *–y* to the vowel ending roots. The above cited vowel ending forms are actually pronounced as- √*di* (to give) → *diy – diy* (having repeatedly given), √*yi* (to come) → *yiy – yiy* (having repeatedly come), √*khĕ* (to eat) → *k̃hĕy – k̃hĕy* (having repeatedly eaten) and √*cĕ* (to drink) → *cĕy – cĕy* (having repeatedly drunk). Similarly, the consonant ending forms are used as- √*par* (to read) → *pər̃ - pər̃* (having repeatedly gone through/read), √*kar* (to do) → *kər̃ - kər̃* (having repeatedly done), √*nač* (to dance) → *nəč - nəč̃* (having repeatedly danced), √*lon* (to reap) → *lūñ - lūñ* (having repeatedly harvested), √*vad* (to weep) → *vəd̃ - vəd̃* (having repeatedly wept) etc. These illustrations refer to certain changes in the vowel quality caused by palatalization of the final consonant of the verb root. In other words, the low central vowels (*–a/-ā*) preceding the final consonant convert into the corresponding mid central vowels (*-ə/-ə̄*), the mid back vowel (*–ŏ-*) changes into high back vowel (*–u-*). These and other such changes in the vowel quality are discussed by the author in the following sutras. The words *dith – dith*, *yith – yith*, *khyath – khyath*, *cyath – cyath*[17], quoted by the author as illustration, show deviation from the actual word structure of Kashmiri.◀

आदुपधाया अप्रसिद्धता; एत ईत्; ऊदोकारस्य –13/14/15[18]. The past participles formed by the addition of *–ith* and the formation of repetitive participles cause the conversion of *a/-ā* preceding the final consonant into *aprasiddha* vowel (*-ə/-ə̄*), *-e* converts into *-ī* and *–o* becomes *-ū*.

16

17 Razdan S.- Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 237

18 Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam - p. 298

ādupadhāyā aprasiddhatā ; eta īt ; ūdokārasya : -

-------- ibid -------- 9/1/-13/14/15 p. 298 – 99

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►The addition of suffix *-ith* and the process of formation of repetitive past participles give rise to certain changes in the base which are referred to by the author in the above cited sutras. These are, such as- Common vowels (*a*, *ā*) are replaced by the corresponding uncommon (अप्रसिद्धता) vowels (*ə*, *ə̄*) such as- √*mār* (to kill) → *mārith / mə̄r̃ - mə̄r̃* (having /repeatedly killed/beaten), √*tār* (to make something to cross) → *tārith / tə̄r̃ - tə̄r̃* (having repeatedly made some object to cross over). *-ĕ-* becomes *-ī-* such as- √*čeṭh* (to pound) → *čīṭith / čīṭ̃ – čīṭ̃* (having / repeatedly pounded), √*lekh* (to write) → *līkhith / līk̃h - līk̃h* (having / repeatedly written). *–o-* changes into *–ū*, e.g. √*khoč* (to be frightened) → *khūčith / khūč̃ - khūč̃* (having been / repeatedly frightened),√*boz* (to listen) → *būzith / būz̃ - būz̃* (having / repeatedly listened to), √*tol* (to weigh) → *tūlith / tūl̃ - tūzl̃* (having / repeatedly weighed).◄

आनादयोऽव्ययम् –16[19]. According to this sutra, the forms constituted with the help of the primary affixes *-ān* and *-ith* etc., are indeclinable terms.

►As stated earlier, the indeclinable participles never take the place of the finite verb in a sentence. They rather act as links between the sentences. The indeclinable participles of Kashmiri occur as gerunds, repetitive participles or infinitives. The gerunds and repetitive participles have already been described above while as the infinitives will be discussed at the appropriate place in this chapter.◄

भविष्यति कितु पदम्; कितावनस; अनि च –17/18/19[20]. The post-positional word *-kitu* is employed in the sense of future participle. *–anas* is added to verb roots before *–kitu*. *–ani* is also suffixed to denote the future participle. The examples are- *parnas kitu, rananas kičū, parani gačhi*

►In these sutras the author refers to the infinite participle verbs of Kashmiri. The infinitives generally express the purpose for which an action is done and, thus, involve the sense of the dative case. The

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[19] *ānādayo avyayam* : ---------- Ibid ---------- 9/1/16 p. 299

[20] *bhaviṣyati kitu padam ; kitāvanas ;ani ca* : ------- Ibid ------ 9/1/-17/18/20 p. 299 - 300

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infinitives in Kashmiri are primarily formed by suffixing *–ni* to the verbal roots. The examples are: *rāmas melüni drāv* (went to meet Ram), *śuṟ gačhan kirkaṭ gindüni* (the children will go to play cricket). According to author's explanation of the above sutra, the dative sense denoting post-positional word *–k̃ut* preceded by *–anas* suffixed primary term is used as an infinitive participle. But, the illustrations quoted by the author in support of his sutra statement in no way seem to be used as infinitives. The reason is that an infinitive participle, as stated above, does not make a sentence complete but expresses the purpose for which any action is done. It is to be followed by a finite verb for the completion of both, the sense as well as the sentence. In the illustrations *ranünas k̃ut* (to cook); *parünas k̃ut* (to read); *čeṭünas k̃ut* (to pound) quoted by the author,[21] the participles preceding *k̃ut* are in the dative case and necessarily require, besides a finite verb, the presence of an appellative which functions as the direct object of both i.e. participle and the finite verb. A participle associated with the postpositional word *k̃ut* and followed by an appellative constitutes the dative determinative compound, such as- ***k̃hanas/k̃hŏn*** *k̃ut batü* → *k̃hŏn batü*; ***rozünas/rozüñ*** *kič jāy* → *rozüñ jāy* (house to live in) etc. (see 3/5). These participles, therefore, act as the indirect objects of the finite verbs rather than as infinite verbs as argued in the sutra. The post-positional word *k̃ut* takes the number and gender of the direct object (see 2/1/54), such as- *ranünas/ranun k̃ut/kič ŏnun/əñin* ***tŏmul/sabüzī*** (brought rice/vegetables to cook).

Further, in his explanation of the sutra the author says that *–na* of *–anas* is dropped and only *–as* is employed before *–k̃ut* with the participle of √*čeṭ* (to pound) → *čeṭanas* → *čeṭas k̃ut*, and *–i* is used with √*graz* (to roar) → *grazanas* → *grazi k̃ut*. In this regard it is noteworthy that both these forms i.e., *čeṭas k̃ut* and *grazi k̃ut* are unintelligible and do not exist at least in the Kashmiri spoken in the valley of Kashmir. It is possible that these and other such forms might have been in use in some regional dialect/s of Kashmiri with which the author must have remained familiar. However, *-as* is replaced by,

21 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 300

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as exemplified above, the primary suffix *–un* (*čeṭun k̃ut*, *grazun k̃ut* etc.). The oblique (mas. sg.) affix *–as* as well as the dative post-positional word *–k̃ut* are also misperceived as *–anas* and *-kitu* respectively by the author.

Further, according to author *–ani* is also employed to form the infinite participles. But, the infinite derivatives like *parüni*, *ranüni*, *vuchini*, *dini*, *čěni* etc., show that the suffix is actually *–ni* and not *–ani* as perceived by the author. *–ü* or *–i* is infixed before *–ni* with the consonant ending roots to avoid consonant junction, such as- *parüni*, *ranüni*, *vuchini* etc.. It is important to note that *–ni* suffixed participles denote prior of the two action done for sake of which the latter action takes place, such as- *bāyis melüni āv* (came to meet his brother).◄

समखः शुकप्रष्टव्ये नित्यम् –19[22]. √*samakh* means 'to meet personally'. *samakh* associated with (*-ani*) *–ni* denotes 'visit to condole the demise of' such as- *samkhüni gav*[23] (III mas. sg. went to condole the demise).

►The verb *samakh* is commonly used in the sense of meeting. In that sense it is always preceded by the noun which functions as object of *samak* and takes oblique case singular or plural termination. The examples are: *mě chu naphüras samükhun* (I have to meet a person), *mě chu naphüran samükhun* (I have to meet some people), *mě chu naphüras samükhüni gačhun* (I have to go to meet a person). The term *samükhüni* is also used in the sense of 'a visit to condole death' only by the Pandit speakers of Kashmiri. In that sense *samakhüni* is followed by the verb √*gačh* and does not occur preceded or followed by any noun and neither does it undergo any grammatical process according to number, gender or person. ◄

निदियिभ्योऽकारलोपः; उनु वा; उन्वन्तं लिंगवत् –21/22/23[24]. *–a* of *–anas* is dropped with the verb roots *ni*, *di* and *yi*, e.g., *ninas* /

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[22] *samakhah śukapraṣṭavye nityam* : --------- ibid ------ 9/1/19 p. 301

[23] ---------- ibid --------- p. 301

[24] *nidiyibhyoakārlopah; unu vā ; unvantam liṅgavat* :
---------- ibid ------- 9/1/-21/22/23 p. 301

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dinas / yinas k̃ut. *–anas ~ -nas* is optionally replaced by *–un* as in- *karun k̃ut*. The forms derived by the addition of *–un* occur as nouns and the post-positional word *-k̃ut* takes different forms, according to number, gender etc. .The examples are- mas.sg. → *ranun k̃ut*; mas.plu. → *ranüñ kiť*; fem.sg; fem.plu. → *karüñi kičü* etc.

▶The above sutras show deviation from the main subject. In other words, *-un* is added to the verbal roots to convert them into primary nominal stems while as the present chapter deals with, as the title indicates, the formation of primary verbal stems. The words quoted by the author as illustrations belong to the category of nominal bases (उन्वन्तं लिंगवत्) and thus could have been discussed at the appropriate place in the next sub-chapter which deals with the participle nominal bases.

As explained earlier, *–un* suffixed nominal base followed by post-positional word *k̃ut* usually functions as first component of the dative determinative compounds which, when compounded with the second component, causes deletion of *k̃ut*. When these compounds are dissolved *k̃ut* takes the number and gender of the second component which is the direct object of the finite verb in the sentence. The examples are: mas.sg. *na chus k̃hŏn batü → k̃hŏn **k̃ut batü**, na chus valun palav → valuun **k̃uť palav** tü na chus rozùn makānü → rozun **k̃uť makānü*** (neither has he food to eat, nor clothes to cover his body and nor has he house to live in); fem.sg. *na chas k̃hěñ čŏṭ → k̃hěñ **kič** **čŏṭ** na chas čhünüñ zəṭ→ čhünüñ **kič zəṭ** tü na chas chapüñ pəhar → chapüñ **kič** pəhar* (neither has he bread to eat, nor tatter to put on and nor has he a shed to take shelter) etc.◀

स्वरान्तेभ्योऽनिदियिभ्य आदेरत; कर्तरि वनु; वनावकारागमः
–24/25/26[25].

According to author's explanation of the sutra *–u* of *–unu* is replaced by *–a* with the vowel ending roots except √*ni*, √*di* and √*yi*, such as- *khyanu kitu, cyanu kitu, hyanu kitu, ninu kitu, dinu kitu, yinu kitu* etc.,

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25 *Svarāntebhyoanidiyibhya āderat ; kartari vanu ; vanāvakārāgamah :*
------- ibid ------ 9/1/-24/25/26 p. 302

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-vanu is used in the sense of 'agent/doer', *-a* is augmented before *–vanu* such as- *vyaṭhvanu*, *poṭhvanu* etc.

►These assertions are incoherent. The above given suffixes are actually pronounced as *–un* and *–vun* and not–*unu* and *–vunu* as assumed by the author and as revealed by the illustration quoted in support of the sutra. The affixes–*un* and *–vun* are appended to the verbal roots to derive the nominal stems (like *khasüvun siriy* – the rising sun, *vasüvun poñ* – the flowing water etc.) and, therefore, should have been discussed in the following sub-chapter on Participle Noun". The stems derived by addition of *–vun* function as attributives of the appellatives they precede. For example *vasüvun poñ chu śəd yivān mānünü* (flowing water is considered pure). The statement '*–vun* is employed to denote the agent (कर्तरि वनु)' thus, proves to be inappropriate.

Replacement of *–u* of *–un/u* by *–a* applies neither to verb roots ending in a vowel sound and nor is it applicable to the verb roots having a consonant sound at the end. The fact is that addition of *–un* converts the final vowel, especially *–i*, into *–y* which merges with the consonant (except palatals) preceding *–i* in the form of palatalization while as vowel *–ĕ* at the end of the verb root causes *–u* of *–un* to change into *-ŏ*. The examples are- √*ni –un* → *ñun* (taking), √*di –un* → *d̃un* (giving), √*yi –un* → *yun* (coming), √*cĕ –un* → *cŏn* (drinking), √*khĕ –un* → *khŏn* (eating) etc. Similarly, addition of *–vun* causes, as described earlier also, augment of *–ü* and *–vü* with the consonant and vowel ending roots respectively and not *–a* as indicated by the sutra (वनावकारागमः). The examples are: √*par –vun* → *parüvun*, √*ni –vun* → *nivüvun*, √*ṽaṭh –vun* → *ṽaṭhüvun*, √*poṭh –vun* → *poṭhüvun*, etc. ◄

स्वरान्तेभ्यो वपूर्वः –27[26]. This sutra is a continuation of the previous sutra. It means that *–v* is augmented before *–vun* with the vowel ending roots.

►As explained above, the augmented letter is actually pronounced as *–vü* →√*ni –vun* → *nivüvun* and not only *–v-* as given in the sutra◄.

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[26] *svarāntebhyo vapūrvah* : ------- ibid --------- 9/1/27 p. 303

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वोलग्राक पदौ च; तयोरनागमः -28/29[27]. *–vol* and *-grāk* are also appended to verb roots to express the agent of the action. Besides, *-an* is added before *–vol* / *-grāk* such as- *paranvol*, *parangrākh* etc. While explaining the sutra Īśvar Kaul says, "addition of *–un* converts √*zān* into noun *zānun*. According to 2/1/32 *–u-* of *–un* is replaced by *-a-* → *zānan* and according to 9/2/71 the abstract noun *zān* is formed. Addition of *–vol* changes *–n* of *zān* into *–ñ* and thus is derived its feminine form *zāñvol*."

▶This sutra is inaptly included in this chapter which, as its title conveys, should be exclusively dealing with the description and formation of the participle verbs (कृत्- कियादिपादः). *–vol* and *-grāk* post-positional words are actually employed with the nouns in the sense of "possession", such as- *daulath-vol* (possessor of wealth/wealthy person), *makānü-vol* (owner/possessor of house/s), *bāč-grāk garü* (a household of large family) etc. If *–vol* and *-grāk* are appended to verb roots, the resulting stems stand in a general adjectival relationship to a following noun and do not occur as participle verbs. The examples are: √*hěch* (to learn/acquire skill) *–an-vol* → *kām* ***hěchan-vol*** *ləḍükü* (the boy who acquires the skill), √*gačh* (to go) *–an-vol* → *sŏkūl* ***gačhan-vol*** *śur* (the school going child), √*calāv* (to make to go/move) *–an-vol* → *bas* ***calāvan-vol*** (the bus driver) √*par* (to read) *–an-vol*, √*par* (to read) *–an-vol* → *akhübār* ***paran-vol*** (the newspaper reader) etc.

The author has oftentimes tried to apply the Paninian style of word formation (by the process of addition, subtraction or replacement of letters) unthinkingly. This approach has invariably resulted in misperceptions, misinterpretations and intricacies. A language in the process of its evolution develops its own peculiarities according to its geographical locus as well as the socio-cultural and religious milieu of its users. The peculiarities, thus, developed distinguish a language from other languages evolving from the same stock or family of languages. Therefore, a uniform and fixed approach of linguistic analysis and synthesis cannot be applied to all

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[27] *volgrāk padau ca ; tayoranāgamah* : -------- ibid ----- 9/1/-28/29 p. 303

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languages as it becomes unworkable and distortional. In Kashmiri, as stated and exemplified earlier, some verbal roots are converted into appellatives or attributives by the process of the *zero* (*-θ*) affixation. The noun *zān* (perception, acquaintance) actually belongs to this category of nouns. *zāñ* meaning 'known' is a different word formed by adding palatalisation to the final letter of the root which in turn causes change in quality of the vowel preceding *–n ~ -ñ* such as- *√zān → zāñ*. It is noteworthy that the post-positional words *–vol* and *-grāk* are not found used after the forms like *zān* or *zāñ*. Instead, the postpositional word *-kār* is seen most commonly used after *zān* and *zāñ* such as *zān-kār* (conversant/knowledgeable), *zāñ-kār* (acquaintance). *-grāk* is usually employed with the words of household such as- *bāč-grāk, śuř-grāk* etc. *-grāk* is not seen used with all verb roots as given by the author. In other words, the forms such as- *paran-grāk, lekhan-grāk* or other such forms are not used in normal discourse. The feminine forms of *–vol* and *-grāk* are *-vājañ → garü-vajañ* and *-grākañ → garü-grākañ* respectively.◄

स्वरान्तात्सस्वरः; न्यादीनामल्लोपः –30/31[28]. The augmented *–an* is used along with vowel (सस्वरः) with the vowel ending verb roots, such as- *√khě* (to eat) → *k̃han-vol* (eater), *cě* (to drink) → *can-vol* (drinker). *–a* of *–an* is dropped with the verb roots *√ni* (to take), *√di* (give) and *√yi* (come) such as- *nin-vol* (taker), *din-vol* (giver), *yin-vol* (comer).

►These assertions are not tenable. The number of vowel ending verb roots is very small in Kashmiri. These roots end either in *–ě* such as- *√khě*, *√cě*, *√pě* or in *–i* such as- *√ni*, *√di*, *√yi*. The affix *–anü* is actually added before the post-positional word *–vol* to the roots having *–ě* at the end while as only *–nü* is affixed to roots having *–i* at the end. The examples are: *√khě → k̃hanü-vol*, *√cě → canü-vol*, *√pě → p̃anü-vol*, *√ni → ninü-vol*, *√di → dinü-vol*, and *√yi → yinü-vol*. These stems are generally employed as adjectives and, therefore, should have been discussed at the appropriate place in the next sub-chapter which deals with the participle nouns.◄

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[28] *svarāntātsasvarah ; nyādīnāmallopah* : ------ ibid ---- 9/1/-30/31 p. 304-305

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दिदावोर्नल्लालौ व्यभिचारिण्याम्; कर्मोपपदे पुंस्यऽश्लीले -32/33[29]. –*nal* and –*al* are used with verbs √*di* (to give) → *dinal* and √*dāv* (to cause to be given) → *dāval* to denote 'woman of promiscuous character'. In case *-nal* and –*al* affixed participles are preceded by the female object they impart the sense 'immoral act by a male', such as- *māji dinal* (trading mother), *beñi dinal* (trading sister) etc.

▶It is to be noted that the words quoted by the author in support of these sutras are salacious words and are not commonly used in speech.◀

नलो लो वा; क्वचिल्लोपः -34/35[30]. The initial –*n*- of affix –*nal* is optionally converted into –*l*- and in certain cases it is dropped. The examples quoted are: *māji-dinal* ~ *māji-dilal* ~ *māji-dil*.

▶As stated above, these words have explicit sexual overtones and are not found in common use.◀

प्रधानातीते उः ; चिरख्योरौवादेशः ; नेरूव -36/37/38[31]. –*u* is suffixed to verb roots to indicate past principal verb, such as- *karu* (did), *paru* (read), *khanu* (dug). –*u* is replaced by –*auv* with √*cĕ* and √*khĕ* such as- *cyau*, *khyauv*. *-ūv* is used with √*ni* (to take away) such as- *nyūv* (took away).

▶These sutras as well as the words cited as illustrations are misquoted and misinterpreted. The concept of affix –*u* is incorrect. In Kashmiri, proximate past tense is expressed by changing the vowel quality of the vowel associated with the initial consonant of the root. In addition, first and second person singular and plural denoting affixes are also suffixed. The forms thus constituted function as the principal verbs of the past passive constructions. It changes according to the person of its agent in the past active or intransitive constructions but takes the number and gender of its object in the past

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29 *didāvornallalau vyabhicāriṇyām ; karmopapade pumsyaśīle* : ------- ibid ------ 9/2/-32/33 p. 305

30 *nalo lo vā ; kvacillopah* : ---------- ibid ---------- 9/1/-34/35 p. 305

31 *pradhānātīte uh ; cirkhyorauvādeśah ; neruv* : --------- ibid ------ 9/1/-36/37/38 p. 306

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passive constructions. For more lucidity, given below are a few examples:

Transitive Passive	*Intransitive Active*
I Person	
*Sg./Plu. **object***	*Sg./Plu. **agent***
mĕ pŏr **sabakh**	bü vŏth**us**
(I went through the lesson)	(I woke up)
mĕ pər̃ **sabakh**	əs̃ vəth̃
(I went through the lessons)	(we woke up)
II Person	
čĕ pŏr**uth sabakh**	čü vŏth**ukh**
(you went through the lesson)	(you sg. woke up)
čĕ pər**ith sabakh**	tŏhya vəth**ivü**
(you went through the lessons)	(you plu. woke up)
təm̃/tami pŏr **sabakh**	su/sɔ vŏth/vəč
(he/she read the lesson)	(he/she woke up)
təm̃/tami pər̃ **sabakh**	tim/timü **vəth̃/vačü**
(he/she read the lessons)	(they woke up)

Similarly, *-auv* (औव) is wrongly perceived and the affix used with *-ĕ* ending roots is actually pronounced as *–av* with a socio-regional variant *–ŏv*. It is to be noted that only transitive roots have *-ĕ* at the end. Accordingly, *–av/-ŏv* takes the grammatical form in accordance with the object of the action in the first and third persons while as in the second person it changes according to both, the object as well as the agent of the action, such as-

mĕ k̃hav ~ k̃hŏv biskūṭ	***mĕ khĕyi biskūṭ***
(I ate a biscuit)	(I ate biscuits)
asi khav~ k̃hŏv biskūṭ	***asi khĕyi biskūṭ***
(we ate a biscuit)	(we ate biscuits)
čĕ k̃hoth biskūṭ	***čĕ k̃heth biskūṭ***
(you ate a biscuit)	(you ate biscuits)
tɔhi khovü biskūṭ	***tɔhi khevü biskūṭ***
(you ate a biscuit)	(you ate biscuits)

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These illustrations reveal that the given affixes are simple past tense denoting conjugational affixes and cannot be included in the category of primary affixes as is done by the author. ◄

कर्तृधातूनामाख्यातभूतक्रियैव नित्यम्; भूतपदान्मतु पदं कर्मणि -39/40[32]. In the subjective use the intransitive verb always takes the past tense denoting conjugational affixes according to the number and gender of the agent, such as- *čalu* (mas. sg. took to heels), *čali* (mas. plu. took to heels)[33], *vyĕṭhav* (mas.sg. became fat), *vyĕṭheyi* (mas.plu. became fat) etc. In the objective use *–matu* (actually pronounced as *-mut*) is employed to form the past participle of the verb which necessarily has an object. The author further says that in transitive constructions *matu* affixed participle verbs are influenced by the number and gender of the object of action.

► According to above sutras, the intransitive verb always (नित्यम्) takes the past tense denoting conjugational affixes in the subjective use and *–mut* is suffixed to the transitive verbs to form their past participles. While explaining these sutras, the author further says that *–mut* is suffixed to intransitive verbs after making certain alterations in the conjugational affixes associated with these roots, such as- *vyĕṭhav* →*vyaṭh – au* →*y* > *vyĕṭhyo-mut*[34] (कर्तृधातूनां यथा। व्यठ्यो मतु स्थूलीभूतः। व्यठ स्थूली भवने औव यागमः [8/3/46 सूत्रेण] व्यठ्योव पदात् मतु पदम्[35]). It defies one's understanding as to why the author has usually tried to convert the otherwise short, simple and appropriate rules into lengthy, intricate and irrelevant descriptions. It would be in place to mention that the termination *–mut* is actually expressive of the passive and impersonal and perfect tenses. *-mut* suffixed participles associated with the auxiliary √*ch* or √*ās* conjugated according to number and gender of the object of the verb, are very frequently used to indicate the present and past perfect

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32 *kartRdhātūnāmākhyātabhūtakriyaiva nityam; bhūtapadānmatu padam karmaṇi* : ---------- ibid ---------- 9/1/-39/40 p. 306

33 Actually pronounced as *čŏl* and *čəl* respectively

34 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 307

35 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 307

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tenses. In the present as well as past passive perfect constructions – *mut* suffixed participle of a transitive verb agrees with its object in number and gender and the agent is put in the instrumental case. The active perfect participle of intransitive verbs is treated exactly like the verb in the past tense. When employed so it takes number and gender of the agent which is put in the nominative case. Besides, perfect passive participles of a few intransitive verbs are used impersonally as well. The following examples will make the statement cogent.

Present Passive Perfect:
təm̃/tami chu **oluv** rŏnü**mut** ~ təm̃/tami chu rŏnü**mut oluv**
(he/she has cooked a potato)
təm̃/tami chi **olav** rəñi**müt̃** ~ təm̃/tami chi rəñi**müt̃ oluv**
(he/she has cooked potatoes)
təm̃/tami chi **muj** rəñi**müč** ~ təm̃/tami chi rəñi**müč muj**
(he/she has cooked a radish)
təm̃/tami chi **muji** rañi**müčü** ~ təm̃/tami chi rañi**müčü muji**
(he/she has cooked radishes)

Past Passive Perfect:
təm̃/tami os **oluv** rŏnü**mut** ~ təm̃/tami os rŏnü**mut oluv**
(he/she had cooked a potato)
təm̃/tami əs̃ **olav** rəñi**müt̃** ~ təm̃/tami əs̃ rəñi**müt̃ oluv**
(he/she has cooked potatoes)
təm̃/tami əs **muj** rəñi**müč** ~ təm̃/tami əs rəñi**müč muj**
(he/she has cooked a radish)
təm̃/tami ās̤ü **muji** rañi**müčü** ~ təm̃/tami āsü rañi**müčü muji**
(he/she has cooked radishes).

Present Active Perfect:
su chu garü go**mut** ~ **su** chu go**mut** garü
(he has gone to home)
sɔ chi garü gə**müč** ~ **sɔ** chi gə**müč** garü
(she has gone to home)
tim chi garü gə**müt̃** ~ **tim** chi gə**müt̃** garü
(they have gone to home)
timü chi garü gə**müčü** ~ **timü** chi gə**müčü** garü
(they have gone to home)

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Past Active Perfect:
su os garü **gomut ~ su** os **gomut** garü
(he had gone to home)
sɔ ɔ̄s garü **gəmüč ~ sɔ** ɔ̄s **gəmüč** garü
(she had gone to home)
tim ɔ̄s̃ garü **gəmüt̃ ~ tim** ɔ̄s̃ **gəmüt̃** garü
(they had gone to home)
timü āsü garü **gəmüčü ~ timü** āsü **gəmüčü** garü
(they had gone to home)
Impersonal Use:
tami os nŏčü**mut** (she had danced).

–mut suffixed stems are also used attributively and thus, decline in various cases according to number and gender of the appellatives which follow them. The examples are:

	Mas. sg.	*Plu.*
Nom.	garü ām**ut pŏč**h	garü ām**üt̃ pəč**h
Obl.	garü āmü**tis pəčhis**	garü āmü**t̃an pačhan**
	Fem. sg.	Plu.
Nom.	garü āmüč **zanānü**	garü āmüčü **zanānü**
Obl.	garü āmüči **zanāni**	garü āmüčan **zanānan** ◄

हेः पूर्वं भावपदं चारब्धे –41[36]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of the sutra √*hi*[37] is used in the sense of 'to take' (हि ग्रहणादिषु[38]). –mut is suffixed to √*hi* and is used after the past participle verb to denote 'commencement of an action', such as- *g̃avun h̃atmut, karun* h̃atmut (गीयमानम्, क्रियमाणम्[39]).

►The verb root is actually √*hĕ* and not *hi* as used by the author. √*hĕ* is used in various senses such as- "to buy/purchase, to take, to endure, to feel someone's absence, to deteriorate due to illness, to begin etc.,,[40]. Besides, √*hĕ*, clubbed with the participle termination –

36
37 *heh pūrvam bhāvapadam cārabdhe* : ——— ibid ——— 9/1/41 p. 308
38 ——— ibid ——— p. 308
39 ——— ibid ——— p. 308
40 ——— ibid ——— p. 308
Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 279

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mut and associated with the auxiliary √*ch* / √*ās* followed by –un suffixed participle verb, is employed to denote 'perfection of the inception or commencement of an action in the present and past tenses'. In this sense the participle verbs assume the number and gender of the object, auxiliary is also conjugated according to number and gender of the object while as the agent is put in the instrumental case. Listed below are a few illustrations in support of these assertions:

Present Indefinite/continuous:
√*hĕ* – to buy, to miss, to take

bü **chus** /**chas** pen h̃avān (I buy / am buying pen/pens)
əs̃ **chi** pen h̃avān (we buy / are buying pen/pens)
śur **hĕyi** majond (the child will miss /feel the absence of the mother)
mĕ **h̃əč** təm̃sünz zimüvārī (I took his responsibility)

Present / Past Perfect:
təm̃ / **tami** chu /os g̃av**un** h̃ŏtmut
(he/she has/ had started singing)
təm̃ / tami **chu /os batü** ranun h̃ŏt**mut**
(he /she has / had started cooking rice)
təm̃ / tami **chi /əs sabzi** ran**üñ** h̃əč**müč**
(he /she has / had started cooking the vegetable dish).

It is in place to mention that the author's Sanskrit translation of the above quoted illustrations clearly indicates his misperceptions. In his explanation of the sutra the author says आरब्धे कर्मणि अभिधेये सति हि धातोः मतुपदं भवति meaning if the 'commencement of an action' is expressed, *-matu* (*-mut*) is added to √*hi*. The examples quoted in this regard are *g̃avun h̃atmut* and *karun h̃atmut* meaning has/have started singing and has/have started doing the action respectively. At the same time the author has translated these constructions as गीयमानम् and क्रियमाणम् which indicates continuity of action rather than perfection of action. This is quite surprising how a person, who is otherwise well versed in the Sanskrit language, could misconstrue the present perfect participle as active present participle.◀

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गच्छोऽतीतानागतौ धातुभावतस्तव्यार्थे –42[41]. The author says that verb *gačh* (to go) is used as auxiliary in the sense of '*tavya*' (तव्यार्थे) in the past and future tenses such as- *čĕ gačhi gačhun*, *tɔhi gačhi gačhun*.

▶In Sanskrit the primary affixes *tavya* and *anīya*[42] are added to verbal roots or stems in the sense of 'must be, ought to be or fit to be' etc. In Kashmiri, *gačh* followed by an infinitive verb implies expressions like duty, necessity and moral obligation. In this sense, the termination *–ŏ* is either substituted in place of *–a-* in the root *gach* or *–i* and *–ihe* are suffixed to *gach*. The agent of the infinite verb is employed in the genitive case. The examples are-

con gŏčh gačhun sŏkūl	*con gačhi gačhun sŏkūl*
(you ought to go to school)	(you must go to school)
con gačhihe gačhun sŏkūl	(you ought to have gone to school)

This description reveals that the illustrations cited by the author *čya gačhu gačhunu* (you sg. ought to go); *tvahya gačhu gačhunu* (you plu. ought to go) and *tatu gačhu gačhunu* (must go there) are structurally defective.◀

विधिनिषेधयोर्लगः; भाव्यार्थे पज़श्च –43/44[43]. The verb √*lag* is used to express 'to stick to or to be attached to' and 'to be wounded'. The verb √*paz* means 'to be appropriate'. These two verbs are also used to show the likelihood of a certain action. The examples are: *tatu lagi gačhun* (proper to go there), *tatu lagi na gačhun* (not proper to go there). *tatu pazi gačhun* (must go there), *tatu pazihe gačhun* (ought to have gone there).

▶In Kashmiri, or even in other Indian vernaculars, some lexical verbs, besides being used as verbs, are specifically employed as modal verbs or potential passive/impersonal participles. As a

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41 *gačhoatītānāgatau dhātubhāvatastavyārthe*: Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 9/1/42 p. 309

42 *tavyattavyānīyarah* : Pāṇini 3.1.96

43 *vidhiniṣedhayorlagah; bhāvyārthe pazaśca*: Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam : - 9/1/-43/44 p. 309

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potential participle it does not express an action but indicates the modality of the action with which it is used or which follows it. The verbs *gačh*, *lag* and *paz* fall in this category of verbs. The agent is generally put in the oblique form (instrumental case). The examples are- (*čě/mě/təmis*) ***lagi*** *tŏt/tor gačhun* (proper for you/me/him to go there), *tŏt/tor lagi* ***nü*** *gačhun* (not proper to go there). *tŏt/tor pazi gačhun* (must go there), *tŏt/tor* ***pazihe*** *gačhun* (ought to have gone there). Similarly, - *tŏt/tor* ***pazihā/ lagihā*** *gačhun*? (was it proper to go there). Sometimes the agent is put in the genitive case, e.g. *con* ***pazihe/gačhihe*** *gačhun* (you ought to have gone). The constructions cited by the author do not match with the actual sentence or clause structure of Kashmiri.◀

षष्ठी तृतीया वैषां कर्तरि; एभ्य एव संबन्धप्रत्ययाश्च -45/46[44]. In the potential passive/impersonal participle the agent is put in the genitive or instrumental case, such as- *čě gŏčh karun ~ con gŏčh karun*; *čě pazi ranun ~ con pazi ranun*; *čě lagi dapun ~ con čě lagi nü dapun*. These potential passive participles take the relational affixes according to the number, gender and person of the object of the main verb such as- *gačhus karun*; *gačhya karun*; *lagyas karun*; *lagiy karun*; *pazyas parun* etc.

▶The examples quoted above in support of sutra 45 indicate that the agent of the finite verb, preceded by the modal verb *gačh*, is put in the oblique form (in the sense of the accusative case) in the objective construction while as in the subjective construction the agent is put in the genitive case as in- ***čě*** *gŏčh/gačhi karun* (*dūrī namaskār*) (you ought to be kept away); ***con*** *gŏčh/gačhi karun sārinüy* (*namaskār*) (you ought salute every one). If the finite verb is associated with the modal verb *paz*, the agent is employed in the instrumental case as in- *čě pazi ranun batü* (you ought to cook food). The illustrations quoted in support of sutra 46 reveal that the modal verbs take pronominal adjuncts rather than the general conjugational affixes. These pronominal adjuncts provide information about number, gender and

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[44] *ṣaṣṭhī tRtīyām vaiṣām kartari; ebhya evasambandhapratyayāśca* :
-------- ibid -------- 9/1/-45/46 p. 310

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person of the associated nominal onto the finite element of the verb as in- - *gŏčhus karun* (someone should do an action to someone); *gačhi karun* (someone should do the action); *lagyas karun* (it is proper for someone to do the action); *lagiy karun* (it is proper for you to do the action); *pazyas parun* (someone ought to study). The constructions *gačhus karun*; *gačhya karun*; *lagyas karun*; *lagiy karun*; *pazyas parun* etc. are incorrectly spelled by the author.◀

एकपदे भावतः परा वा; अनेकपदेषु वाक्यारम्भपदात् -47/48[45]. A modal verb may occur before or after the main verb in the sentences consisting of only one phrase while as a modal verb follows the initial word in the construction consisting of many phrases. The examples are: *gačhu gačhun ~ gačhun gačhu* (ought to go/ought to have gone); *ada gačhu tatu gačhanu* (afterwards ought to have gone there), *ada pazi tati dapanu* (then ought to tell there).

▶The place of a modal verb is not fixed in the constructions consisting of one phrase especially a verb phrase. It may precede or follow the main verb without causing any change of meaning. In other words *gŏčh gačhun* or *gačhun gŏčh* denote the same sense i.e. 'ought to have gone'. In the sentences consisting of more than one phrase, a modal verb usually follows the initial word of the sentence. In such constructions the agent occurs in the oblique or genitive case and the selection is made according to the type of the modal verb. For lucidity given below are a few examples:

con gačhihe gačhun tor (you should/ought to have gone there);
čĕ pazihīy gačhun tor (you ought to have gone there);
čĕ pazihīy vanun timan (you ought to have told them);
timam lagi tor gačhun (it is proper for them to go there).

These illustrations also reveal that the sentences cited by the author are structurally misfit. The verb √*van* is most commonly used in the sense of 'to say' than the verb √*dap/h*. However, the participles

[45] *ekapadebhāvatah parā vā ; anekapadeṣu vākyārambhapadāt* :
-------- ibid ------ 9/1/-47/48 p. 310-311

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of √*dap* → *dapun, dapüni, dəpith* are particularly used for 'extending an invitation'[46].◄

गच्छो गतागतप्रयोगा उदन्तभावतः कामार्थे −49[47]. According to this sutra a verbal noun associated with *–u* at the end and accompanied by √*gačh* according to the number and gender of the agent in the potential mood expresses a wish or a desire of the speaker in the past as well as future tenses. The examples are: *su gačhi gačhünu* (he must/should go); *tim gačhan gačhüni* (they must/should go); *čü gačhakh gačhünu* (you sg. must/should go); *tŏhi gačhiv gačhüni* (you plu. must/should go); *əs̃ gačhav zenani* (we must win). In the words of Īśvar Kaul, these sentences impart the desiderative mood. The examples of past tense are- *tāph gŏčh karun* (may it be sunny); *kul̃ gəc̃h khasüñ* (the plants should grow); *əs̃ gəc̃h baḍüñ* (we should grow) etc.

►The constructions cited in support of the sutra indicate that verb √*gačh* functions as an ancillary as well to express a wish, desire or a surmise or opinion regarding an action. It is followed by the participle derived by the addition of *–un* and takes number and gender according to the doer of participle verb, such as- ***su gačhi gačhun*** (he should go), ***su gačhi vanun*** (he should say), ***tim gačhan gačhüñ*** (they should go), ***tim gačhan vanüñ*** (they should say), ***tāph gŏčh karun, kul̃ gəc̃h khasüñ*** etc. The use of *–u* at the end of the forms is not correct.◄

भावकर्मणोरनी −50[48]. *-anī* is employed with the verb roots to derive the abstract forms such as- √*kar* → *karanī* ; √*pakh* → *pakani*; √*vɔth* → *vɔthanī* etc.

►The suffix is actually *-nī* and not *-anī* as assumed by the author and *-ü* is augmented before *–ni*, such as- *parüni*, *vanüni* etc. The words cited by author as examples are actually pronounced as-

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[46] ***dapüñi*** *drāyikhay yəzümabāyī* ***dəpith*** *āyikhay bāndüvan* : Kashmiri marriage folk song.

[47] *gačho gatāgataprayogā udantabhāvatah kāmārthe* : Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam 9/1/49 p. 311

[48] *bhāvakarmaṇoranī* : ---------- ibid -------- 9/1/50 p. 312

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karünī; *paküni* and *vɔthünī* respectively although *paküni* and *vɔthünī* are unintelligible and do not occur in speech.◀

नञोऽर्थे धातोरनय −51[49]. *–anay* is suffixed to verbal roots to express 'negativity' such as- *karanay* (not having done), *garanay* (not having made/sharpened/chiseled), *paranay* (not having studied), *poṭhanay* (not having strengthened), *dinay* (not having given), *hyanay* (not having bought) etc.

▶The above cited words are actually pronounced as *karünay*, *garünay*, *parünay*, *poṭhünay*, *dinay* and *hyanay* respectively which indicates that negativity-denoting suffix is actually *–nay* and not *–anay* as given by the author. Besides, use of *–nay* with the consonant ending roots causes augment of *–ü* before *–nay* while as *–ĕ* at the end → √*hĕ* (to buy/purchase) converts into *–y* and thus makes the consonant preceding *–ĕ* palatalized as in *hĕ* → *h̃anay*. *–i* at the end occurs unchanged such as- √*di* (to give) → *dinay*; √*ni* (to take) → *ninay* etc.◀

▶This is the last sutra of the first part (sub-chapter 1) of the chapter on primary stem formation in Kashmiri. The chapter is a detailed description of the primary affixes as well as the stems constituted with the help of these affixes. The in-depth study of this chapter shows that the participle verbs in Kashmiri are largely employed to take the place of present tense in the active constructions and perfect tense in the passive and impersonal constructions. As infinitives these generally express the purpose for which an action is done while as in the form of gerunds these denote the prior of the two actions done by the same agent. The active present participles are formed by suffixing *-ān* or *vān* to the verb roots (see sutra 2-3 वर्तमाने धातुभ्य आन;वपूर्वः) which, as a finite verb of the simple construction, occur combined with the auxiliary according to doer and time of action. The perfect participles are derived by appending *–mut* suffix to verb roots (see sutra 39-40 भूतपदान्मतु पदं कर्मणि). In the simple sentences *–mut* suffixed participle verb in combination with the auxiliary according to time and object of action functions as finite

[49] *nañoarthe dhātoranay* : ---------- ibid ------ 9/1/51 p. 312

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verb of the construction. Further, the study also reveals that proper order of the participles has not been followed. In other words, the indeclinable participles should have been discussed after the present and past perfect participles while as these have been randomly described in between the description of the two. This disjointed presentation disrupts the process of understanding of the reader and thereby makes it difficult for him to grasp the subject. In addition, suffixes referred to in sutra 38 are simple past tense denoting conjugational affixes and should not have been included in the category of primary affix as has been done by the author. Similarly, inclusion of secondary affixes like *-vol* and *-grāk* (see sutra 28-32) in this chapter is also a deviation from the main subject. ◀

The author has concluded the chapter on formation of participle verbs with these words: (इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते कृदन्तप्रक्रियायां कृत्क्रियापादः प्रथमः) here ends the formation of participle verbs, the first sub-chapter on the primary derivatives in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region.

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9.2
Participle Noun[1]

▶The formation of primary derivatives is discussed in two sub-chapters. The first sub- chapter titled 'KRtkriyāpāda' (Participle verb) is a detailed description of the primary affixes which are added to verb roots or their modified forms to derive the forms which, when associated with the auxiliaries, occur as the finite or principal verbs of the simple sentences. The second sub-chapter, titled 'Bhāvapāda' (Participle noun), provides a description of the primary affixes which are used with the verb roots to convert them into the nominal stems. This sub-chapter has 92 sutras. Sutras 1 to 22 relate to a description of those affixes which are employed to derive the masculine stems while as the affixes which are used to constitute the feminine stems are discussed in sutras from sutra 23 onwards.◀

The first sutra of this sub-chapter is:

भावे −1[2]. According to author's explanation of this sutra the affixes discussed here onwards are employed to derive abstract nouns from the verbal roots (इतः परं ये वक्ष्यमाणाः प्रत्ययास्ते सर्वे भावे विज्ञेयाः)[3].

पुंस्युन; अनु उनु वा −2/3[4]. *–anu* or *-un* is employed to derive masculine forms such as *parunu* (studying), *asunu* (laughing), *dyunu* (giving) etc. The author further says, "*–unu* is optionally replaced by *–anu* or *–unu* such as *čaranu* (culling/picking up), *zuvunu* (living)".

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1 a) *atha kRdanta prakriyāyām bhāvapādah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: p. 313
2 b) Formation of nominal bases
3 *bhāve* : --------- ibid -------- 9/2/1 p. 313
4 -------- ibid -------- p. 313
pumsyun; anu unu vā : ---------- ibid --------- 9/2/-2/3 p. 313

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▶This statement of author is fallacious. The reason is that, as stated repeatedly in the previous chapters, *-u* very rarely occurs at word final position in Kashmiri. These terms are actually pronounced as *parun*, *asun* and *dyun* respectively. Besides, the word *čaranu* or *čarun* is unintelligible and does not occur in speech. The actual word for culling is *čārun.*◀

तलबज़ोर्यागमो वा –4[5]. *–y* is optionally inserted before *–un* with the verb roots √*tal* (to fry) → *talun~təlyun* (frying), and √*baz* (to oil-steam) → *bazun ~ bəzyun* (oil steaming).

▶It is important to draw attention to the fact that *–un* and *–yun* are two different suffixes which are employed with the verb roots √*tal* and √*baz* in two different senses. In other words the nominal stems ending in *–un* and supported by the auxiliary, according to tense of action, function as finite verbs in the transitive and impersonal sentences, such as- *mĕ chu oluv talun* (I have to fry the potato), *mĕ os oluv talun* (I had to fry the potato), *mĕ chu načun* (I have to dance), *mĕ os načun* (I had to dance). The stems constituted by the addition of suffix *–yun*, on the other hand, occur combined with a lexical verb, especially √*di*, to make the sense complete, such as- *mĕ chu olüvas* ***təl̃un d̃un*** (I have to fry the potato), *mĕ os olüvas təl̃un d̃un* (I had to fry the potato). In addition, the stems formed by the addition of *–un* also signify the characteristic of the noun preceding it which takes the genitive form and further declines in various cases, e.g.,- ***con*** *g̃avun chu humi* ***sündi*** *g̃avünü khotü zabar* (your singing is better than his singing), ***cənis*** *g̃avünas kus vāti* (who can compete you in singing). The stems ending in *-un* can be qualified predicatively as well, such as- ***con*** *g̃avun chu* ***m̃ūṭh*** (your singing is melodious). These stems also act as objects of action, such as- *mĕ chu* ***asun*** *tü g̃avun khoś karān* (I like laughing and singing). Similarly, in *mĕ chu olüvas təl̃un* ***d̃un*** '*təl̃un*' functions as object of *d̃un*. Optional addition of *–y* to *–un* is thus, not maintainable.◀

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[5] *talbazoryāgamo vā* : ---------- ibid -------- 9/2/4 p. 313

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मषश्च रब; दोॅदरज़ोॅज़रसोॅसरां च उ -5/6[6]. In addition to *–un*, *–rab* is added to √*maṣ* (to forget) to form *maṣarab* (forgetfulness). *–u* is added to verb roots like √*dɔdar*, √*zɔzar* and √*sɔsar* to constitute abstract nouns *dɔdur*, *zɔzur* and *sɔsur* respectively.

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions are faulty for certain reasons. The alveolar *ṣ* does not exist in Kashmiri. The word is actually pronounced as *maś* and is incorrectly comprehended by the author as *maṣ*. Addition of *–u* to verb roots like √*dɔdar* (to degenerate), √*zɔzar* (to decompose) and √*sɔsar* (to decay) is not correct. As a general rule *–a* before the final consonant of the verbal base is replaced by *–u* to derive the abstract nouns from the verbal roots. The abstract nouns *dɔdur* <√*dɔdar*, *zɔzur* <√*zɔzar* and *sɔ̈sur* <√*sɔsar* also indicate that these are actually derived by converting the low central vowel *-a-* preceding the final consonant into the high back vowel *-u-* and not by addition of *–u* as assumed by the author.

It is important to note that besides use of various suffixes with different verb roots, the primary suffix *-un* is used with all most all verb roots to convert them into nominal stems.◄

छोॅम्बज़ोॅसबगारबेॅहलमलोसवुनाम अ च -7[7]. According to this sutra, in addition to *–un*, *-a* is also employed with √*chɔmb* (to thresh), √*zɔs* (to cough), √*bagār* (to upbraid/pull up), √*bĕh* (to sit), √*lam* (to pull), √*los* (to be fatigued) and *vun* (to fall on bad times).

►Addition of *-a* is imprecise. *-un* is added to verb roots like *chɔmb* → *chɔmbun* (threshing), *zɔs* → *zɔsun* (coughing), *bagār* → *bagārun* (upbraiding), *bĕh* → *bihun* (sitting), *lam* → *lamun* (pulling), *los* → *losun* (enervating), *vun* → *vunun* (falling into misfortune). Addition of *–a* is misperceived. It is actually addition of the high central short vowel *–ü* which is added to verbs √*zɔs* → *zɔsü* (cough), √*lam* → *lamü* (pulling) and √*vun* → *vunü* (evil mindedness). The difference between *zɔsun* and *zɔsü* is that syntactically the appellatives formed by the addition of *-un* usually function as a

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7 *maṣaśca rab ; dɔdarzɔzarsɔsarām ca u* : --------- ibid -------- 9/2/-5/6 p. 314
chɔmbzɔsbagārbĕhlamlosvunām a ca : --------- ibid -------- 9/2/7 p. 314

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characteristic of the noun in the genitive case and this characteristic can further be qualified by an attributive. *-un* ending participles also occur as objects of action. The participles formed by addition of *-ü* mostly occur as direct objects of action. For example in *tasund/təmi sund ğavun chu bemisāl* (his/her singing is unique) the characteristic *ğavun* is qualified by the attributive *bemisāl*. In a sentence like *təmis chi vunü vəčhmüč* (he has become evil minded) *vunü* is the direct object of √*vas* → *vəčhmüč*.◀

लदाश्चाव वेतनेऽपि –8[8]. √*lad* is used in the sense 'to construct' or 'to raise a construction' (गृहादिनिर्माणोर्ध्वान्तरीकरणयोः[9]), 'to send' (वस्तुप्रेषणे[10]), 'to weave' (सूत्रादिकर्मणि[11]) etc. *-āv* is added to √*lad* and *ladāv* means a construction as well as the wages (वेतनेऽपि) paid for construction of building etc.

▶The verb √*lad* is used in various senses except the sense 'to weave' as given by the author. The meanings of *lad*, according to the Kashmiri Dictionary, are: – 'to send/dispatch', 'to put/fill in (basket, sack, box etc.)', 'to press tightly into (bag, tin etc.)', 'to construct', 'to dish up the meal'[12]etc. The meanings of √*lad -āv* → *ladāv* are- a construction such as a house or even a wall, and, the charges paid for the construction work[13].◀

छोॅकवछोॅकटकटुकटोॅकवटुकत्रुकथकपाकवफुकफोॅकवब्रकामुल्लोपोवा –9[14]. According to this sutra *–un* is optionally dropped with *chɔkav*, *čhɔk*, *ṭak*, *ṭuk*, *ṭɔkav*, *ṭhuk*, *truk*, *thak*, *pākav*, *phuk*, *phɔkav* and *brak*.

▶In Kashmiri a large number of appellatives are formed, as explained earlier also, by employing the *-θ* (zero) termination with certain verb roots and the appellatives thus derived usually occur as

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8 *ladāśćāva vetane* : -------- ibid -------- 9/2/8 p. 315
9 ---------- ibid ------- p. 315
10 ---------- ibid ------- p. 315
11 ---------- ibid ------- p. 315
12 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 26
13 ---------- ibid -------- vol. vi, p. 25
14 *chɔkavčɔkṭakṭukṭɔkvṭhuktrukthakpākavphukbrakāmullopo vā* : - KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/9 p. 315

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objects of action. The examples are: √*dav* (to run) → *dav* (race), √*mãḍ* (to knead/mix) → *mãḍ* (act of kneading), √*gãḍ* (to tie) → *gãḍ* (knot), √*čhan* (to break/tear apart) → *čhan* (cut/separation) etc. Besides, some appellatives, which occur as objects of action, are derived either by converting the final un-aspirated consonant of the verb root into aspirated consonant or by changing the vowel quality of the vowel preceding the final consonant of the verb roots, such as- √*lūṭ* (to rob) → *lūṭh* (pillage) and √*vāṭ* (to join) → *vāṭh* (joint), Similarly, √*ṭak* (to gnash teeth; to crunch/ munch with teeth) → *ṭakh* (cut), √*ṭuk* (to nibble) → *ṭukh* (hole), √*thak* (to be tired) → *thakh* (relax), √*brak* (to gobble up) → *brakh* (severe setback), √*čhɔk* (to be exhausted) → *čhɔkh* (scorch/sear), √*phuk* (to blow the fire ablaze) → *phɔkh* (whiff), √*tar* (to cross) → *tār* (crossing), √*kar* (to do) → *kār* (work/deed), √*mar* (to die) → *mār* (beating), √*bar* (to fill), → *bār* (load). The appellatives derived from *chɔkav* (to rinse), *ṭɔkav* (to pound/pestle) and *pākav* (to cook by boiling) are *chɔkh*[15](rinsing), *ṭɔkh*[16] (mild cough) and *pākh*[17](simmering) respectively. These illustrations indicate that *–av* at the end of the verb roots is dropped and its preceding un-aspirated consonant is aspirated. The word *phɔkav* is not in use. *–un* is not dropped with √*ṭhuk* (to hammer) → *ṭhukun* and √*truk* (to nibble) → *trukun.*

Further, the word *chɔkav* or *chɔkh* is used in the sense of rinsing especially clothes etc. and not in the sense 'to plunge into /bathe जलावगाहने'[18]as stated by the author. Similarly, *čhɔk* means 'to be extremely tired'[19]/ and not 'to be unable to speak वाङ्नैर्बल्य'[20] as given by the author.◀

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16 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 135
17 ------- ibid ------- vol. iii, p. 40
18 ------- ibid ------- vol. ii, p. 68
19 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 315
20 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 128
KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 315

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दोंगरंगसगां गात्; वांचश्चात्; च्टल्लूट्वाटां टात्; गण्डो डात् –10/11/12/13[21]. According to Īśvar Kaul *–un* is optionally dropped with the verb roots ending in consonants like –*g* such as- √*dɔg*, √*raṅg*, √*sag*; -*č* such as- √*vãč*; -*ṭ* such as- √*čeṭ*, √*lūṭ*, √*vāṭ* and -*ḍ* such as- √*ganḍ*.

►The author's statement "-*un* is optionally dropped with the verb roots cited above" (एषां धातूनां भावे उन प्रत्ययस्य विकल्पेन लोपो भवति) is not correct. The reason is that the nouns derived by appending *–un* such as, *raṅg-un* (dying/ever ready at one's service), *sagüvun / sagun*[22] (watering), *čeṭun* (pounding), *lūṭun* (plundering), *vāṭun* (pasting) and *ganḍun* (tying) or *dɔgun/vun* (pestling)[23] usually function as a characteristic of the noun and is further qualified by an attributive. The nouns formed by employing -*θ* termination or by adding aspiration to the final consonant of the root, on the other hand, function as objects of action. The examples are- √*raṅg* → *raṅg* karun (coloring), √*čeṭ* → *čeṭh* d̃un (to put to grind), √*lūṭ* → *lūṭh* karun (indulge in plunder), √*vāṭ* → *vāṭh* d̃un (conjoining together), √*ganḍ* → *ganḍ* karun (to tie the knot), and, √*dɔg* → *dɔg* d̃un (pounding)[24]. The verb √*dag* is also employed in the sense 'to pestle'. The difference between *dɔg* and *dag* is that *dɔg* is used for pounding the substance which is hard, large in quantity and needs more effort to pound while as *dag* is used for pounding the substance which is comparatively softer, lesser in quantity and entails lesser effort in pounding. √*dag* is also used in the sense of thorough beating. In his list of verb roots the author gives only one meaning of √*dag* i.e. 'beating' (दग घातने[25]). The synonym of *dɔg* is √*mun* which is used in the sense of pounding the grains. The word *sag* is used as noun while as the verb root is *sagav*[26]. The meaning of √*vãč*, as shown in

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[21] *dɔgraṅgsagām gāt; vāncaścāt; čeṭlūṭvāṭām ṭāt; gaṇḍo ḍāt* : - ------- ibid -------- 9/2/-10/11/12/13 p. 316

[22] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 163

[23] -------- ibid -------- – vol. iii, p. 292

[24] ---------- ibid --------- vol. iii, p. 292

[25] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 157

[26] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 164

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the Kashmiri Dictionary, is 'to be stingy' while as according to author √*vãč* is used in the sense of 'cheating' (वाँच वंचने[27]). The fact is that *vãč* is not found in use in the present day Kashmiri. It is possible that the word might have been in use in the nineteenth century A.D. Kashmiri that is the time when this *masterwork* was composed by Īśvar Kaul. ◄

खनछ्यनोर्नात्; काम्पक्रुपच्चापज्पटपां पात्; ब्रमो मात्; चरचीरतार-फुकारफ्यारमार स्वरां रात् –14/15/16/17[28].

According to these sutras, *-un* is optionally dropped with verb roots ending in *–n* such as- √*khan*, √*čhan*; *-p* such as- √*kāmp*, √*krüp*, √*čāp*, √*zap*, √*ṭap*; *-m* such as- √*bram*; *-r* such as- √*cār*, √*cīr*, √*tār*, √*phukār*, √*p̃hār*,√*mār* and √*sɔr*.

►This assertion is not tenable. The primary affix *–un* is not optionally or arbitrarily employed with any of the roots cited by the author in support of his assertions. The fact is that *-un* is employed with almost all verb roots to derive the participles which syntactically, as described earlier, occur as the characteristic of a person or as object. This *–un* suffixed characteristic denoting participle is further qualified predicatively by an attributive. As an object of action the *–un* ending participle occurs unaltered in the sentence while as the subject is put in the oblique case. The below given examples may make the statement more lucid-

√*g̃av* (to sing) →*g̃avun*

i) As characteristic of noun-

Nom. sg. *yĕmis kor̃ond g̃avun* chu ***m̃ūṭh*** (singing of this girl is melodious)

Obl. sg. *yĕmis kor̃endis g̃avünas* kus vāti (who can compete this girl in her singing)

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28 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam - p. 171
khančhyanor nāt; kāmpkrüpčāpzaptapām pāi; bramo māt; cārcīrtārphukphyārmārsvarām rāt : ------- ibid------ 9/2/-14/15/16/17 p, 317

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Com. deg. *yĕmis koṟond ɡ̃avun* chu *humis ləḍükü sündi ɡ̃avunü khotü **zabar*** (singing of this girl is better than the singing of that boy)

ii) As object of action-

mĕ chu ***ɡ̃avun*** khɔś karān (I like singing).

śuris gačhi ***asun gindun*** *āsun* (a child likes playing and mirthfulness).

The participles formed by the addition of an affix other than *–un* (see 9/2/7) or by the process of lengthening the vowel before the final consonant of the root or by addition of aspiration to final un-aspirated consonant (see 9/2/9) most commonly occur as objects of action. In fact, the participle nouns derived from the above cited verbs are √*khan* (to dig) *–un* → *khanun* (digging); *-θ* → *khan* (out let, mountain pass[29]); √*č̃han* (to break apart) *–un* → *č̃hanun* (breaking apart); *-θ* → *č̃han* (cut, separation); √*kāmp* (to tremble) *–un* → *kāmpun* (trembling); *+aspiration* → *kāmph* (tremble, scare); √*krüp* (to clip with scissors) *–un* → *krüpun* (clipping) *+aspiration* → *krüph*[30] (clip/trim); √*čāp* (to chew) *–un* → *čāpun* (chewing) *+aspiration* → *čāph* (mastication); √*zap* (to pray) *–un* → *zapun* (repeating god's name in meditation) *+aspiration* → *zaph* (repetition of god's name in meditation); √*ṭap* (to backbite परोक्ष परिभाषणे[31]) → *ṭapun*[32] (backbiting) *+aspiration* → *ṭaph* (kick of the horse[33]/trouble, affliction[34])[35]; √*bram* (to be tempted/mistaken) *–un* → *bramun* (falling to temptation/illusion) *-θ* → *bram* (temptation/illusion); √*cār* (to tighten) *–un* → *cārun* (tightening) *-θ* → *cār* (pressure); √*cīr* (to

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29 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 232

30 -------- ibid -------- vol. v, p. 83

31 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 153, 317

32 The verb *ṭap* is not found in use at least in Kashmiri spoken by the people of Srinagar and its adjacent areas. This verb is not even listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary. The word *ṭapun* is, therefore, hypothetically constituted on the analogy of other verb roots.

33 KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 317

34 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 17

35 *'taph'* does not seems a derivation of √*ṭap* as assumed by the author.

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squeeze) *–un* → *cīrun* (squeezing) *-θ* → *cīr* (compression); √*tār* (to take someone or something across/other side of the road, river etc.) – *un* → *tārun* (taking across) *-θ* → *tār* (crossing); √*phukār* (to speak in anger[36], to breathe heavily[37]) *–un* → *phukārun* (fuming) *-θ* → *phukār* (rage / boil); √*p̃hār* (to filter out) *–un* → *p̃hārun* (filtering) *-θ* → *p̃hār* (filtration); √*mār* (to kill) *–un* → *mārun* (killing), *-θ mār* (murder) and √*sɔr* (to remember god) *–un* → *sɔrun* (remembering god) *-θ* → *sɔr* (remembrance).

The author is silent about the derivation of nouns by employing *-θ* termination or by adding aspiration to final consonant of the root. The author could have synthesized his assertions into one single, cohesive and easily understandable statement. In addition, it is worth stating that the author's attempt to apply the rule (optional deletion of the suffix *–un*) outlined in the previous sutras, to the sutras from 18 to 22 is futile as the said rule is entirely inapplicable to verb roots mentioned there in. These sutras are as follows:◄

च्यलछ्लजुलतोलदलमेलां लात्; जुवडुवतावव्होहवां वात्; रसहसवोः सात्; चुहश्च; गुहः सकारो वा –18/19/20/21/22[38]. *–un* is optionally dropped with verbs ending in *–l* such as *c̃al*, *čhal*, *zül*, *tol*, *dal*, *mel*; *-v* such as *zuv*, *ḍuv*, *tāv*, *vŏhav*; *-s* such as *ras* and *hüs*, *čüh* while as *–h* of verb *güh* changes into *–s*.

►The illustrations quoted by the author further expose his assertions as faulty because none of these verbs indicates optional use of *–un* to form their participles, e.g., √*c̃al* (to stuff/to press tightly into) *-un* → *c̃alun* (cramming) *–θ* → *c̃al* (tightness); √*čhal* (to swindle) *-un* → *čhalun* (swindling) *–θ* → *čhal* (swindle/deception); √*zül* (to scratch) *–un* → *zülun* (scratching) *–θ* → *zül* (scratch); √*tol* (to weigh) *–un* → *tolun* (weighing); √*dal* (to move apart, to shape[39]) *–un*

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37 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 163, 317

38 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 178
čyalchalzültoldalmelām lāt; zuvduvtāvvŏhavām vāt; rashasvoh sāt; čühaśca;

39 *gühah sakāro vā* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 9/2/-18/19/20/21/22 p. 318-19
i) ------- ibid --------- p. 318
ii) Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 221

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→ *dalun* (cleansing, pounding) *–θ* → *dal* (purification); √*mel* (to meet) *–un* → *melun* (meeting) *–θ mel* or *m̃ul* (closeness/reconciliation); √*zuv* (to be alive) *–un* → *zuvun* (living) *–θ* → *zuv* (life); √*ḍuv* (to sweep with broom) *–un* → *ḍuvun* (sweeping) *–θ* → *ḍuv* (ruination/total loss); √*vŏhav* (to curse) *–un* → *vŏhvun* (cursing) *–θ* → *vŏhav* (curse); √*čüh* (to suck) *–un* → *čühun* (sucking) *–θ* → *čüh* (suction); *güh* (to rub) *–un* → *gühun* (rubbing) *–θ* → *güh* (to rub);

Syntactically *tol* is replaced by the word *vazan* as in- *yath boras kotah chu vazan* (what is the weight of this load?). *tāv* (heat) is an abstract noun and not a verb root as assumed by the author. It is derived from the verb √*tav* by the process of lengthening of the vowel before the final consonant of the word such as √*tav* (to parch) *–un* → *tavun* (parching) –lengthening of vowel → *tāv* (heat). Similarly, *ras* (juice, curry) is a noun and by addition of *-dār* or *–yul* → *rasdār* or *rəsũl*[40](juicy) it is converted into adjective. *–hüs* (incitement) also does not occur as verb. It is basically a noun (*hüs d̃un* → to incite)[41]and by addition of *-rāvun / -kāvun* it is changed into the nominal verb root *hüsürāvun / hüsükāvun* [42] meaning 'to cause someone to be incited'[43]. *–hüsun* is neither found in use nor is *hüs* listed as a verb root in the dictionary.

स्त्रियाम् −23[44]. According to this sutra the primary affixes discussed here onwards are employed to derive the feminine forms of the abstract nouns (इत उत्तरं ये वक्ष्यमाणाः प्रत्ययास्ते स्त्रियां भावे विज्ञेयाः)[45].◀

चरचुवमोरवमर्चा नित्यमिञ्; मोरवमर्चखसफिचादिभ्य ऊदादेः −24/25[46]. *–iñ* is added to verbs √*čar*, √*čuv*, √*morav* and √*marč* to

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40 ---------- ibid -------- vol. iii, p. 365
41 ---------- ibid ---------- vol. vii p. 242
42 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 242
43 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 242
44 *striyām* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/23 p. 319
45 -------- ibid -------- p. 319
46 *čarčuvmoravmarčām nityamiñ; moravmarčkhüsphičādibhya ūdādeh* :
------- ibid ------ 9/2/-24/25 p. 319

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derive the abstract nouns like *čariñ*, *čuviñ*, *morvūñ* and *marčūñ* respectively. The initial letter is replaced by *ū-* in *morav*, *marč*, *khas*, *phič* etc.

▶In Kashmiri the primary suffix *–iñ* is employed with the verbal roots ending in alveolar sounds, palatal sounds and semi vowels *y, v* to derive the abstract (fem.) nouns. In this process the low central vowel *-a* preceding the final consonant of the root is replaced by the corresponding mid central vowel *-ə*. The examples are: √*naṭ* (to tremble) *–iñ* → *nəṭiñ* (trembling/tremor); √*vaṭh* (to collect/roll) *–iñ* → *vəṭiñ* (making up by hook or crook); √*tach* (to scratch) *–iñ* → *təchiñ* or *təch* (itch); √*čuv* (to altercate/quarrel) – *iñ* → *čuviñ*[47] (altercation / quarrel) etc. The verb root of *čəriñ* (rattle) seems to be √*čərinay* (to be rattled) and not only √*čar* as given by the author which is unintelligible. The illustrations ***morvūñ***[48] and ***marčūñ***[49] reveal addition of *–ūñ* in place of *–iñ* and, therefore, are not compatible with the contents of the sutra. However, its preclusion is given in the next sutra (मोरवमर्चखसफिच़ादिभ्य ऊदादेः) according to which *–i* of *–iñ* converts into *-ū* → *-ūñ*. The fact is that neither of these two suffixes, i.e. *–iñ* or *-ūñ* does occur with √*marč*. The affix employed is actually *-üñ* such as- √*marč* (to be angry) *–üñ* → *marčüñ*[50] (to be embittered). √*morav* (to tolerate pain[51]) and *morvūñ* or *morvüñ* (tolerance[52]) is not found in use and the word is not even listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary.◀

फिचखसफुहफोंशवज़ववुचां वा –26[53]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of this sutra *–iñ* is optionally used with *phič*, *khüs*, *phuh*, *phɔś*, *vazav* and *vuč* (इत्येषां भावे नित्यं विकल्पेन इञ प्रत्ययो भवति) to derive the abstract nouns such as- *phičūñ*, *khüsūñ*, *phuhūñ*, *phɔśūñ*,

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47 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 91
48 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 319
49 ------- ibid ------- p. 319
50 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 120
51 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam p. 319
52 ------- ibid ------- p. 319
53 *phičkhüsphuhphɔśvazavavučām vā* : ------- ibid --------- 9/2/26 p. 320

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vazavūñ and *vučūñ* while as *–un* is generally employed (पक्षे) with these verbs to convert them into nouns such as- *phičun*, *khüsun*, *phuhun*, *phɔśun*, *vazavun* and *vučun*.

▶The verb roots in Kashmiri are identical in form with the second person singular of the imperative mood such as √*par* → *čü par* (you read) , √*lekh* → *čü lekh* (you write), √*vɔth* → *čü vɔth* (you stand up), √*běh* → *čü běh* (you sit down), √*čal* → *čü čal* (you run away) etc. The terms *phič*, *phɔś* and *phuh* seem to have been misconceived as verb roots by the author because *čü phič*, *čü phuh* and *čü phɔś* are unintelligible statements. In fact, the imperative second person singular of these terms are *phičinay* (you miss out/slip out), *phɔśinay* (you be angry) and *phuhinay* (you feel burning sensation) respectively. It is noteworthy that *-i-nay* is dropped before the addition of the conjugational, such as- *phičān*, *phiči*, *phičeyi* etc.. The abstract nouns of these terms are formed by affixing *–üñ* and *-un* to the basic forms, i.e., *phič*, *phɔś* and *phuh* and not to the above cited verb roots constituted by the addition of affix *–i-nay*. The statement "replacement of *–i* of *–iñ* by *-ū'* (ऊदादेः)[54] is not only out of context but has also complicated an otherwise simple description. The stem derived by affixing *–üñ* and *-un* functions as object of action and characteristic of a person respectively. These stems occur as- *phič-üñ / phičun* (slip, lapse); *khüs-üñ / khüsun* (plucking the hair around the gentiles[55]/ in figurative sense → daring someone); *phɔśüñ / phɔśun* (anger/grudge); *phuhun* (burning sensation); *vučüñ / vučun* (mutual bitterness). The term *phuhüñ* is not used in speech. *vazav* (to soak) is synonym of *vazünāv* and the differentiating factor between *vazavun / vazünāvun* and *vazavüñ /vazünāvüñ* is masculine and feminine gender of the object of action respectively.◀

सारखुतटुवडुवडलत्रुकथ्यकनचनटनमवुज़वुठवुपां च –27[56]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of this sutra suffix *–iñ* is optionally

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[54] ---------- ibid -------- 9/2/25 p. 319

[55] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 250

[56] *sārkhuṭṭuvḍaltrukthyaknačnaṭnamvuzvuṭhvupām ca* :
KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/27 p. 320

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employed with the verb roots √*sār* √*khut* √*ṭuv* √*ḍuv* √*ḍal* √*truk* √*ṭhak* √*nač* √*naṭ* √*nam* √*vuz* √*vuṭh* and √*vup* to derive the feminine abstract nouns (इत्येषां भावे स्त्रियां विकल्पेन इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति[57]) such as- √*sār* (to carry) → *sāriñ* (carriage), √*khut* (to dig) → *khutiñ* (digging, irritating fiddle[58], provocation), √*ṭuv* (to shut) →*ṭuviñ* (shutting), √*ḍuv* (to sweep) → *ḍuviñ* (sweeping / complete loss), √*ḍal* (to move, to lose tract) → *ḍəliñ* (distraction/slope/ramp), √*truk* (to nibble) → *trukiñ* (munch/crunch), √*ṭhak* (to boast) → *ṭhəkiñ* (boastfulness) √*nač* (to dance) → *nəčiñ* (whirl),√*naṭ* (to tremble) → *nəṭiñ* (trembling), √*nam* (to bow down/bend) → *nəmiñ* (bend, modesty[59]); √*vuz* (to ooze, spring forth) → *vuziñ* (spring, intuition, clairvoyance[60]) √*vuṭh* (to twist) → *vuṭhiñ* (twist) and √*vup* (to burn with rage) → *vupiñ* (agony/ annoyance).

▶The statement (विकल्पेन इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति) optional use of *–iñ* with the above illustrated words is not apt. The reason is that *–un* is employed with the above cited verb roots as well to convert them into nouns expressive of 'characteristic of an object'. It is noteworthy that the stems derived by the addition of *–iñ* are syntactically distinct from those which are derived by the addition of *–un*. In other word *–iñ* ending stems qualify a person or an object predicatively while as *–un* ending stems are expressive of the characteristics of the noun which they follow, such as- *təmis chi nəṭiñ* (he has a tremor) and ***təmisund načun chunü mĕ khɔś karān*** (I do not like his/her dancing).

The addition of *–iñ* causes change of low central vowel (*a/ā*) before the final consonant of the base into mid central vowel (*ə/ə̄*) as in *sār* → *sāriñ*[61]; *naṭ* → *nəṭiñ*[62]; *nač* → *nəčiñ*[63], *ḍal* → *ḍəliñ*[64]etc. The author is silent about this morphophonemic change.◀

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58 ------- ibid -------- p. 320

59 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 253

60 ------- ibid ------- – vol. vi, p. 343

61 ------- ibid ------- – vol. vii, p. 107

62 ------- ibid ------- – vol. iv, p. 196

63 ------- ibid ------- – vol. vi, p. 275

------- ibid ------- – vol. vi, p. 340

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लिवल्यवोश्च; लिवो वस्य पश्च; करोलेपकायुधे –28/29/30[65], and, वटःसंग्रहे; फरश्चौरिण्याम् –31/32[66]. The author in the explanation of these sutras says "*–iñ* is optionally employed with verb roots √*liv* (to mud-wash) → *liviñ* (clay washing) and √*l̃av* (to lick) → *l̃əviñ* (gratification). To denote 'pasting' *–v* of *liv* is replaced by *–p* → *lipiñ* (pasting[67]). *–iñ* is added to √*kar* (to do) to derive *kəriñ* meaning trowel. *–iñ* is added to √*vaṭ* (to collect/amass) → *vəṭiñ* (collection, making up by hook or crook) and √*phar* (to deceive) → *phəriñ* (theft)".

►As stated above, optional use of *-iñ* in place of *–un* is not correct as the stems derived by the addition of-*iñ* and *–un* are distinctly different in form and function, such as- √*liv* → *livun* (mud-washing), *liviñ* (pasting)[68]; √*l̃av* → *l̃avun* (licking), *l̃ĕviñ* (gratification); √*kar* → *karun* (doing), *kəriñ* (trowel); √*vaṭ* → *vaṭun* (making up by hook or crook), *vəṭiñ* (collection); √*phar* → *pharun* (deceit), *phəriñ* (deceitfulness). *liviñ* and *lipiñ* are listed as synonyms in the Kashmiri Dictionary. Besides, *lipiñ* is also used, in some dialects, in the sense of 'fleeing'.◄

च़ोंकतपलंगामिश; मिलवोऽन्त्यस्य मश्च –33/34[69]. *–iś* is added to √*čɔk* (to turn sour) → *čɔkiś* (peevishness), √*tap* (to warm up) → *təpiś* (heat) and √*laṅg* (to limp) → *ləṅgiś* (lameness). *–iś* is added to √*milav* (to mix/join/unite) and it causes replacement of final *–v* of the root by *–m* such as *milümiś* (mixture).

►√*čɔk* and √*laṅg* are denominative roots derived from the adjectives √*čŏk* (sour) and *lŏṅg* (lame). As stated earlier, the

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64 -------- ibid ------- – vol. iii, p. 313

65 *livlyavośca; livo vasya paśca; karo lepakāyudhe* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 9/2/-28/29/30 p. 321

66 *vaṭah saṅgrahe; pharaścauriṇyām*: ------ ibid ----- 9/2/-31/32 p. 322

67 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 67

68 -------- ibid --------- – vol. vi, p. 67

69 *čɔktaplaṅgāmiś; milavoantyamya maśca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/-33/34 p. 322

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denominative roots in Kashmiri are derived either from the abstract nouns by treating them exactly like verb roots such as *zuv* (life) → √*zuv* (to live) or from the qualitative adjectives by dropping the middle vowel or by replacing it by some other vowel as in *čŏk* (sour) → √*čɔk* (to turn sour); *lŏṅg* (lame) → √*laṅg* (to limp); *droṇṭh* (shriveled) → *dreṇṭh* (to shrivel); *tŏt* (hot) → √*tat* (to become hot) etc. The derivation of abstract nouns *čŏkiś* and *ləṅgiś* from the adjectives *čŏk-iś* and *lŏṅg-iś* seems more appropriate than the process envisaged by the author i.e., *čŏk* → √*čɔk* – *iś* and *lŏṅg* →√*laṅg* – *iś* respectively. It clearly shows that the words *čŏkiś* and *ləṅgiś* belong to the category of secondary derivatives and not primary derivatives as conceived by the author. Addition of *–ar* or *-ār* to qualitative adjectives also convert them into abstract nouns. The terms *čɔkar/čāśar* and *lanjar* derived by addition of *–ar* to the qualitative adjectives *čŏk* and *ḷŏṅg* further strengthen the assumption that abstract nouns *čŏkiś* and *ləṅgiś* are actually secondary stems and not primary stems as given by the author.

The word *milümiś* is a compound word and not a derivative of the verb √*milav*. The reason is that √*milav* (to mix) and √*milünāv* (to mix) are synonymous. According to the above cited sutra, addition of *–iś* and replacement of ending *–v* of the root by *–m* results in the derivation of the stems like *milümiś* and *milünāmiś* respectively. This formulation is illogical. In fact, the word *milünāmiś* is unintelligible and is not found in use. The nouns derived from the verb √*milav*/√*milünāv* (to mix together) are *milüvan* (mixing/conjoining) *milüvun/milünāvun* (mixing/joining/uniting), *myul* (conciliation) *milučār* (unity), *milāp*[70] (closeness) etc.. The word *milümish* is actually a copulative compound.◀

कपट्दुननहावपिलफिरमाज़मिलवमुचरमूरल्यववुठ्वुहामन् –35[71].

According to this sutra *–an* is used with verb roots such as- √*kapaṭ* (to cut with scissors) *–an* → *kapüṭan* (cutting, dress scraps), √*dün* (to

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70 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 200

71 *kapaṭdünnahāvpilphirmāzmilavmučarmūrlavvuṭhvuhāman* : - Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 9/2/35 p. 322

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dust/to shrug off) *–an* → *dünan* (dusting), √*nahāv* (to erase/demolish) *–an* → *nahāvan* (duster, erasure, negation), √*pil* (to have reach) *–an* → *pilan* (within one's reach), √*phir* (to pour/turn over) *–an* → *phiran* (turn over), √*māz* (to be interested in/clean) *–an* → *māzan* (thorny broom used by farmers for sifting paddy[72]), √*milav* (to mix) *–an* → *milavan* (mixing/uniting), √*mučar* (to open/untie) *–an* → *mučaran* (opening), √*mūr* (to crush between palms or finger tips) *–an* → *mūran* (crushing between palms or finger tips), √*l̃av* (to lick) *–an* → *l̃avan* (licking), √*vuṭh* (to twist) *–an* → *vuṭhan* (twist) and √*vuh* (to burn) *–an* → *vuhan* (blaze).

►In addition to *–an*, *-un* is also used with the above cited verb roots to convert these into nominal bases such as- *kapüṭun*, *dünun*, *nahāvun*, *pilun*, *phirun*, *māzun*, *milavun*, *mučürun*, *mūrun*, *l̃avun*, *vuṭhun* and *vuhun* and the difference between the two is that the stems derived by addition of *–an* are employed as direct objects of action while as those formed with the help of *-un* denote the characteristic of a noun. The masculine of *phiran* is p̃hur. The terms *l̃avan* and *vuhan* as nouns are regional variants. According to author the meaning of *vuhan* and *mūran* is 'unwashed' (अनिर्वाणः[73]) and 'skin removal' (त्वक् निष्कर्षणम्[74]) respectively which is not correct. The words *vuhun* and *mūrun* /*mūran* are actually used in the sense of burning[75] and crushing between palms or finger tips[76] respectively.◄

गिलवश्चेष्टार्थेऽन्त्यलोपश्च –36[77]. The verb √*gilav* is used in the sense 'to cause to turn round or revolve'. *–an* is added to √*gilav*. In this process the final sound (*-v*) of *gilav* is dropped to derive the noun *gilan* to indicate 'whim'.

►The actual term *gilan* indicates that not *–an* but only *–n* is added to √*gilav* to convert it into an abstract noun. The affix *-un* is

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72 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 167
73 Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam p. 323
74 -------- ibid -------- p. 323
75 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 118
76 -------- ibid --------- vol. vi, p. 213
77 *gilavaśceṣṭārtheantyalopaśca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/36 p. 323

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also added to √*gilav* to form *gilüvun*[78] (revolving). The author is silent about this term.◀

आंडरखण्डरछो' टरज़ीठरटोंटरपीटरफुटरबंडरबांगरमोंटरवोवरां च -37[79]. – *an* is added to √*āḍar* (to knead/mix, to put to use) → *āḍüran* (wet mixture of clay, bran etc.), √*khaṇḍar* (to break into pieces) → *khaṇḍaran* (broken piece of an object/ rubble, impious disruption in a religious activity), √*čhŏṭar* (to shorten) → *čhŏṭaran* (shortening), √*zīṭhar* (to lengthen) → *zīṭharan* (pulling, expansion), √*ṭoṭar* (to shrink[80]) → *ṭoṭaran* (shrinkage), √*pīṭar* (to cause irritation[81]) → *pīṭaran* (huff), √*phuṭar* (to break) → *phuṭaran* (spinster of an object), √*bəḍar* (to increase) → *bəḍaran* (increase/expansion), √*bāgar* (to distribute) → *bāgaran* (distribution), √*mŏṭar* (to thicken) → *mŏṭaran* (thickening), √*vovar* (to weave) → *vovaran* (trimming/chiseling).

▶It is noteworthy that the above cited words are incorrectly spelled in the manuscript which indicates author's insufficient knowledge regarding the correct pronunciation of the Kashmiri vocabulary. In other words *āḍar*, *khaṇḍar*, *čhŏṭar*, *zīṭhar*, *ṭoṭar*, *pīṭar*, *phuṭar*, *bəḍar*, *bāgar*, *moṭar* and *vovar* (आंडरखण्डरछो' टरज़ीठरटोंटरपीटरफुटरबंडरबांगरमोंटरवोवर) are lettered as ***āḍr***, ***khaṇḍr***, ***čhŏṭr***, ***zīṭhr***, ***ṭoṭr***, ***pīṭr***, ***phuṭr***, ***bəḍr***, ***bāgr***, ***moṭr*** and ***vovr*** (आंडरखण्डछो' टरज़ीठटोंटपीटफुटबंडबांग्रमोंटवोव्र) respectively and thus show the use of consonant clusters at the final position of the word which is not in accordance with the syllabic structure of Kashmiri. The fact is that in Kashmiri, consonant clusters consisting of a consonant phoneme associated with a trill are used only in the word initial and medial positions and not at the word final position as listed by the author. In addition, most of the above cited words are actually verbal stems and not verbal roots as assumed by the author. These stems are derived from nouns and adjectives by the addition of the secondary suffix *–ar*

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78 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 346

79 *āḍarkhaṇḍarčhŏṭarzīṭharṭoṭarpīṭarphuṭarbəḍarbāgarmoṭarvovarām ca* : - Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 9/2/37 p. 323

80 -------- ibid -------- p. 323

81 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 98

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such as *khəṇḍ* (broken piece of an object) *-ar* → √*khəṇḍar* (to break into pieces), *čhŏṭ* (short) *-ar* → √*čhŏṭar* (to shorten), *zūṭh* (long) *–ar* → √*zīṭhar* (to lengthen), *bŏd* (big) *–ar* → √*bəḍar* (to increase/expand) and *mŏṭ* (thick) *–ar* → √*mŏṭar* (to thicken). √*əḍar*, √*phuṭar*, √*bāgar* and √*vovar* are verbal roots. The words *ṭoṭar* and *pīṭar* are not found in use. Addition of *–an* causes change of the low central vowel *-a* preceding the final consonant of the root into the high central vowel *-ü* as in *āḍar* → *āḍüran*[82], *khəṇḍar* → *khəṇḍüran*[83], *čhŏṭar* → *čhŏṭüran*[84] etc. The author is silent about this change.◄

नवउपधायावश्च –३८[85]. According to this sutra *nav* means 'new' (नव नूतनतायाम्)[86]. Addition of *–an* to *nav* causes change of *a* into *v* such as *nav –an* → *nvavaran* (न्ववरन[87]) meaning 'to remove the faults' (दोषोपचयनम्)[88].

►Īśvar Kaul's assertions are not correct. The derived stems are inappropriate and the concept of conversion of *a* into *v* by the process of addition of *–an* is irrelevant for the reason that the word for 'new' is *nŏv*[89]and not *nav* as given by the author. *nŏv* is an adjective. Replacing *–ŏ* by *–a* makes the adjective *nŏv* convert into verbal stem √*nav* which means 'to become new/to rejuvenate'. By addition of *–ar* to *nŏv* is formed *nŏvar*[90] which means 'to procreate/to originate/to generate'. The forms *nŏvaran/nŏvarun* derived by the addition of *–an/-un* to *nŏvar* → denotes 'procreation'. The assertions of the author are not borne out by any of these factual explanations.◄

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82 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 160
83 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 244
84 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 122
85 *nav upadhāyā vaśca.*: KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/38 p. 324
86 ------- ibid ------- p. 324
87 ------- ibid ------- p. 324
88 ------- ibid ------- p. 324
89 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 369
90 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 370

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तञरतचरस्यञरां च क्वचित् –३९[91]. In rare situations (क्वचित्) *–an* is used with √*təñar* (to make thin) *–an* → *təñüran* (thinning), √*tačar* (to heat up) *–an* → *təčüran* (heating), √*syəñar* (to straighten) *–an* → *syəñüran* (straightening).

▶The word for 'straightening' (ऋज्वीकरणे[92]) is actually *syəzar* and not *syəñar*[93] as given in the manuscript. *təñar*, *tačar* and *syəzar* are actually verbal stems derived by addition of the secondary termination *–ar* to the adjectives *tŏn* (thin), *tŏt* (hot) and *sŏ̃d* (straight) respectively. The words *təñüran*, *təčüran* and *syəzüran* are not most commonly found in use. Besides, in the manuscript of the given masterpiece the forms *təñar*, *tačar* and *syəzar* have been spelled as *tañr*, *tačr* and *syazr* (तञतच्रस्यज्ञां[94]) respectively by the author. It indicates not only the author's misperception of the pronunciation of these words but also shows deviation from the accepted syllabic structure of the Kashmiri vocabulary. As already made abundantly clear, the consonant cluster consisting of a consonant phoneme combined with *-r* does not occur at the word final position.◀

लारः कम्पे –४०[95]. *–an* is suffixed to √*lār* to derive *lāran* (fit state of swoon/ unconsciousness/ seizure).

▶The word *lāran* is a simple word and not a combination of *lār* and *-an* as assumed by the author. According to author's explanation of the sutra as well as according to the Kashmiri Dictionary, √*lār* is used in various senses like- to stick, to follow behind, to chase/accompany as an unwanted person, to be benefited etc. All these meanings contain the sense of some voluntary and conscious action. None of these meanings seems to be close to 'unconsciousness' on the basis of which the derivation of *lāran* could be assumed to have been derived from √*lār*.◀

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91 *tañartačarsyazarām ca kvacit* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/39 p. 324

92 -------- ibid -------- p. 324

93 -------- ibid -------- Manuscript p. 406

94 -------- ibid -------- Manuscript p. 406

95 *lārah kampe* : -------- ibid -------- 9/2/40 p. 324

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चिखिह्यां पुंस्येव -41[96]. *–an* is appended to √*ci* (to drink), √*khi* (to eat) and √*hi* (to buy/take) to convert these verbs into masculine nouns, such as- *ci –an* → *cyan* (beverage/ drink/ drinkables), *khi–an* →*khyan* (food), *hi –an* → *hyan* (lesson).

►The verb roots cited above are actually pronounced as √*cĕ*, √*khĕ* and √*hĕ* and not in the manner √*ci*, √*khi* and √*hi* as indicated by the author. These verb roots are vowel ending and as, vcvv or cvv word structure is absent in Kashmiri, the addition of *–an*, therefore, causes deletion of the vowel if it is preceded by a palatal sound at the end of the verb root. In other cases euphonic junction of two dissimilar vowels results in palatalization of the consonant preceding the final vowel, such as- √*cĕ –an* → *can*, √*khĕ –an* → ***k̃han***, √*hĕ –an* → ***h̃an***. In addition, *-un* is also employed with these roots. In this process the coalescence of the final vowel of the root and *–u* of *–un* results in formation of *-ŏ* such as- √*cĕ –un* → *cŏn* (drinking), √*khĕ – un* → *k̃hŏn* (eating), √*hĕ –un* → *h̃ŏn* (purchasing) etc.. Syntactically, these words are usually employed as first component of the inflectional determinative compound, whose second component is the name of an inanimate object and in which, when dissolved, the relationship between the two components is expressed by the dative denoting positional word *k̃ut/kič*. The examples are *k̃hŏn batü* (food to eat) → *k̃hŏn k̃ut batü*, *cŏn dɔd* (milk to drink) → *cŏn k̃ut dɔd* etc.◄

कडपासरश्रुकामञ् -42[97]. According to this sutra *–añ* is employed with verb roots √*kaḍ* (to eject/expel/pull out/take out) *–añ* → *kaḍañ*, √*pāsar* (to scold) *–añ* → *pāsarañ*, and √*śruk* (sobbing) *–añ* → *śrukañ*.

►This statement shows author's misperception regarding the formation of words cited in support of the sutra. The concept of suffix *–añ* is not correct because the words formed with the help of *–añ* such as *kadañ*, *pāsarañ*, and *śrukañ* are incomprehensible and even do not exist in the Kashmiri Dictionary. In fact, the primary suffixes added to verb root √*kad* are *–un* → *kadun* (ejection), and, *-vüñ* → *kadüvüñ*

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[96] *cikhihyām pumsi* : --------- ibid ------- 9/2/41 p. 325
[97] *kaḍpāsürśrukāmañ* : --------- ibid ------- 9/2/42 p. 325

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(money paid for forcing out). The termination *–an* is used with *pāsar –an → pāsüran*[98] (scolding). *śruk* is in itself a noun which means 'blockage of nasal passages/ entanglement of rope, thread or similar other things' etc. By the addition of oblique plural suffix *–an* to the nominative plural of *śruk → śruk̃* is formed the oblique plural form *śruk̃an* which is a subject of inflectional morphology and need not be discussed here.◀

चेनश्चावागमः –४३[99]. *–añ* is used with √*čen* (to feel/experience) and *–av* is augmented to derive *čenavañ* (forewarning).

▶The derivational process of *čenavañ* given by Īśvar Kaul is absurd. The word is simply derived by appending the primary suffix *–vüñ* (as in *kadüvüñ*) to √*čen → čenüvüñ*.◀

अर्ज़बाववोॅपज़श्रपस्यदगरवट्शहलह्यकामत –४४[100]. *–at* is suffixed to verb roots √*arz* (to earn), √*bāv* (to express), √*vɔpaz* (to grow), √*śrap* (to get absorbed/digest), √*s̃ad* (to become straight/mend one's behavior), √*gar* (to form/carve/chisel/sharpen), √*vaṭ* (to roll/fold/wind up/gather), √*śahal* (to become cool) and √*h̃ak* (to be able/ to have courage/strength) to convert these verb roots into nominal forms like *arzath* (earning), *bāvath* (expression/manifestation), *vɔpazath* (production), *śrapath* (liking), *s̃adath* (fulfillment of wish), *garath* (shape / build / mould/ make-up), *vaṭath* (saving/accumulation), *śahalath* (coolness) and *h̃akath* (courage/strength).

▶It is worth to mention that the author in this sutra recommends addition of *–at* while as the illustrations cited in support of the sutra show addition of *–ath* such as- *arzath, śrapath, bāvath* etc. A cross-check of these words with the Kashmiri Dictionary indicates that the suffix is actually *–ath* and not *–at* as suggested in the sutra. In his explanation of the sutra the author further says that the vowel along with the ending letter in √*vɔpaz* is dropped (वोॅपज़ोऽन्त्यस्वरादि

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98 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 88

99 *cenaścāvāgamah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/43 p. 325

100 *arzabāvvɔpazśrapsyadgarvaṭśahalhyakāmat* : ------ ibid ------ 9/2/44 p. 325

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लोपश्चेष्यते[101]). But the fact is that the noun derived from *vɔpaz* is actually *vɔpazath*[102] and not *vɔpath*[103] as assumed by the author. Further, √*šad* is a verbal stem derived from the adjective *šŏd* meaning 'straight/simple' by the process of replacement (*-ŏ-* → *-a-*). To denote 'straightness' or 'simplicity' *–ar* is suffixed to *šŏd* → *šazar*. Derived by addition of *–ath* to √*šad* the word *šadath* is used in the sense of 'fulfillment/success/attainment/good effect or result' and not in the sense (ऋज्वीकरणे) 'straightening' as given by the author[104]. Similarly, *śihul*[105] or *śuhul*[106] (cool/having cool effect/shade) is an adjective. By altering the vowel sounds is derived the verbal stem √*śehal*[107] and by addition of *–ath* is formed *śehalath*[108]. The forms *śahal* and *śahalath*, as cited by the author are incorrectly spelled.◀

पोठोऽक शक्तौ –45[109]. *–ak* is suffixed to √*poṭh* (to be sturdy/robust/vigorous) to form *poṭhak* meaning 'assets or possessions'.

▶√*poṭh* is actually a verbal stem derived from the adjective *pūṭh* meaning strong and sturdy and *poṭhak* refers to 'accumulated assets or possessions'.◀

वखनखारज़ागवालनचहोंखामनामऽय –46[110]. The suffix *–ay* is used with verbal roots √*vakhan* (to explain) *-ay* → *vakhanay* (explanation), √*khār* (to raise up/elevate) *-ay* → *khāray*[111] (elevation), √*zāg* (to watch) *-ay* → *zāgay* (look out), √*vāl* (to bring down/cause to fall/decline/depreciation) *-ay* → *vālay*[112] (humiliation/degradation)

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[101] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: p. 325
[102] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 136
[103] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: p. 325
[104] ------- ibid ------- p. 325
[105] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 311
[106] --------- ibid ------- -vol. iv, p. 311
[107] --------- ibid -------- vol. iv, p. 322-23
[108] --------- ibid -------- vol. iv, p. 322
[109] *poṭhoaka śaktau* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: 9/2/45 p. 326
[110] *vakhankhārzāgvālnachɔkhāmanāmay* : --------- ibid ------- 9/2/46 p. 326
[111] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. v, p. 238
[112] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 62

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[113], √*nač* (to dance) *-ay* → *načay* (dance),√*hɔkh* (to become dry) *-ay* → *hɔkhay* (dryness), √*āman* (to be devoid of glitter) *-ay* → *āmanay* (lusterless).

▶The words *khāray* and *vālay* are listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary but in reality these words are not found in common discourse. *načay* as noun is indistict and is also not listed in the dictionary. The word *āman*[114] is, according to dictionary, a noun meaning 'smell particularly of half cooked vegetables'. Similarly, *āmünay*, which according to author is a noun, is listed in the dictionary as a verb root[115] expressive of 'to rot/decay/decompose/ putrefy'. But, the term *āmünay* is not found in common use.◀

मंगो दीर्घश्च; बाग़रो रलोपश्च -47/48[116]. *–ay* is used with √*maṅg* (to demand/ask/claim) *-ay* → *māṅgay* (demand/requisition) and √*bāgar* (to distribute) *-ay* → *bāgay* (division/ apportionment). In this process the vowel sound *a* preceding *g* in *maṅg* is lengthened (*māṅgay*) and *r* of *bāgar* is dropped (*bāgay*).

▶In addition to changes mentioned in the sutra, mid central long vowel *ə̄* is replaced by low central long vowel *ā* (*bəgar* → *bāgay*) regarding which the author is silent.◀

जेन उपधाया इदाद्यन्तलोपोऽपि प्रत्ययधात्वोः -49[117]. *–ay* is used with √*zen* (to conquer) to form the noun *ziy* meaning 'victory'[118]. Addition of *–ay* causes conversion of *–e-*into *–i-* and deletion of ending *–n*.

▶The verb √*zen* is used in two senses- 'to earn' and 'to conquer' while as noun *ziy* is used only in the sense 'earnings or income'[119] and not to express 'victory' as given by the author.◀

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113 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 62
114 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 132
115 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 133
116 *maṅgo dīrgaśca; bāgaro r lopaśca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/-47/48 p.327
117 *zen upadhāyā idādyantalopoapi pratyaya dhātvoh* : ---ibid--- 9/2/49 p. 327
118 -------- ibid -------- p. 327
119 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iv, p. 41

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उदोपपदे साव उन्निद्रतायाम्; केवलात्सुखार्थे –50/51[120]. *–ay* suffixed to √*sāv* (to put to sleep) associated with prefix *ud-* → *udsāvay*[121] denotes sleeplessness or without a wink of sleep while as *sāvay* means 'well being/prosperity'.

►Use of *ud-* is inapt. In Kashmiri *–u* and *ū* in the word initial position occur usually associated with *v-* → *vu/vū*, such as- *vujārü* Hindi *ujāḍ* (devastated), *vũṭh* Hindi *ũṭ* (camel) etc. In view of this peculiarity of Kashmiri the actual word is *vudüsāvay*[122] and not *udsāvay* as given by the author.◄

होपपदे आमनो मिथ्याभियोगे –52[123]. The author in his explanation of the sutra says that *āman* means discoloration. If *h-* is prefixed and *–ay* suffixed to *āman* the derived form *hāmnay* means 'false accusation'.

►It will not be an exaggeration to state that the above given sutra is unwanted. The reason is that *hām* is a different word and not a derivation from *āman* as assumed by the author. The term *hām* is used in various senses[124] such as- slight darkness/scars of smallpox/cataract etc. The term *hāmun*[125] means darkening of complexion due to some illness etc, and *hāmünay*[126] means discoloration of face due to some illness, pain or sorrow. It shows incorrectness of the contention that *hāmünay* is derived from *āman*.◄

लागोऽनय कृष्यर्थे; बागरो रलोपश्च; सादो निमित्ते –53/54/55[127].

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[120] *udopapade sāv unnidratāyām; kevalātsukhārthe* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 9/2/-50/51 p.327

[121] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 327

[122] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 102

[123] *hopapade āmano mithyābhiyoge* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/52 p.327

[124] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 218 - 19

[125] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 219

[126] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 219

[127] *lāgoanay kRṣyarthe; bāgaro ralopaśca; sādo nimitte* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/-53/54/55 p. 328

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–nay is added to √*lāg*, √*bāgar* and √*sād* to derive *lāgnay*, *bāgnay* and *sādnay* respectively. *–nay* causes deletion of *–r-* of *bāgar*.

▶√*lāg* is used in various senses such as- 'to wear, to apply, to imitate, to engage in work, to cultivate land' etc. The addition of *-nay* has contracted these meanings of *lāg* and the word *lāgünay* is used in a narrow sense of 'farming'[128]. Similarly √*bāgar* means to distribute. The word *bāgünay* is employed in free variation with *bāgay* to express 'division'[129]. √*sād* means 'to accomplish or help someone to accomplish an action' and *sādnay*, according to author, means 'a cause or instrument' while as according to the Kashmiri Dictionary *sādnay* means luggage, wares and equipments'.◀

छकछिकचमकट्कफूंकशेंकामिञो लोपः −56[130]. According to this sutra *–iñ* is dropped in case of verb roots such as √*chak* (to scatter), √*chik* (to sprinkle), √*camak* (to shine), √*ṭük* (to run), √*phũk* (to smell) and √*śẽk* (to doubt).

▶The nominal stems of √*chak*, ,√*camak*, √*ṭük*, √*phũk* and √*śẽk* are formed by addition of *–un* such as- *chakhun* (sprinkling/ scattering), *camakun* (sparkling), *ṭükun* (making a dash/running about) *phũkun* (flaring) and *śẽkun* (suspecting), while as the abstract nouns of *chak*, *camak*, *ṭük*, and √*phũk* (*un*) are formed by adding aspiration to the final consonant such as *chakh* (fistful of an object particularly serials etc. e.g, → *tŏmülü chakh*, *mŏdürer chakh*), *camakh* (shine, luster), *ṭükh* (run). *chik* ~ *chikh* as a noun is commonly used in the sense of 'splash'. The dictionary meaning of verb √*chik* is 'to pass urine especially by dogs'[131] and not 'to sprinkle or splash' as used in speech and as given by the author.◀

जगटांगदगमंगलगलागवुंगशोंगां गात् −57[132]. In his explanation of this sutra the author says that suffix *–iñ* is dropped with the verb roots ending in *–g* like *zag* (to wake up/to be alert), *ṭāṅg* (to below), *dag* (to

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128 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 51

129 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. i, p. 267

130 *chakchikcamakṭükphũkśẽkāmiño lopah* : Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 9/2/56 p. 328

131 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 130

132 *zagṭāṅgdagmaṅglaglāgvuṅgśɔṅgām gāt*: Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 9/2/57 p. 328

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pound), *maṅg* (to demand), *lag* (to stick to), *lāg* (to apply/wear/mimic), *vuṅg* (to howl) and *śɔṅg* (to sleep) (इत्येषां भावे इञ प्रत्ययस्य लोपो भवति)[133].

►The verb roots, except *zag* and *vuṅg*, cited by the author in support of the sutra actually belong to the category of verbs which are capable of being converted into appellatives by employing the *-θ* termination (see 9/2/9) such as- √*dag* (to pound) *–θ → dag* (pounding), √*ṭāṅg* (to below) *–θ → ṭāṅg* (below), √*maṅg* (to demand) *–θ → maṅg* (in demand), √*lag* (to stick to) *–θ → lag* (practice /custom/routine/precedence), √*lāg* (to wear/apply) *–θ → lāg* (contagion), √*śɔṅg* (to sleep) *–θ → śɔṅg* (indifference). The appellatives thus formed usually occur as objects of action. Besides, *-un* is also employed with the given verb roots and the nouns thus formed, e.g.,- *zagun* (awakening) *dagun* (grinding), *maṅgun* (demand), *ṭāṅgun* (bellowing), *lagun* (useful) *lāgun* (imitation), and *śɔṅgun* (sleeping) usually function as a characteristic of the preceding noun. The example is- ***hūñ sund vuṅgun*** *chu phěśül mānünü yivān* (howling of dog is considered ominous).

Īśvar Kaul's statement इत्येषां भावे इञ प्रत्ययस्य लोपो भवति seems absurd because elimination of any object or event (लोप) is not possible unless it has had existence (सत्). In other words a non-existent object cannot be deleted or eliminated. Instead, the statement could have been इञ प्रत्ययो न भवति or इञ प्रत्ययस्य प्रयोगो न भवति meaning *–iñ* does not occur or is not employed with the verb roots under reference.◄

पचरोचश्रोचां चात्; इछप्रिछोछात् –58/59[134]. *–iñ* is dropped with the verb roots ending in *–č* or *čh* like √*pač* (to trust), √*roč* (to be liked) √*śroč* (to be purified) √*ičh* (to wish) √*pričh* (to ask) इत्येषां धातूनां भावे इञ प्रत्ययस्य लोपो भवति[135]. The verbs *pač*, *roč* and *śroč* are converted into the abstract nouns by adding aspiration to the final consonant of these bases, such as- *pačh* (trust), *rūčh* (liking) and

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133 ---------- ibid --------- p. 328 (ms.)

134 *pačročśročām čāt ; ičhpričhočhāt* : ------- ibid ------ 9/2/-58/59 p. 329

135 ---------- ibid --------- p. 329

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śročh (purification). *ičh* and *pričh* occur unaltered as nouns such as- *pričh pyauv* (realized his responsibilities), *pričh gārū karūnas* (someone enquired from him).

►As explained earlier also, deletion of *–iñ* is incorrect. *pač* and *roč* are verb roots while as *śroč* is actually a verbal stem derived from the adjective *śrūč* by replacement of *-ū-* (*śrūč*) by *–o-* (*śroč*). Aspiration of the final consonant of *roč* → *rūčh* and *śroč* → *śročh* is not correct. The nominal stems of *pač*, *śroč* and *roč* are formed by the addition of *–un* → *pačun* (trusting), *śročun* (purification) and *ročun* (liking). By the addition of the secondary termination *-ar* to the adjective *śrūč* is derived the abstract noun *śročar* which means 'purity'. *–č* of √*pač* is aspirated to form *pačh* meaning 'trust'.

The verb root denoting the sense 'to wish' is actually √*yačh* and not √*ičh* as given by the author. In fact, *i-* is not a very close sound in Kashmiri. It easily passes into *ĕ-* in the initial syllables while as in the word initial position it converts into *–y-*. If *-i* is followed by a consonant cluster, it results in palatalization of the preceding *n-*, *s-* and *v-*[136] The examples are- *nidrā* → *ñəndür*; *siktā* → *s̃akh*, *inām* → *yanāmü* and *icchā* →*yačhā* etc. The word *pričh* (ask) is most commonly pronounced as *pručh*.◄

दून्छ्रोऽन्त्यव्यंजनलोपः; तछमन्दछरछां छात्; तछ ऊमात्रागमो वा –60/61/62[137].

–iñ and the last consonant of √*dũčhar* (to rummage through) is dropped to convert this verbal root into the abstract noun *dũčh* (rummage) इत्यस्य भावे इञ प्रत्ययस्य लोपो भवति अन्त्यव्यंजनस्य च लोपो भवति[138]. *–iñ* is dropped with verbs ending in *–ch*, such as- *tach* (to scratch), *mandach* (to be bashful) and *rach* (to protect) while as *-ū* is augmented after √*tach*, such as- *tachū* (itch).

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136 Razdan S.- Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p. 85

137 *dūnčharoantyavyañjanlopah; rachmandachrachām chāt; tach ūmātrāgamo* : - Kaśmīraśabdāmṛtam 9/2/-60/61/62 p.330

138 ---------- ibid ---------- p. 330

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▶The concept of deletion of *–iñ* is, as stated earlier, baseless. Augment of *-ū* at the end of *tach* (to scratch) is misperceived. It is actually replacement of the low central short vowel in the medial position of the root (*tach*) by the mid central short vowel (*təch*) and not the augment of *-ū* as prescribed by the sutra. *mandach* is used as both i.e. as a verb √*mandach* (to be bashful) and as a noun *mandach* (shame). The noun of √*rach* (to protect/guard) is *rāch* (protection/safe-keeping).◀

रछो नित्यम्; ग्रजो ज़ात्; चूँटछ्टफुटां टात् –63/64/65[139]. *-ū* is not optionally but invariably augmented with √*rach* (अस्य नित्यं ऊमात्रागमः स्यात् न तु विकल्पेन–रछू –रक्षा[140]). *–iñ* is dropped with the words ending in *z* and *ṭ* such as- *graz* (to roar) → *graz* (uproar), *čūṭ* (to fart) → *čūṭ* (farting), √*čhaṭ* (to winnow) → *čhaṭ* (winnowing), √*phuṭ* (to break) *phuṭü* (scraps) → *phuṭ* (a fold or wrinkle वलिः[141]).

▶The statements 'deletion of *–iñ*' is baseless. Likewise, the augment of *-ū* is misperceived. It is actually conversion of low central short vowel *–a* of the root *-rach* (to protect/guard) into mid central long vowel *-ə* → *-rəch* (protection/safe-keeping). The noun *graz* (uproar) is derived by *-θ* termination while as the verbs *čūṭ* (to fart), √*čhaṭ* (to winnow) and √*phuṭ* (to be broken) are converted into nouns either by aspirating the final alveolar consonant of the base or by the addition of *-ü*, e.g. √*čūṭ* → *čūṭh* (farting), √*čhaṭ* → *čhaṭh* (winnowing) and *phuṭ* → *phuṭü* (scraps of an object). *-ar* is used with √*phuṭ* *–ar* to convert it into transitive action √*phutar* (to break) and *-an* is appended to √*phuṭür* → *phuṭüran* to convey 'break' in some process or discontinuation of a custom especially pertaining to religion[142]. Besides, the Kashmiri word *čhaṭ* → *čhaṭān, čhaṭi, čhŏṭun*

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[139] *racho nityam ; grazo zāt ; čũnṭčhaṭphuṭām ṭāt :*
-------- ibid -------- 9/2/-63/64/65 p.330

[140] ---------- Ibid ---------- p. 330

[141] ---------- ibid ---------- p. 330

[142] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 177

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is used in the sense of winnowing of grains (निष्पवनम्)[143] and not in the sense 'to through up' (छट उत्क्षेपणम्) as stated by the author.

Further, there seems no connection between the verb √*phuṭ* (to be broken) and the noun *phuṭ* meaning 'fold or wrinkle वलिः' on the basis of which it could be considered as a derivation from the verb √*phuṭ* as held by the author. The word *phuṭ* meaning 'fold or wrinkle' is basically a noun in itself and its nominative plural is formed by suffix *–ü* → *phuṭü* (folds/wrinkles).◄

ट्यठः प्रयोजने; मॉंडवंडरोर्डात्; छांड ऊ मात्रागमो वा

–66/67/68[144].

According to author's explanation of the sutra *–iñ* is deleted (इञ प्रत्यय लोपो भवति) with √*t̃aṭh* to express 'urge for something' as well as with roots ending in *–ḍ*, such as- √*mānḍ* to denote 'mixture', √*vəḍar* in the sense of 'bribe' and √*čhānḍ* to express 'search'. The author further says, "the ending *–r* of *vəḍar* is dropped (वंडरोऽन्त्यव्यंजनलोपः)[145] and *–ū* is optionally added to *čhānḍ*"such as- *vaḍ* and *čhāndū*.

►These assertions of the author are not acceptable in as much as the deletion of *–iñ* is imaginary. The verb √*t̃aṭh* is actually a verbal stem derived from the qualitative adjective *t̃ŏṭh* on the analogy of the other qualitative adjectives by the process of replacing the vowel phoneme of the base such as- *t̃ŏṭh* (pungent) → √*t̃aṭh* (to become pungent / irritable). By addition of suffix *–ar* the adjective *t̃ŏṭh* is converted into the abstract noun *ṭĕchar* meaning pungency or irritability. The noun *t̃aṭh* used in the sense of 'urge for something especially for tea, tobacco etc.' is a different word which in no way seems to have any connection with the adjective *t̃ŏṭh* (pungent) or the verbal stem √*t̃aṭh* (to become pungent). The verb √*mānḍ* is converted into the noun *mānḍ* (kneading) by employing the *-θ* termination. The noun *mānḍ* is not used in the sense of 'mixture' as given by the

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144 Apte V.S. – A practical Sanskrit English Dictionary – p. 565
tyaṭhah prayojane; mānḍvəḍaro ḍāt; čhānḍ ūmātrāgamo vā : -

145 KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 9/2/-66/67/68 p. 331
------ ibid ------ p. 331

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author. √*vəḍar* is used in the sense 'to bury' or 'to conceal'[146] and not to denote 'bribe'.

The noun *vaḍ* is used in the sense of 'usury'[147]. It is therefore, a different word which hardly seems a derivative from √*vəḍar* (to throw/send away/to dispose off[148]) by deletion of its final letter *–r*. √*čhānḍ* (to search) is converted into noun by replacement of the low central long vowel *-ā* in the medial position of the root by the mid central long vowel *ə̄*, such as- √*čhānḍ* → *čhə̄nḍ*. Optional addition of *-ū* to *čhānḍ* is incorrect.

It is pertinent to mention that the editor of the copy of Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam brought out by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (present Kolkata) has included a sutra as छांडो नित्यम् (68क) according to which *-ū* is always suffixed to *čhānḍ* → *čhānḍū*. This sutra not only contradicts the previous sutra but also does not exist in Īśvar Kaul's hand-written manuscript of the Kaśmīraśabdāmrtam.◄

न्यतलतोस्तात्; पदप्यदपोंन्दां दात्; आमनजानोर्नात् –69/70/71[149]. According to Īśvar Kaul's explanation of these sutras, *-iñ* is dropped with the verbs ending in *–t*, *-d* and *-n* (एषां भावे इञ प्रत्ययलोपः स्यात्), such as- √*ñat* (to shear an animal), √*latav* (to kick), √*pad* (to pass intestinal gases), √*p̃ad* (to have unwanted access/ access by default/to be in know of secrets), √*pɔnd* (to sneeze); √*āman* (to lose facial luster) and √*zān* (to know).

►The sutra न्यतलतोस्तात् is ambiguous because according to this sutra *-iñ* is not used with the verbs ending in *–t* like *ñat* and *lat*. In his explanation of this sutra the author uses the verb as √*latav*, which ends in*–v*, and simultaneously recommends deletion of *–v* लतवो वकारस्य च इष्यते. To consider *lat* as a verb root is incorrect. The word *lath* (kick) is a noun and by the addition of *–av* is derived the

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[146] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 74/75

[147] -------- ibid-------- vol.. vii, p. 29

[148] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam p. 331

[149] *nyatlatostāt; padpyadpɔndām dāt; āmanzānornāt* :
---- ibid ----- 9/2/-69/70/71 p. 331-32

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verbal stem √*latav* meaning 'to kick'. A similar example is *chɔkh* (cleansing/rinsing) → √*chɔkav* (to clean with water/ rinse). Further, –*un* is suffixed to these roots to convert them into participle nouns, such as- √*ñat* → *ñatun* (shearing); √*pad* → *padun* (emission of intestinal gases), √*p̃ad* → *p̃adun* (unwanted entry), √*pɔnd* → *pɔndun* (sneezing); √*āman* → *āmünun* (loss of facial luster) and √*zān* → *zānun* (knowing). -*θ* termination is also employed with √*pɔnd* –*θ* → *pɔnd* (sneeze) and √*zān* –*θ* → *zān* (acquaintance). The author is silent about this formulation.◀

छानदोनोरुदागमश्च; चापः पात्; उफः फात् –72/73/74[150]. According to author's explanation of these sutras, -*iñ* is dropped with √*chān*, √*don* and -*ū* is suffixed to convert these verbs into nouns (अनयोः इञ प्रत्ययस्य लोप ऊमात्रागमश्च) such as- √*chān* (to sieve/filter) → *chāñū* (sieve/sieving), √*don* (to gin) → *dūñū* (rummage). –*iñ* is dropped with verbs ending in –*p* and –*ph* like √*čāp* (to chew/munch) → *čāph* (munching) and √*uph* (to fly/ to take a flight) → *uph* (flight).

▶The assertion regarding deletion (लोप) of –*iñ* and augment of -*ū* is misperceived. The fact is that verb √*chān* is converted into noun by replacement of the low central long vowel -*ā* in the medial position of the root by the mid central long vowel -*ə̄* and addition of palatalization to the final consonant of the root, such as- √*chān* → *chə̄ñ*. Similarly, in √*don* the mid back vowel –*o*- is replaced by the high back long vowel -*ū* and –*n* at the final position of the word is palatalized, such as- √*don* → *dūñ*. Addition of aspiration to the ending –*p* of √*čāp* → *čāph* changes it into a noun. The verb √*uph* is wrongly lettered. The reason is *u*- and *ū*- in the word initial position are usually pronounced as *vu*-/*vū*- or *vŏ*-/*vɔ*-. The word for 'to fly' or 'flight' is actually pronounced as ***vuph*** [151] and not ***uph*** as quoted by the author. Further, -*un* is employed with these verbs as well such as-

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150. *chāndonorūdāgamśca; čāpah pāt; vuphah phāt* :
-------- ibid -------- 9/2/-72/73/74 p. 332

151 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vii, p. 97

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chānun (sieving), *donun* (ginning), *čāpun* (chewing) and *vuphun* (flying).◄

लेखोन्त्यस्य च फः; रम्बशूबोर्बात्; प्रयो यात् –75/76/77[152]. According to author's explanation of the sutras, *-iñ* is dropped (इञ प्रत्यय लोपो भवति[153]) with the verbs ending in *–kh*, *-b* and *–y*, such as- √*lekh* (to write), √*ramb* (to be elegant/graceful/lustrous) and √*pray* (to be to one's liking/relishing). The author further says that the ending *–kh* of *lekh* converts into *-ph* (अन्त्यस्यच फः).

►These assertions of Īśvar Kaul are not tenable. The deletion (लोप) of *–iñ* is incorrect because, as stated earlier also, what does not exist cannot be deleted. Replacement of ending *–kh* of √*lekh* by *–ph* converts this verb into the noun is not correct. The word *leph/lenph*[154] is actually used to denote 'grimy' which in no manner seems connected with the verb *lekh* (to write) as given by the author. The term *leph* is also used in the sense of 'a quilt'[155] which is closer to the Arabic noun *lihāf* rather than a derivation from √*lekh*. The termination *-un* is suffixed to √*lekh* to form the participle noun *lekhun* meaning 'writing'. *-un* and *–vun* are suffixed to √*ramb* to derive the noun *rambun* (pleasing) and adjective *rambüvun* (graceful/pleasant) respectively. *-un* is appended to √*pray* to form *prayun* meaning 'liking'.◄

आवरडखरतूरथाँथरदोरमूरलारसखरां रात् –78[156]. *-iñ* is dropped with the words ending in *–r* (रकारान्तेषु। इत्येषां भावे इञ प्रत्ययस्य लोपो भवति) such as- √*āvar* (to engage, to cover/block especially space), √*ḍakhar* (to make something stay firmly), √*tūr* (to become frigid), √*thānthar* (to tremble), √*dor* (to run), √*mūr* (to crush between palms or finger-tips), √*lār* (to walk hastily), √*sakhar* (to get ready).

►These assertions are commented upon as follows:

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[152] *lekhoantyasya ca phah; rambośūborbāt; prayo yāt* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam : 9/2/-75/76/77 p. 333

[153] -------- ibid -------- p. 333

[154] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. vi, p. 94

[155] -------- ibid -------- - vol, vi, p. 94

[156] *āvarḍakhartūrthānthardormūrlārsakharām rāt* : ------- ibid ----- 9/2/78 p. 333

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Concept of deletion of *-iñ* is purposeless. The termination *–θ* (*zero*) is employed to convert the verb roots √*dor*, √*sakhar* and √*lār* into nouns, such as- √*dor* (to run) *-θ → dor* (running/ race)[157], √*sakhar* (to get ready) *–θ → sakhar* (preparation/groundwork[158]); √*lār* (to walk hastily) *–θ → lār* (hastiness). *–er* is added to √*āvar*, such as- √*āvar* (to engage) *–er → āvarer*[159] (preoccupation) to form abstract noun. By replacing the vowel in the medial position of the root √*āvar* converts into noun *āvur*[160] (busy). *–an* is suffixed to √*mūr* (to crush between palms or finger-tips) to derive *mūran*[161] (crushing between palms or finger-tips). √*tūr* (to become cold) and √*ḍakhar* or *ḍəkhar* (to make something to stay firmly) are actually nominal roots derived from the nouns *tūr* (cold/chillness) and *ḍakh* (support) by the addition of the secondary terminations *–θ* and *–ar* respectively. The primary suffix *–un* is employed with all these roots to convert them into nouns such as- *āvürun* (occupying), *ḍəkhürun* (making firm/steadying), *tūrun* (cooling), *thānthürun* (trembling), *dorun* (running), *mūrun* (crushing), *lārun* (walking hastily) and *sakhürun* (preparing).◄

थारबांबरसारहन्दरामूदागमश्च –79[162]. *–iñ* is deleted and *-ū* is augmented with the verb roots √*thār* (to be in hurry), √*bə̃bar* (to be nervous/confused/in hurry), √*sār* (to lug/haul/cart), √*handar* (to make cold/stale especially cooked food), such as- *thārū* (hurry), *bə̃barū* (hurry), *sārū* (haul), *handarū* (stale).

►Deletion of *–iñ* is erroneous. Augment of *-ū* is misperceived because the above cited verb roots are converted into nouns by replacing the low central short or long vowel (*a, ā*) preceding the final consonant by the corresponding mid or high vowel (*ə,ā,ü,ū*) such

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157 Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. iii, p. 281
158 ---------- ibid -------- – vol. iv, p. 163
159 ---------- ibid -------- – vol. i, p. 138
160 ---------- ibid -------- – vol. i, p. 138
161 ---------- ibid -------- -vol. vi, p. 230
162 *thārbāmbarsārhandarāmūdāgamaśca* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/79 p. 333

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as- √*thār* (to be in hurry) → *thār*[163] (hurry), √*bāmbar* (to be nervous/confused/in hurry) → *bāmbür*[164] (hastiness), √*sār* (to lug/haul/cart) → *sār*[165] (haulage). The verb √*həndar* is actually a nominal verb root derived from the adjective *hŏndur* (stale/cold) by replacing the mid back and high back vowels *–ŏ* and *–u* by the mid central and low central vowels *--ə* and *–a* respectively, such as- *hŏndur* (stale/cold) √*həndar* (to make stale). The Kashmiri word for haste is usually pronounced as *bāmbar* or *bāmbür* and not as *bə̃bar* as given by the author. *thār* and *thār* are rarely found in use. Besides, -*un* is suffixed to these roots to form the nominal bases which function, like other *–un* suffixed bases, as the characteristic of the preceding noun which is employed in the genitive case such as- *bāmbürun, həndürun, sārun* etc., such as *teñ sund/ tasund bāmbürun chu sārinüy pareśān karān* (his nervousness troubles every one).◄

गांगलटालतंबलमोॅकलवोॅललशहलां लात् –८०[166]. *–iñ* is deleted with the verb roots ending in *–l* such as- √*gāṅgal* (distract), √*ṭāl* (to avoid), √*tambal* (to be enticed), √*mɔkal* (to get free), √*vɔlal* (to decorate), √*śahal* (to cool).

►These assertions of Īśvar Kaul are not maintainable. The term *gāṅgal*, also used as *grāṅgal*, is actually a noun (distraction) and not a verb root as assumed by the author. *gāṅgal* is not even convertible into a verb root. It always occurs as the object of an action. √*ṭāl* and √*tambal* are made nouns by the addition of *–un* → *ṭālun* (avoiding), √*tambülun* (enticing/enticement). *mɔkul* (free) and *śihul* (frigid/shade) are adjectives which usually occur predicatively. These are transformed into verbal roots by converting *–u* before the final consonant into *–a* → *mɔkul* → √*mɔkal*, *śihul* → √*śehal*. Addition of -*ār* converts these adjectives into abstract nouns *mɔküjār* (leisure) and *śehjār* (shade/coolness) respectively. *vɔlal* is neither found in use

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[163] Kashmiri Dictionary – vol. ii, p. 374
[164] ---------- ibid ------- – vol. i, p. 272
[165] ---------- ibid ------- – vol. iv, p. 196
[166] *gāngalṭāltambalmɔkalvɔlalśahalām lāt* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 9/2/80 p. 333

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among the Kashmiri speakers of the valley nor is this word listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary.◄

दवो वात्; वेतनार्थे धातोर्वञ; व्यंजनान्तादकारागमः

-81/82/83[167].

According to these sutras *–iñ* is dropped with the roots ending in *–v* such as- √*dav* (to run); *–vañ* is suffixed to verb roots expressive of wages and *-a* is augmented (before *-vañ*) with the consonant ending verb roots, such as- *karavañ* (wages for doing a work), *paravañ* (wages paid for reading/ learning/teaching), *lonavañ* (wages paid for harvesting), *rozavañ* (rent paid for residing).

►Deletion of *–iñ* is futile. The verb √*dav* is changed into noun *dav* (run/race) by *–θ* suffixation. *–vañ* is actually used as *-vüñ*. Augment of *–a* is misperceived. It is actually augment of *–ü* and not *–a* as assumed by the author. Accordingly, the above cited words are actually pronounced as *karüvüñ*, *parüvüñ*, *lonüvüñ*, *rozüvüñ*. Further, the word *parüvüñ* denotes 'charges or wages paid for reading a document' and not 'charges paid for teaching' as given by the author. The actual term for fee paid for teaching is '*parünāvüvüñ*'.◄

स्वरान्ताद्धः; छानद्धसिलभ्यां वय; नावो वलोपश्च -84/85/86[168]. *–v* is augmented before *–vañ* (*-vüñ*) with verbs ending in a vowel sound such as- *div-vüñ* (charges for giving), *niv-vüñ* (charges for taking), *k̃hav-vüñ* (charges for eating), *cav-vüñ* (charges for drinking) etc. *-vay* is used with *chān* (carpenter) and *dvasil* (mason) to denote the charges paid to these professionals for their work, such as- *chāñ-vay*, *dvasil-vay*. *–vay* is employed with *nāv* (boat) in the sense of 'charges paid for crossing the river by boat'. In this process *–v* of *vāv* is dropped (नाव शब्दात्तद्धेतने अभिधेये वय् प्रत्ययो भवति वकारस्य च लोपो भवति – नावय)[169] such as- *nāvay*.

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[167] *davo vāt; vetanārthe dhātorvañ; vyañjanāntādakārāgamah* :
-------- ibid -------- 9/2/-81/82/83 p. 334

[168] *svarāntādvah ; chāndvasilbhyām vay ; nāvo valopaśca* :
-------- ibid------- 9/2/-84/85/86 p. 334-335

[169] ------- ibid --------- p. 335

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►Sutra 85 and 86 are inapt. The reason is that the words *chān, dəsil* and *nāv* are actually nouns while as the subject matter of present chapter is, as the title reveals, the use of primary affixes which are employed with the verb roots only. Besides, the terms *chāñ-vay, dvasil-vay* and *nāvay* are neither listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary nor are these terms found used by the speakers of the valley. It is probable that these terms might have remained in use in some regional dialect of Kashmiri. The word for 'mason' is *dəsil* and not *dvasil* (द्वसिल[170]) as given by the author.◄

बार उपधाप्रसिद्धता; केयाद्गरु शिल्प्यर्थे; दात्र आदेर्डः

–87/88/89[171].

–vay is used with *bār* (load) to express 'load carriage charges'. Use of *–vay* causes augment of *–ü* before *–vay*, such as- *bārüvay*. *–garu* is used with the name of an object to denote the person who is skilled in making and/or selling of that object (केयाद्वस्तुनः गरु प्रत्ययो भवति), such as- *lāyigaru* (maker and seller of parched grains), *manḍangaru* (washer-man who specializes in washing of woolens and rugs), *ganḍangaru* (binder), *kaṅgüñigaru* (maker and seller of wooden combs specifically designed for use by women). *–garu* is added to *dāñ* (paddy) to signify the person who trades in 'paddy'. *–ñ* of *dāñ* is dropped and *d-* changes into *ḍ-*, e.g. *ḍāngur*.

►These sutras again reveal Īśvar Kaul's deviation from the subject under discussion. The word *bār* is actually a noun and its inclusion in the category of the primary stems is, thus, inapproperiate. *–garu* is misperceived and the term is actually pronounced as *-gŏr* → *lāyigŏr, manḍangŏr, ganḍangŏr, kaṅgüñigŏr* etc. The words *lāyigŏr* and *kaṅgüñigŏr* also belong to the category of secondary derivatives. The terms *manḍangŏr* and *ganḍangŏr* also seem to be derived from *manḍun* (washing of woollens and rugs) *-gŏr* and *ganḍun* (tying/packing) *-gŏr*. The word *ganḍangŏr* in the sense of 'binder' is

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[170] ------- ibid -------- p. 334

[171] *bār upadhāprasiddhatā ; kreyādgaru śilpyarthe ; dāñ āderḍah :*

------ ibid ------ 9/2/-87/88/89 p. 335-336

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neither listed in the Kashmiri Dictionary nor is this word found in use. However, the word for book binder in Kashmiri is '*jilüdügŏr*.'

The word for paddy is *dāñi* and not *dāñ* (दाञ) as given by the author. It is also a nominal base and is incorrectly included in the category of the primary derivatives.

It is noteworthy that *-gŏr* is a masculine affix and its feminine form is *-gər*, e.g *lāyigər* (woman maker and seller of parched grains), *kaṅgüñigər* (woman maker and seller of wooden combs) etc. This procedure is not applied to form the feminine of the names of craftsmen derived by the addition of *–ur* such as *sɔn* (gold) *–ur* → *sɔnur* (goldsmith)[172]etc..◄

योग्यार्थे लगो हार; धातोस्तद्योग्यार्थेऽनागमश्च; स्वरादागमः स्वरवृद्धः -90/91/92[173].

These are last three sutras of the present chapter. According to these sutras *-hār* is used with √*lag* (to be of use) to denote fitness or suitability of the action implied by the given verb root, such as- *laghār* (useful). *–an* is also augmented to a verb root to make it expressive of 'fitness or suitability' of the action. In addition to √*lag* - *hār* is used with other verb roots as well such as- *karanhār* (worth to do), *gaṇḍanhār* (worth to pack) etc. With the vowel ending roots *–a* of *–an* converts into *–ü* and also changes vowel quality of the ending vowel of the root, e.g. √*khĕ* (to eat) → *khyanühār* (worth to eat).

►It is to be noted that this rule does not apply to all vowel ending roots. In other words the ending vowels of √*di* (to give) → *dinühār* (worth to give), √*ni* (to take) → *ninühār* ((worth to take) do not reveal any change of vowel quality.◄

►As has been stated in the beginning, this chapter is supposed to be dealing with the primary derivational affixes which are employed to derive the nominal masculine and feminine bases from the verb roots. One is compelled to infer that the author has committed a

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[172] KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 4/1/99 and 6/1/2

[173] *yogyārthe lagohār ; dhātostadyogyārtheanāgamśca ; svarādāgamah svarvṚddhah* : - KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 9/2/-90/91/92 p. 336.

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serious error by included in this list of the derived stems, the stems derived from the nouns or adjectives which otherwise belong to the category of the secondary derivatives and, therefore, should have been discussed at the appropriate place under the description of the secondary suffixes. The same approach is, as explained in chapter 4, followed by the author while describing the secondary derivatives. In other words the author has included the description of secondary stems in the category of the primary derivatives which is improper and unwanted. This incoherence reflects author's insufficient knowledge of functional differences between the primary and secondary suffixes in Kashmiri. ◀

At the end of the chapter the author says. (इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते कृदन्तप्रक्रियायां भावपादो द्वितीयः। कृदन्तप्रक्रिया समाप्ता) 'here ends the formation of participle nouns, the second sub-chapter on the primary derivatives in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region. The chapter on formation of participles is complete.'

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Chapter 10

Classification of Lexical Items

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10
Classification of lexical items[1]

▶Derived from verbal root √gaṇ the Sanskrit word *gaṇa* means a series or a class. Gaṇapāṭha, in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, consists of classes of linguistic items connected with particular grammatical operations. It is like the *dhātupāṭha* in that it too contains the sūtras and it differs from the *dhātupāṭha* in that the lists in question are recited together with pertinent sutras. Besides, the items that make up a class by virtue of being connected with particular grammatical operations may or may not require a class name. The verbs of Pāṇini's *dhātupāṭha* are arranged in ten major classes (gaṇa) of which the first members alone are specified[2]. These classes are *bhvādi, adādi, juhotyādi, divādi, svādi, tudādi, rudhādi, tanādi, kryādi* and *curādi.* Similarly nominal bases are also classified into sets of items connected with particular operations. For example, the set of nominal bases that begins with *sarva* is given the class name *sarvanāman*[3] while as the set that includes *svar* as well as the set the members of which begin with *ca* and do not signify *beings* are given the class names *avyaya*[4] and *nipāt*[5] respectively. All these bases given in the sets (*gaṇa*) are recited along with the operational rules. On this analogy Īśvar Kaul, in this concluding chapter, presents six *sutras* referring to six different sets of linguistic items each set of which is pertinent to a particular grammatical operation. Like Pāṇini's classification of verbs (*bhvādayah*; *divādibhyah* etc.) Īśvar Kaul also

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1 *atha gaṇapāṭhah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam - p. 338

2 *bhūvādayah ; divādibhyah* : Aṣṭādhyāyī - 1.3.1 ; 3.1.69

3 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni :* ------- ibid ----- - 1.1.27

4 *svarādinipātamavyayam :* ----- ibid ------- 1.1.37

5 *cādayoasattve :*---------- ibid ---------- 1.4.57

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specifies only first member of the set followed by *ādayah* meaning etcetera. The other members of the sets are explicitly indicated in the explanation of the sutra. The term *ādayah* is used in the sense of *kind or sort*.

Before explaining the sutras of this chapter it is important to mention that this chapter does not exist in the manuscript while as it is included in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam brought out by Nag publishers, Delhi in 1985. The first sutra of this chapter is तत्रादौ (tatrādau) meaning *at the very outset or to begin with*. It indicates that the author, besides classifying the grammatical sets, concludes his work by referring to some of the important grammatical operations described in the foregoing chapters of the KaśmīraśabdāmRtam. In fact, Īśvar Kaul has given a sort of type listing such that only illustrative instances of a class are recited in the *gaṇapāṭha* text accompanying particular sūtras. The sūtras are as follows-◄

कथादयः –1[6]. It means the linguistic item *kath* (talk/tale) and other items of this sort. According to this sutra *kath* (talk/tale), *vath* (path/route), *vath* (the Vitastā), *lath* (kick), *dath* (clod), *thɔth* (hitch), *čɔth* (anus), *čitth*[7] (muscle pull), *četh*[8] (mind, mental disposition) *güth* (flow), *poth*[9], *tonth* (beak) etc. are classed as *kathādaya*.

►This set refers to lexical items ending in dental voiceless aspirates to which, according to Īśvar Kaul, grammatical operations do not cause any phonetic transformations[10].◄

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[6] a) *kathādayah* : KaśmīraśabdāmRtam 10/1 p. 338
b) *kathādīnām ca:* ------- ibid ------- p. 18

[7] Actual pronunciation is *čith*

[8] Actual pronunciation is *čath*

[9] This word differs from the word *pīnth* (a little) as cited under 2/1/25 (p.18) in having distinct pronunciation. However, both of these forms are irrelevant and the actual word is *pūnt* (mas. Sg) which means little/very small.

[10] KaśmīraśabdāmRtam - p. 18

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कछ्लादयः –2[11]. The lexical item *kačhul* and other items of this sort, such as *kačhul* (porter), *čɔtul* (wavered person having adulterous propensity), *čakul* (slice), *gɔgul* (inside of the shell, cavity, hollow), *vātul* (sweeper), *batuk* (duck), *gagur* (rat), *mɔ̃ngur* (lamb) etc., are class named as *kačhalādayah.*

▶This sūtra refers to the class of Mas. sg. nouns whose final consonant is preceded by *–u-* which is replaced by *–ü-* and *-a* to derive their feminine forms and plurals respectively. In this process certain phonetic transformations also take place.[12]

The verbal bases of Kashmiri are also classified into groups of items according to the particular grammatical markers which are appended to the bases as well as the phonetic transformations caused thereby. Īśvar Kaul, in this chapter, refers to two sets of verbal bases and these are as follows-◀

कुच्चादयः –3[13]. This sutra refers to *küč* and other verbal bases of this type. According to Īśvar Kaul, *küč* (to become moist), *gvah*[14](to illuminate), *grak* (to boil), *zot* (to shine), *ṭük* (to walk hastily), *tel* (to give burning sensation), *toś* (to be satisfied), *dor* (to run), *nāp* (to glitter), *nīl* (to turn blue), *pis* (to boil over), *peḍ* (to ooze), *por* (to outbrave/to affect), *prār* (to wait), *phab* (to flourish), *phar* (to rob), *phal* (to become worn out); *phuh/phɔś* (to sulk); *pher* (to roam about); *phor* (to throb); *brād* (to draw undue advantage, to steal, to rob); *bās* (to be visible, to come into mind); *buḍ* (to age); *braz* (to glitter; to

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[11] a) *kačhalādayah* : -------- ibid ------ 10/2 p. 338
b) *na kɔčhlādīnām śeṣam* : ------- ibid ------ 2/1/74- p. 44

[12] Razdan, S. : Kashmiri grammar: History and Structure – p 156

[13] a) *küčādayah* : KaśmīraśabdāmṚtam 10/3 p. 338
b) --------- ibid -------- 8/4/17 p. 284

[14] *gvah* as verb does not exist in Kashmiri and neither is this verb included by Īśvar Kaul in his list of verb roots. However, the word *gāh,* which is a noun and means *glow,* is frequently used by the Kashmiri speakers in their normal discourse.

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look graceful); *yāp* (to be competent); *ramb* (to look graceful); *ras*[15](to be relishing/juicy); *roč* (to be liked); *roṭ* (to be stunned); *rüḍ* (to boil over); *rün* (to be worn out); *ʾlaḍ* (to become weak, to lose strength); *ṭhor* (defective)[16], these and other lexical items of this type are *küč* etc.

▶This set consists of the verbal roots to which the addition of conjugational affixes do not cause deletion of *–an* or optional shortening of the initial syllable एषामनो लोपादि न भवति आदि शब्दात् ह्रस्वविकल्पादि च न भवति.[17]◀

चरादयः -4[18]. The lexical items *čar* (to be annoyed) *phüh/phɔś* (to be angry), *marüč* (to annoy) *vuč* (to have strained relations) *phič* (to commit blunder) are classed as *čar* and other items of this type.

▶This set consists of the verbal bases which take only feminine (conjugational) affixes.◀

तिहादयः -5[19]. This sutra refers to lexical items such as *tih* (that invisible), *yih* (this), *ʾkāh* (what), *hüh* (that near), *huh* (that far but visible) which are grouped as *tih* etc.

▶This set consists of the demonstrative pronouns. These have already been discussed in the chapter on declension of pronouns (see 2/3/1).◀.

मूलादयः -6[20]. This sutra provides that *mūl* and other nouns of this sort such as *mūl* (root of a plant, tree etc.), *kastūr* (a bird), *kūṭ* (log),

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[15] *ras* (juice/sap/extract) is a noun in Kashmiri

[16] This verbal root is not included in Īśvar Kaul's list of verbal roots. There are two words in Kashmiri viz; *ṭhor and ṭhŏr,* meaning *joint bone* and *hindrance/obstacle* respectively. *ṭhor* as verb does not exist in Kashmiri.

[17] ------- ibid ----- 8/4/17 p. 284

[18] a) *čarādayah* : ------- ibid -------- 10/4 p. 339
b) ---------- ibid --------- 8/1/45 p. 196

[19] a) *tihādayah* : -------- ibid ------ 10/5 p. 339
b) *tih, yih, ʾkāh, hüh, huh,śabdāh pumsyaprāṇini* : ------ ibid ------ 2/3/1 p. 54

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čũṭh (apple), *chūl* (water current, stream), *ṭūr* (bowl), *ḍūr* (bed of flowers, vegetables etc.), *ḍūs* (mace), *tūr* (cold), *dūr* (street), *nastūr* (nosey), *būth* (ghost), *mūr* (twig), *rūd* (rain), *lūkh* (people), *lūdur* (greedy), *lūbur* (one who tempts), *sūr* (ash), *hūs* (scramble/stampede) are recited as *mūlādaya.*

▶This set consists of the masculine singular nouns whose final consonant is preceded by high back long or short vowel (*–u/-ū*) which, while forming their plurals, does not change into *-o*. It is noteworthy that the terms *ḍūs* (mace), *tūr* (cold) do not belong to this group and have wrongly been classed as मूलादयः.◀

The author has concluded this chapter with these words: (इति शारदाक्षेत्रभाषाव्याकरणे कश्मीरशब्दामृते गणपाठः समाप्तः। समाप्तं चेदं सांगकश्मीरशब्दामृतं नाम व्याकरणम्) 'here ends the chapter on classification of lexical items in KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of language of the *śāradā* region'. And with this is concluded KaśmīraśabdāmRtam, the grammar of the Kashmiri language complete in all respects.

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[20] a) *mūlādayah* : --------- ibid -------- 10/6 p. 339
b) *na mūlādīnām* : ---------- ibid ------ 2/1/35 p. 23

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Kasmiraśabdamrtam

"KaśmīraśabdāmRtam: A Critical study" is a landmark research work of historic importance by an accomplished scholar. The author has incisively and comprehensively examined the only grammar and linguistic study of Kashmiri written in Sanskrit. This study is primarily based on a hand written manuscript of "KasmiraŝabdamRtam written by Īśvar Kaul in the 19th century A. D.

The manuscript comprising 422 folios is written on the Pāṇinian model. This monumental work consisting of ten chapters presents a detailed description of the grammatical structure of Kashmiri including its Phonology and Morphology. In view of these aspects its importance in Kashmiri linguistics needs to be brought to light. The fact of having been written in Sanskrit has restricted its access to the non Sanskrit knowing scholars in the state and elsewhere. It is, therefore, timely and necessary to bring this monumental work into the public domain to make it accessible to scholars and researchers and to facilitate their language needs in the area of structural linguistics. The value of this research work is greatly enhanced by the fact that it has been researcher of Sanskrit and Linguistics.

Satyabhama Razdan is a well known scholar of Sanskrit and Linguistics. She has been a teacher and a researcher for last 35 years. Her valuable contributions to teaching and learning of Sanskrit and Linguistics have been widely recognized. The author holds Ph. D and D. Lit. Degrees in Sanskrit. She specialises in Semantics, Historical and Structural Linguistics and Indian Epigraphy. She has authored 4 books and 55 research papers. She has translated award winning books, research papers and poems from Kashmiri and Punjabi into Hindi for Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi and J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Jammu.

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